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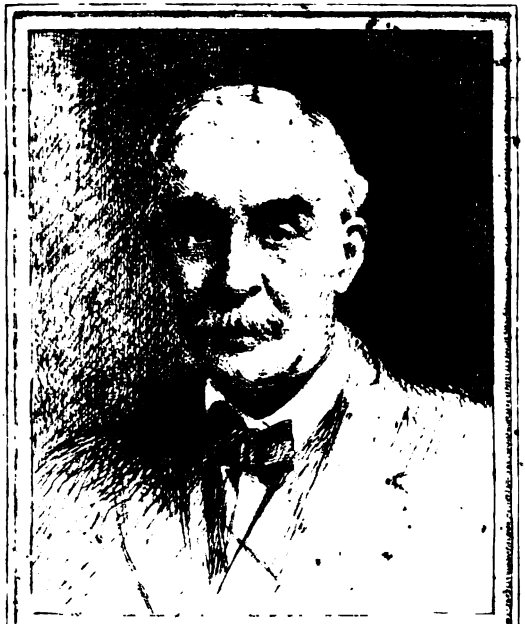

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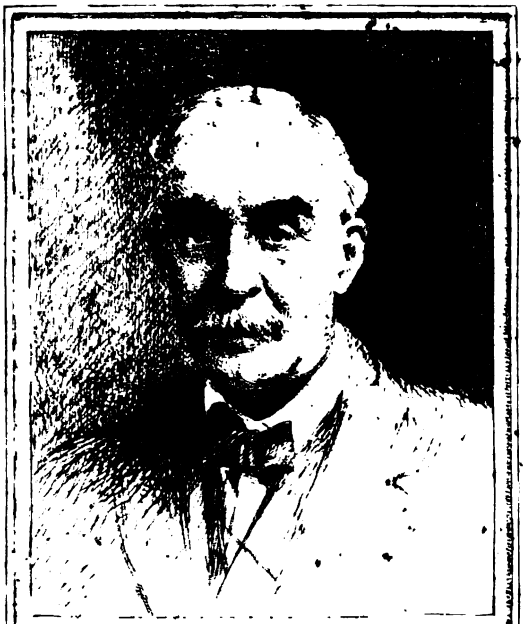

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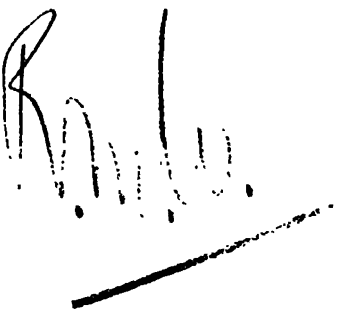

THE CHAIR OF PETER.

THE CHAIR OF PETER,

OR

THE PAPACY

CONSIDERED IN ITS INSTITUTION, DEVELOPMENT, AND ORGANIZATION,

AND IN

THE BENEFITS WHICH, FOR OVER EIGHTEEN CENTURIES, IT HAS CONFERRED ON MANKIND.

BY

JOHN NICHOLAS MURPHY,
ROMAN COUNT,
AUTHOR OF "TERRA INCOGNITA."

Popular Edition,

WITH MUCH NEW MATTER, AND THE STATISTICS BROUGHT DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

"Beatitudini tuæ, id est Cathedræ Petri, communione consocior. Super illam petram ædificatam Ecclesiam scio."—SAINT JEROME (Letter to Pope Damasus, A.D. 376).

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TO MY FELLOW-SUBJECTS

OF ALL CHRISTIAN COMMUNIONS,

I RESPECTFULLY DEDICATE THIS BOOK

ON WHAT I BELIEVE TO BE

THE MAIN BULWARK OF RELIGION, LAW, AND ORDER,

AGAINST THE CONTINUOUS ATTACKS

OF INFIDELITY AND SOCIALISM,

IN THE PRESENT DAY.

Nihil obstat.

HENRICUS F. NEVILLE,
CENSOR DEPUTATUS.

Imprimatur.

✠ GULIELMUS DELANY,
EPISCOPUS CORCAGIENSIS.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In preparing this Popular Edition, I have carefully revised the whole work, and I have added one hundred and thirty pages of new matter. These embrace several subjects which, owing to the exigencies of limited space, were either altogether omitted, or only briefly treated, in the first edition. The more convenient form of Crown 8vo now admits of their introduction in full.

Among them will be found, The Greek Schism *in extenso;* The Life and Writings of Wycliffe; The Mendicant Orders; The Art of Printing and the Bible before the Reformation; Alleged Unworthy Popes; The Culturkampf, and Catholic Organization in Germany, Belgium, and other countries; further evidence of the belief in Papal Infallibility, in the past; some additional important particulars of the Pontificate of Pius IX.; and other interesting and useful topics bearing on the present time. Immediate reference to all these will be found in the Index.

I have studiously considered the kind suggestions of learned readers and reviewers in these kingdoms, and

in the United States and Canada; and, in not a few instances, as they will perceive, I have acted thereon.

It is to me a source of much gratification, that my sincere desire to avoid uttering a word hurtful to the feelings of those whose religious tenets differ from my own has been cordially acknowledged and responded to by Protestant as well as by Catholic writers; and I have great pleasure in referring the reader to a selection from the Opinions of the Press, at the end of the volume, bearing on this particular point.

Clearly, those extracts afford pleasing evidence of a steadily growing conviction in our day, that, in treating controversial questions, all asperity of tone should be carefully avoided; and that, whatever each one's religious opinions may be, all may consistently observe the third section, at least, of the time-honoured maxim: "In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, *in omnibus charitas.*"

CLIFTON, CORK, *October* 1885.

Since this book has gone to Press, two important events, intimately connected with its subject-matter, have occurred:—

The first is, the result of the Elections for the French Chamber of Deputies, in this month of October 1885, showing so great a gain to the cause of Religion, Law, and Order, and thus affording a further striking proof of the benefits of Catholic Organization, as dwelt upon in chapters XXIX. and XLI.

The second is, the reference by Germany and Spain of their dispute, about the Caroline Islands, to the arbitration of the Pope, and the consent of His Holiness to act, as mediator, therein. Here, on the initiative of a leading Protestant power, we have a practical recognition, by both States, of a principle which operated so beneficially in the Middle Ages, in averting war and its attendant evils. The advocacy of that principle by a great non-Catholic authority, and a remarkable instance of its successful operation, under analogous circumstances, will be found by the reader in page 622.

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THE CHAIR OF PETER.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Papacy just now, for obvious reasons, absorbs a large amount of public interest, likely to increase with each successive year: and certainly there is no subject about which, on calm investigation, there will be found to exist more ignorance and misconception, and prejudice, their necessary result. This latter fact is undeniable. Its cause is evident.

In the Articles of Schmalkalden, drawn up by Luther and his associates, in the year 1537, as an unalterable basis of the creed of the Reformation, they declare:—

> That the Pope is not of Divine right; that the power usurped by him is full of arrogance and blasphemy; that all which he has done and does, in virtue of that power, is diabolical; . . . and finally that the Pope is the true anti-Christ.

This doctrine has been continuously taught and preached—it may be in more moderate language—by the followers of Luther, down to the present day; so that it is not only held by the unreflecting multitude, but it is also professed, even against their own kindly nature, by some of the most learned, most sincere, and most pious members of the Protestant communion.

In his *Apologia pro vita sua*, Cardinal Newman says:—

But now, as to the third point on which I stood in 1833, and which I have utterly renounced and trampled upon since,—my then view of the Church of Rome;—I will speak about it as exactly as I can. When I was young, as I have said already, and after I was grown up, I thought the Pope to be anti-Christ. At Christmas, 1824–25, I preached a sermon to that effect. In 1827 I accepted eagerly the stanza in the "Christian Year," which many people thought too charitable, "Speak *gently* of thy sister's fall." From the time I knew Froude I got less and less bitter on the subject.[1]

Again, His Eminence says:—

As a matter, then, of simple conscience, though it went against my feelings, I felt it to be a duty to protest against the Church of Rome. But, besides this, it was a duty, because the prescription of such a protest was a living principle of my own Church, as expressed in not simply a *catena*, but a *consensus* of her divines, and the voice of her people. Moreover, such a protest was necessary, as an integral portion of her controversial basis; for I adopted the argument of Bernard Gilpin, that Protestants "were *not able* to give any *firm and solid* reason of the separation, besides this, to wit, that the Pope is anti-Christ." But while I thus thought such a protest to be based upon truth, and to be a religious duty, and a rule of Anglicanism, and a necessity of the case, I did not at all like the work.[2]

As these and other mistaken ideas of the kind, regarding the Holy See and its occupant, still extensively prevail, it may be useful, and certainly it appears more desirable than ever at the present moment, that there should be set forth a clear and explicit statement of the Catholic doctrine of the Primacy of Saint Peter and his successors, and of the grounds on which that doctrine is based; together with a review, from a Catholic standpoint, of the Papacy in its institution, development, and organization, and a necessarily condensed history of the Temporal Power of the Popes—all brought down to the present day.[3]

[1] "Apologia," p. 124. London, 1864. [2] Ibid., p. 128.
[3] Several able treatises in our language have been published on par-

Accordingly, as a layman, I venture to contribute my humble share to this work, which I trust will be continued by far abler hands; and I am encouraged to do so by the circumstance, that the subject has ever been to me one of peculiar interest, and consequently has engaged much of my attention.

To the reflecting Christian there must always be something fascinating in the story of the humble Fisherman of Galilee, chosen by the world's Redeemer, to be His Vicar and the Visible Head of His Church—that Church which was built upon Peter. The unbroken line of Peter's successors, which Catholics believe will endure to the end of time—that august dynasty, continuously assailed, but supernaturally upheld—is a similar instance of the Divine power and wisdom. Everything connected with the subject, while abounding with interest, is matter for deep thought and reverent investigation.

But, besides the interest and importance of the subject itself, there is an all-sufficient reason why, just now, it should be set in its proper light, and entirely freed from the mists of ignorance and prejudice. And that reason is, that in our day there is being waged an unceasing warfare of unbelief against faith, of materialism against Christianity. Formerly, it was a question of conflicting Christian creeds—Protestant against Catholic. Now, it is, as pre-eminently seen in the proceedings of the French and Italian Chambers, an unrelaxing struggle between those who deny, and those who believe in, the Gospel of Christ. Assuredly all Christian communions should be united in presence of this common danger: and, in order to promote so desirable an end, our separated brethren, instead of misrepresenting or misapprehending the tenets of the

ticular branches of the subject. Archbishop Kenrick's "Primacy of the Apostolic See," a most valuable work, deals with the whole question; but, having been written thirty-seven years ago, it does not embrace the important events of this and the past generation.

Catholic Church, ought loyally to accept her own account of the faith which is in her.

The devotion of Catholics of all ages and nations to the Successor of Saint Peter, the reverence and filial obedience which they render to him as the Vicar of Christ, and the same devotion, reverence and obedience paid him by so many who formerly were distinguished members of the Anglican communion, are in themselves a standing argument against those writers and preachers who inveigh against the Church of Rome and its Chief Pastor.

During the last half-century, there has been a movement within the bosom of the Anglican Church—a "Rome-ward tendency," which, however some may disapprove of it, all must admit to result from the purest and loftiest motives. Undeniably, among the seceders are some of the most highly gifted, most exemplary, and best subjects of the realm—men who, in obedience to the voice of conscience, have severed family ties, cherished friendships, and life-long associations, and, in some instances, heroically leaving all to follow Christ, have resigned valuable Church livings and prospects of preferment, on which their families depended altogether for their maintenance and settlement in life. Surely such men must have clearly seen their way out of the haze through which they had been taught to regard the Catholic Church from their childhood. To join that Church, once they were convinced, they freely sacrificed all that the world had given or could give them; and thus, in the words of the venerable divine above quoted, they "utterly renounced and trampled upon" the erroneous impressions of their earlier years. Among those impressions, doubtless, not the least was, that "the Pope is the true anti-Christ."

CHAPTER II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOFS OF THE PRIMACY OF PETER.

"Pierre paraît le premier en toutes manières ; le premier à confesser la foi ; le premier dans l'obligation d'exercer l'amour ; le premier de tous les Apôtres, qui vit le Sauveur ressuscité des morts, comme il en avait été le premier témoin devant tout le peuple ; le premier quand il fallut remplir le nombre des Apôtres ; le premier qui confirma la foi par un miracle ; le premier à convertir les Juifs ; le premier à recevoir les Gentils ; le premier partout. Mais je ne puis tout dire ; tout concourt à établir sa primauté ; oui, tout, jusqu'à ses fautes."—BOSSUET.

FOR a long period, the title *Πάππας*, *Papa*, Pape, or Pope, has been borne by the Bishop of Rome, who is regarded by Catholics as the successor of Saint Peter, not only as Bishop of Rome, but as Visible Head of the Church, and Vicar on earth of Jesus Christ its Founder.[1] The word signifies Father, or, according to some authorities, Father of Fathers,[2] and was in the early ages of Christianity applied to bishops generally; but, in the commencement of the sixth century, it began to be exclusively applied to the Bishop of Rome, and at the close of the ninth, or early in the tenth century, it had become universally adopted, as his special designation.

[1] In the Greek Church, the title *Πάππας* is still given to all the clergy—the chief priest being styled *πρωτοπάππας*, or "first father;" as we use "Father;" the French, *Père;* the Italians, *Padre*, etc.; thus indicating the paternal relations of a pastor to his flock.

[2] Some writers would derive *Papa* from the first syllables of the words *Pater Patrum*, Father of Fathers, thus abbreviated. See Bracci, "La Etimologia del Nome Papa," p. 102 et seq., Rome, 1630. This derivation, however, seems somewhat far-fetched; although actually it is in this sense that the title was originally given to bishops and patriarchs, and subsequently exclusively attributed to the Pope, as we shall presently see.

And this was the case alike in the Eastern and Western Churches. Thus, Ennodius Ticinensis, the learned Bishop of Pavia, Cassiodorus, and Liberatus, "used to call the Bishop of Rome *Pope*, and the prelates of all other Churches *Bishops*, in the sixth century; and the custom gradually grew, so that, at the close of the ninth, or the commencement of the tenth century, the name of Pope was commonly attributed, not to bishops or patriarchs, but to the Roman Pontiff alone."[1] To the same effect is the evidence of the learned Maronite, Abraham Ecchelensis,[2] treating of the Oriental Churches, in his exhaustive work on the subject, in which he proves, from the writings of "learned and holy" Oriental bishops, that the Easterns followed the same usage as the Western Christians in this regard; first calling their patriarchs and bishops *Ab Aba*, that is, Father of Fathers, but, in the course of time, transferring and exclusively assigning the title to the occupant of the See of Rome.[3]

He further observes, that, as early as the middle of the third century, the Egyptian bishops, ordained by Heraclas, Patriarch of Alexandria, began to call their patriarch Ab Aba, which is Father of Fathers, and the name was known from that time.[4] Afterwards, it was

[1] Pagi, "Pontificum Romanorum Gesta," tom. i. p. 5, Venice, 1730. Francis Pagi, a learned Franciscan, wrote the above work, published in four volumes 4to, giving the lives of the Popes from St. Peter to Eugenius IV. He was a painstaking and accurate writer. He died in 1721, aged 67. A fifth and a sixth volume were added by his nephew, A.D. 1748–1753.

[2] Abraham Ecchelensis, a Maronite of Mount Lebanon, and a most accomplished Oriental scholar, was, along with others, employed by the sacred congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, in making an Arabic translation of the Scriptures, A.D. 1636. He removed to Rome, for the prosecution of his work, in 1652; and there he became Professor of Oriental languages. He died in Rome, in 1664.

[3] Abraham Ecchelensis, "Eutychius Vindicatus; pars altera De Origine Nominis Papæ et ejusdem Primatu," pp. 99–101. Rome, 1660.

[4] Heraclas governed the Patriarchal See of Alexandria, sixteen years; A.D. 232–248. See Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," book vi., chaps. 26 and 35.

transferred from the See of Alexandria to the Roman See, "because it is the See of the Apostle Peter, the greatest of the disciples, and the Prince of the Apostles, and Peter was the Patriarch of Rome, and his successor is called Pope to this day."[1]

And again: "Papa is a name derived from the Syriac language, and is composed of these two words Ab Aba, and signifies Father of Fathers, that is Grandfather. Formerly it was common to all bishops; but it was afterwards transferred to the Roman Pontiff, and became his exclusively, because he is the successor of Peter and the Father of all Fathers."[2]

He further quotes an ancient Mahometan writer, who bears testimony to the fact, that the Oriental "bishops, hearing the patriarchs call the Roman Pontiff Aba, said among themselves, 'It is right that we should call the Roman Pontiff Ab Aba' (Pope). And thenceforward the Roman Bishop was known by this name, above all others, among all the worshippers of the Christian religion."[3]

In the year 817, the Emperor Louis le Débonnaire, in his Diploma, speaks of Pope Pascal as "Supreme Pontiff and Universal Pope—*Domino Paschali, Summo Pontifici et Universali Papæ.*"

Finally, in the year 1074, in a council which he held in Rome, Pope Gregory VII. decreed that the title of Pope should be borne exclusively by the Roman Pontiff, and that it should not be lawful for any one to assume it, or to attribute it to any other person.[4]

In the sixth century, observes Doctor Döllinger, the name of Pope, *Papa*, was first applied exclusively to

[1] Georgius Homaidius Ægyptius, "Chronici in Nerone," par. i., apud Ecchelensem, "De Origine Nominis Papæ," pp. 99, 100.

[2] Gabriel Klahi, Archiepiscopus Ledrensis, "Liber de Sacerdotio," cap. iii., de Sacris Ordinibus et Ecclesiasticis Dignitatibus; apud Ecchelensem, ibid., pp. 101, 102.

[3] Abubacrus Habbasides, "Apology against the Christians," par. 2; apud Ecchelensem, ibid., pp. 102, 103.

[4] Concilia, in loco. Ecchelensis, p. 104, Bracci, p. 23.

the Bishop of Rome, by certain writers; whilst by others it was given, as late as the tenth age, to all bishops in general. "But," he continues, "there were not wanting names and titles, which, in the fourth and fifth centuries, fully expressed the supreme ecclesiastical power and dignity of the Pope. He was called father of fathers, the shepherd and the guardian of the flock of Christ, the chief of all bishops, the guardian of the vineyard of Christ. The Church of Rome was named, by pre-eminence, the Apostolic See, the chief of all Churches, the rock, the foundation of faith, the Church which, as Prosper sings, possessed more by religion than the city had before possessed by arms; so that Rome had become more powerful by the see of the first bishop than it had been, in the first ages, by the throne of worldly dominion."[1]

The topics here referred to will be treated, in their own places, further on. Meanwhile, let us briefly examine what Catholics actually believe about the spiritual supremacy of Saint Peter and his successors in the See of Rome, and the reasons, or proofs, on which that doctrine is based.

The Catholic belief is, that Saint Peter was not only the head of the College of Apostles, but the divinely constituted chief pastor of the Universal Church; and that the Bishop of Rome is Peter's successor, and, as such, possesses the same authority and jurisdiction as that Apostle received from Christ; and that all the faithful, without exception, owe him veneration, and obedience in matters spiritual.

The divinely conferred authority and jurisdiction of Saint Peter over the Universal Church are proved, according to Catholic doctrine, in the following passages of Holy Scripture.

[1] "History of the Church," period the second, chap. v. sec. 3. These words of Dr. Döllinger have peculiar interest, owing to the antagonistic position to the Holy See, which that learned divine has unfortunately taken up since they were written.

In the sixteenth chapter of Saint Matthew, verses 16–19, we read, that, when Peter confessed the Divinity of Christ, our Lord said to him, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but My Father, who is in heaven. And I say to thee: That thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven."[1]

Again, in the twenty-second chapter of Saint Luke, verses 29–32, we read, that our Lord said to His Apostles: "And I appoint to you, as My Father hath appointed to Me, a kingdom: That you may eat and drink at My table, in My kingdom: and may sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. And the Lord said: Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat: But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren." Here,

[1] The full meaning of the text will be best understood in the original, the Syro-Chaldaic, in which our Lord spoke, and which was the common language of the Jews at the time. It had superseded the old Hebrew, and is called Hebrew in the New Testament, as well as by several ancient writers. According to Papias, Origen, Saint Irenæus, Eusebius, Saint Jerome, Saint Epiphanius, and other Fathers Saint Matthew wrote his Gospel in this language. In it, Peter and rock are expressed by the same word, Cephas; as, in the French, we have, "Tu es *Pierre*, et sur cette *pierre* je bâtirai mon église." Saint Luke and Saint John wrote their Gospels in Greek, while Saint Mark, who wrote his at Rome, under the eye of Saint Peter, is supposed by some to have written in Latin; but more probably he used Greek, which language was quite familiar to the Romans. The Evangelists who wrote in Greek translate Cephas into Πέτρος, from πέτρα, a rock, as the Latins write *Petrus* from *petra*—the word for rock, in both languages, being feminine, whilst in the Syro-Chaldaic, as we have seen, there is no such difference of termination. This subject is largely treated in the learned work already referred to—"Eutychius Vindicatus, pars altera De Origine Nominis Papæ et ejusdem Primatu," by Abraham Ecchelensis, pp. 192–209.

the Divine Founder of the Church alludes to the persecutions and dangers that the powers of darkness would raise up against her, and the various schisms and heresies that would exist from time to time; and He then individually addresses Peter—the rock on which He will build His Church, and to whom He will give the keys of the kingdom of Heaven—and He says to him; "But I have prayed for *thee*, that *thy* faith fail not: and *thou*, being once converted, confirm thy brethren."

Thus far, we have the promises of our Lord to Peter. They had reference altogether to the future. They were to take effect after the Resurrection, when Peter was to be exalted to the high office and dignity of Visible Head of the Church, and Vicar of Jesus Christ.

As admitted by all divines, non-Catholic as well as Catholic, Peter, in the lifetime of our Lord on earth, held a precedency of rank, and was the first, or chief, of the College of Apostles. In this we must recognise the design of God, preparing "the great Apostle" for the primacy which he was to enjoy after the Ascension. When Peter was introduced to Christ by his brother Andrew, "Jesus, looking at him, said: Thou art Simon the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is interpreted Peter."[1] Why He so named the Apostle, our Lord subsequently explained, in the passage already quoted from the Gospel of Saint Matthew, when He told him, that he was the rock on which He would build His Church. When Christ gave power to His twelve disciples to cast out unclean spirits, and to heal all manner of diseases and all manner of sicknesses, Peter is enumerated, in the Gospel, as "the first"—*πρῶτος Σίμων ὁ λεγόμενος Πέτρος*.[2] Indeed, in naming the Apostles, the Evangelists, in every instance, place Peter first, the names of the others being placed indifferently, save that of Judas, which is always given last. Moreover, in the New

[1] John i. 42. [2] Matt. x. 1, 2.

Testament, we frequently meet with such expressions as "Peter and the rest," "Peter and the Apostles."

It is unnecessary to dwell, at length, on the several other occasions on which this precedency of order or rank was enjoyed by Peter, and all which prefigured, and prepared the way for, the primacy of authority and jurisdiction which he was afterwards to enjoy. It was Peter whom Christ commanded to walk to Him upon the waters, and stretched out His hand to support, when, overcome by fear, he was about to sink.[1] It was from the bark of Peter that Christ taught the multitudes, on the shore of the Lake of Genesareth.[2] It was Peter whom he commanded to launch out into the deep, and let down his nets; resulting in the miraculous draught of fishes—typical of the conversion of multitudes to the faith;[3] and it was to Peter He said, "Fear not; thou shalt henceforward catch men."[4] For Peter, He paid tribute as well as for Himself.[5] Of His Transfiguration, Peter was the principal witness;[6] and when by Peter, James, and John, He was accompanied to the Garden of Gethsemane, and found them sleeping while He prayed, He addressed His reproof of the three to one—the principal person—saying, "Simon, sleepest thou? Couldst thou not watch with me one hour?"[7] Then, after His Resurrection, He appeared to Peter before the rest of the Apostles,[8] having previously sent to Peter in particular the news of His being risen.[9]

The lively faith of Peter, too, was pre-eminently manifested on several occasions, on which we find him speaking with decision and authority, not for himself alone, but for all the Apostles, who silently acquiesce in his words. In the notable instance already referred to, we have it on the authority of our Saviour himself,

[1] Matt. xiv. 28–31. [2] Luke v. 3. [3] Luke v. 4.
[4] Luke v. 10. [5] Matt. xvii. 23–26. [6] Matt. xvii. 1–4.
[7] Matt. xxvi. 37–40; Mark xiv. 33–37.
[8] 1 Cor. xv. 5; Luke xxiv. 34. [9] Mark xvi. 7.

that Peter's clear vision and knowledge of His divinity was a special revelation of the Eternal Father[1]—a revelation evidently made to him, as the Prince of the Apostles, as the rock on which the Church was to be built, as the future key-bearer of Heaven, and visible Head of the Church, after its Divine Founder should have ceased to dwell upon earth. Another striking example was, when some of the disciples, scandalized at the doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist, deserted Jesus, and He "said to the twelve: Will you also go away? And Simon Peter answered Him: Lord to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we have believed and have known that Thou art the Christ the Son of God."[2] Here, indeed, was one well suited to rule and teach the flock of his Divine Master, to preserve its unity, and to maintain and propagate the truth revealed by Him.

Immediately after the Resurrection, our Lord's promises to Peter were fulfilled. For Jesus, on manifesting himself, the third time, to His disciples, after He was risen from the dead, constituted Peter pastor of His whole flock. "When therefore they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter: Simon son of John, lovest thou Me more than these? He saith to Him: Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith to him: Feed my lambs. He saith to him again: Simon son of John, lovest thou Me? He saith to Him: Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith to him: Feed my lambs. He saith to him, the third time: Simon son of John, lovest thou Me? Peter was grieved, because He had said to him, the third time, Lovest thou Me? And he saith to Him: Lord, Thou knowest all things: Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith to him: Feed my sheep."[3]

[1] Matt. xvi. 16–19. [2] John vi.

[3] John xxi. 15–17. The original Greek in this important text is given in several ancient MSS., as Βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου: Ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου: βόσκε τὰ πρόβατά μου. The Latin Vulgate however has:

It is true that all the Apostles, in common with Peter, were invested by Christ with the dignity and powers of the priesthood, of the episcopate, and of the apostolate. From Him they all received the power of binding and loosing—of remitting and retaining sins; the power of consecration in the holy sacrifice; and the power of ordaining priests and bishops. Conformably with His promise, they were all replenished with the gifts of the Holy Ghost. By Him, they were commissioned to teach all nations. As His Father sent Him, so He sent them. But to Peter alone He said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church;" to Peter alone He promised that He would give to him the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and, further, that He would pray for *him*, that *his* faith should fail not, so that *he*, being once converted, should confirm his brethren. Finally, on Peter, and on him exclusively, He conferred the plenitude of power and jurisdiction, commissioning him to feed His lambs, and

Pasce agnos meos; Pasce agnos meos; Pasce oves meas. Hence the Rheims Version, which is a translation of the Vulgate, runs thus: "Feed my lambs;" "Feed my lambs;" "Feed my sheep." The Authorized Version of the Church of England is the same, save that it reads "sheep" for "lambs," in the second part: but the Revised Version, just published, differs from both, in reading "*Tend* my sheep," in the second instance, which appears to be the more accurate translation; but, even so, it is insufficient. The Greek, Ποίμαινε, is literally, "Be a shepherd to my sheep;" that is, "not only feed them, but tend them, take care of them, rule them, govern them." Thus, in Saint Matthew, chapter ii., verse 6, we read, in the Rheims Version: "And thou, Bethlehem, the land of Juda, art not the least of the princes of Juda: for out of thee shall come forth the captain that shall rule My people Israel." Here the word translated "shall *rule*" is ποιμανεῖ. The rendering of the Revised Version is: "For out of thee shall come forth a governor, which shall *be the shepherd of* My people Israel." In Homer, we find the same word applied to temporal rulers, where kings are styled ποιμένες λαῶν, "the shepherds of the people." Manifestly, Ποίμαινε, while it comprises, means much more than, *βόσκε*. It may be well to state here, that the English versions of the Holy Scriptures which I follow in this book are, that of the Old Testament first published by the English College of Douai, A.D. 1609, and that of the New Testament first published by the English College of Rheims, A.D. 1582.

to feed His sheep—to rule and teach His entire flock, pastors and people, as the one Supreme Pastor of all.

The Catholic belief therefore is, that when the other Apostles (themselves commissioned to teach all nations) transmitted their full power and authority to the bishops, in whom the apostolate is continued, there was this difference, that whereas the authority of the Apostles was not confined to any particular place, but extended itself to all parts of the globe, to which they might be led by their universal mission, the authority of the bishops was limited to their several districts or dioceses; whilst, on the other hand, Saint Peter transmitted to his successor in the See of Rome, not only the Apostolic office, but all the paramount power and privileges, and all the supreme jurisdiction over the Universal Church, with which he himself had been endowed by Christ.

Of this supreme power and jurisdiction over the Universal Church, conferred by our Lord on Saint Peter, and by him transmitted to his successors in the See of Rome, the Keys are the symbol. In the book of Isaias, we find the following words dictated by "the Lord God of hosts," to be addressed to Sobna, on his deposition from the office of high priest, and the elevation of Eliacim thereto in his stead: "And I will drive thee out from thy station, and depose thee from thy ministry. And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will call My servant Eliacim the son of Helcias, And I will clothe him with thy robe, and will strengthen him with thy girdle, and will give thy power into his hand: and he shall be as a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the house of Juda. And I will lay the key of the house of David upon his shoulder: and he shall open, and none shall shut: and he shall shut, and none shall open."[1] In the Apocalypse, the same words are applied to Our Saviour; viz. "These things saith the Holy One and the True One, He that hath the key of David; He that openeth, and no man shutteth;

[1] Isa. xxii. 19–22.

shutteth, and no man openeth."[1] "By the keys given to Peter, we understand the supreme power over the whole Church;" says Cardinal Bellarmin.[2]

That Peter began forthwith to exercise the duties of his exalted office, we find recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, chapter i., verses 13–26; when, immediately after the Ascension, A.D. 29,[3] in the midst of the assembly of the Apostles and disciples, persevering with one accord in prayer, to the number of about one hundred and twenty, Mary the Mother of Jesus being present, Peter rose up, and called on them to elect a successor to Judas; and so Matthias was numbered with the eleven. Next, after the Descent of the Holy Ghost, Peter, standing up with the eleven, was the first to preach to the Jews, and to announce to them the Resurrection of Jesus Christ: and they, having heard him, "had compunction in their heart, and they said to Peter and to the rest of the Apostles: what shall we do, men and brethren? But Peter said to them: Do penance, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of your sins: and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost."[4] And we further read, that, with a great many other words, did Peter

[1] Apoc. iii. 7.

[2] "Per claves datas Petro intelligimus summam potestatem in omnem ecclesiam" (Bellarmin, "De Pontifice," i. 3).

[3] The Christian or Vulgar Era is by some considered to have commenced with the Birth of our Lord; but the more general and more probable opinion fixes its commencement four years later; that is, four years and seven days after the Nativity. I adopt the latter reckoning, throughout this book. Accordingly, with most authorities, I take, as a starting point, the year 29, as the year of the Crucifixion of our Lord; that is the fifteenth and sixteenth year of Tiberius, from the death of Augustus—the Consuls being Lucius Rubellius Geminus and Caius Fufius Geminus. For the chronology of Saints Peter and Paul, all through, I rely principally on Constantius's "Annales SS. Petri et Pauli," which form a valuable sequel to Cardinal Cortesius's able work, "De Romano Itinere Gestisque Principis Apostolorum Libri Duo," both published in one volume, Rome, 1770. I am also indebted to Fogginius, "De Romano Divi Petri Itinere et Episcopatu," Florence 1741.

[4] Acts ii. 14 et seq.; A.D. 29.

testify and exhort them, and that they that received his word were baptized, and that there were added to them in that day about three thousand souls.[1]

Next, we find Peter performing the first miracle wrought by the Apostles after the Ascension (in the cure of the man lame from his birth), and preaching to the people in the porch of the Temple;[2] and many of them who had heard the word believed; and the number of the men was made five thousand.[3] And, on the following day, the same Apostle, filled with the Holy Ghost, addressed the rulers, ancients, and scribes, gathered together in Jerusalem, and preached to them Jesus of Nazareth, crucified by them, and raised by God from the dead.[4] By Peter also were Ananias and Sapphira judged and condemned.[5] And, when by the hands of the Apostles many signs and wonders were wrought among the people, "the multitude of men and women, that believed in the Lord, was more increased; insomuch that they brought out the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that, when Peter came, his shadow, at the least, might overshadow any of them, and they might be delivered from their infirmities."[6]

When Simon Magus offered money to the Apostles, asking them to impart to him the power of conferring the Holy Ghost by the imposition of hands, it was Peter who replied, rebuking him and exhorting him to penance.[7]

Next, when "the Church had peace throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria; and was edified, walking in the fear of the Lord, and was filled with the consolation of the Holy Ghost," we read of Peter, "as

[1] Acts ii. 40, 41.
[2] Acts iii.
[3] Acts iv. 4.
[4] Acts iv. 8–12.
[5] Acts v. 1–10; A.D. 30.
[6] Acts. v. 12–15; A.D. 30.
[7] Acts viii. 18–23; A.D. 31. Hence, the crime of buying or selling ecclesiastical preferment, or the corrupt presentation of any one to an ecclesiastical benefice for money or reward, is called Simony.

he passed through, visiting all."[1] At Lydda, he healed Æneas, who had lain on his bed eight years, ill of the palsy; "and all that dwelt at Lydda and Saron saw him; and they were converted to the Lord:"[2] and at Joppe he raised Tabitha from the dead, on which many believed in the Lord.[3]

As Peter was the first to preach Christ Crucified to the Jews; so was he the first to open the Church to the Gentiles. For we read, that Cornelius the Centurion, a Gentile, was admonished by an angel to send for Peter, who received him into the Church — Peter having learned, in a vision, and by an order from heaven, that Gentiles, as well as Jews, were to be received.[4] The call of the Gentiles to the faith having been questioned by some of the brethren of the Circumcision assembled at Jerusalem, Peter, on his arrival there, addressed them, defending the doctrine; and they, at once, bowed submissively to his decision; for the inspired writer tells us, that, "when they had heard these things, *they held their peace*, and glorified God, saying; God then hath also to the Gentiles given repentance unto life."[5]

With reference to this passage, a learned Protestant writer judiciously observes:—

> The Jews had, for several ages, conceived a radicated and inveterate prejudice against the Gentiles. Indeed the Law of Moses commanded them to be peculiarly kind to their own nation; and the rites and institution of their religion, and the peculiar form of their commonwealth made them different from the fashion of other countries; a separation which in after times they drew into a narrower compass. Besides, they were mightily puffed up with their external privileges, that they were the seed of Abraham, the people whom God had peculiarly chosen for Himself, above all other nations of the world, and therefore with a lofty scorn proudly rejected the Gentiles as dogs and repro-

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[1] Acts ix. 31, 32; A.D. 34.
[2] Acts ix. 33-35; A.D. 34.
[3] Acts ix. 36-42; A.D. 34.
[4] Acts x.; A.D. 35.
[5] Acts xi.; A.D. 36.

bates, utterly refusing to show them any office of common kindness and converse.[1]

Hence, their immediate "holding their peace," on this occasion, their ready submission to the authority of Peter, their sacrificing their "radicated and inveterate prejudices against the Gentiles" to the duty of prompt obedience to his teaching, are all the more striking; and present a remarkable illustration of how, in the infancy of the Church, the Prince of the Apostles exercised, unquestioned, that primacy of authority and jurisdiction, which is challenged for him and his successors in the Apostolic See, by all the early Fathers, and Catholic Christians in all times.

Naturally, the hostility of the unconverted Jews was very strong against the infant Church, and especially against its most prominent member. Therefore, with a view to please them, Herod Agrippa caused Peter to be apprehended, and lodged in prison, delivering him to four files of soldiers, for safe custody, and intending, after the Pasch, to bring him forth to the people. On this, we read that "prayer was made, without ceasing, by the Church unto God for him," its visible head and chief teacher; and those prayers were heard, and an angel of the Lord was sent, to strike off his chains and deliver him from captivity.[2]

Immediately after this, took place the dispersion of the Apostles;[3] when Saint Peter, "as the head and prince of the Apostolic Senate," entered Rome, to erect there, in the sight of the world, the standard of the Cross, and to form out of the metropolis of the Empire the capital of Christ's spiritual kingdom, the Primatial See, and the centre of Ecclesiastical Unity.[4]

[1] "Antiquitates Apostolicæ," by William Cave, D.D., p. 31. London, 1684. Doctor William Cave, a celebrated English divine, was born in 1637, and was educated in Saint John's College, Cambridge. He was chaplain to Charles II., and a canon of Windsor. He was the author of several learned ecclesiastical works. He died in 1713.

[2] Acts xii. A.D. 41. [3] A.D. 41, 42.

[4] Cuccagni, "Vita di S. Pietro, Principe degli Apostoli," vol. iii. p.

In the beginning of the year 49, on the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by the Emperor Claudius,[1] Saint Peter, being compelled to leave the Imperial city, returned to the East. At that time, certain persons, who had come down from Judea to Antioch, taught the doctrine, that the Gentiles entering the Church should be circumcised, after the manner of Moses; and the Apostles Paul and Barnabas had no small contest with them, and in vain endeavoured to convince them of their error. Then the question was referred to the Apostles and priests at Jerusalem, "Paul and Barnabas and certain others of the other side" being deputed to attend before them. "And the Apostles and ancients assembled to consider this matter; and when there had been much disputing, Peter, rising up, said to them: Men, brethren, you know that in former days God made choice among us, that by my mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the Gospel, and believe. And God, who knoweth the hearts, gave testimony, giving unto them the Holy Ghost, as well as to us; and put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith. Now therefore why tempt you God to put a yoke upon the necks of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear? But by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we believe to be saved, in like manner as they also." On this, "all the multitude held their peace," continues the inspired writer. No more contest—no more disputing—all bowed to the authority of Peter. Then Paul and Barnabas were attentively heard, telling what great signs and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them; and James followed, quoting the Prophets

5, Roma, 1781. This important event in the life of Saint Peter will be treated, in its own place, further on.

[1] Acts xviii. 2; Suetonius, "In Claudio," cap. 24 (alias 25); Orosius, "Historiarum," vii. 6. Fogginius, in his learned work, "De Romano Divi Petri Itinere et Episcopatu," pages 112, 123, 124, says, that Saint Peter left Rome for Jerusalem in the beginning of the ninth year of Claudius, and the nineteenth year from the Passion of our Lord.

in support of the doctrine laid down by Peter; and expressed his opinion, that letters in accordance therewith should be written to the Gentiles by whom they had been consulted. On this, the council deputed Judas, surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, to accompany Paul and Barnabas back to Antioch, and transmitted by them its decree or decision, commencing with the words, "It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us"—a formula significant of the Divine aid promised to the Church through all days to the end of the world.[1]

Speaking of the decision of the Council of Jerusalem, Saint Jerome styles Peter "the chief or principal of this decree;" and states that, "beyond all doubt, he was the first author of this opinion (or sentence)"—namely, "that, after the Gospel, the Law is not to be observed;" and he further says, that "the Apostle James and all the elders with him acquiesced in Peter's opinion (or sentence)."[2] To the same effect are the observations of Tertullian and other Fathers.

Notwithstanding this, some Protestant commentators infer, from the attribution, in the sacred narrative, of the word *κρίνω*, "I judge," to Saint James, that he, and not Saint Peter, presided at this council. But *κρίνω*, or, as it is translated in the Vulgate, *judico*, means no less "I think," or "I am of opinion," and is constantly used in this sense.[3] Besides, the leading part taken by

[1] Acts xv. A.D. 49.

[2] Saint Jerome, "Epistola xlv., alias xi.;" "Principem hujus decreti." "Nulli ergo dubium est, quod Petrus Apostolus sententiæ hujus . . . primus auctor extiterit; *i.e.* legem post Evangelium non esse servandam:" and "Epistola lxxxix., ad Augustinum;" "In sententiam ejus Jacobus Apostolus omnesque simul presbyteri transierunt."

[3] "Verbum 'judico' frequenter in significatione usurpatur, ut idem sit quod sentio seu opinor." Canus, "Locorum Theologicorum," l. vi., c. 8. Melchior Cano, or Canus, the learned Bishop of the Canaries, flourished A.D. 1523–1560. His principal works are "Prælectiones de Pœnitentia," "de Sacramentis," and "Locorum Theologicorum libri xii.," above quoted.

Saint Peter on the occasion, and the prompt acquiescence in his decision of all the disputants, who thereupon "held their peace," and listened submissively to Paul and Barnabas, whose doctrine they had previously contested, all prove, that not only was Saint Peter the head and director of that assembly, but that all silently bowed to his teaching.

Even, as in our day, when Peter's successor speaks for all, in his official capacity—*ex cathedrâ*—and is reverentially heard, all over the Catholic world.

The accounts in Holy Writ of the intercourse between Saints Peter and Paul, although scanty, are of peculiar interest. It is generally agreed upon, that Saint Paul's conversion and call to the Apostolate must have taken place A.D. 31–32, of the Vulgar Era, or between two and three years after the Passion of our Lord. Three years after that, as he himself tells us, Saint Paul went to Jerusalem, to see[1] Peter, and stayed with him fifteen days, but of the other Apostles he saw[2] none, save James the brother of the Lord.[3] "He goes up to him," says Saint John Chrysostom, "as to a superior and a senior."[4] "It was meet," says Saint Ambrose, "that he should desire to see Peter, because he was the first among the Apostles, and to him the Lord had delegated the care of the Churches."[5]

Fourteen years later, A.D. 49, Saints Peter and Paul met at the Council of Jerusalem.[6] About this time, Peter went to Antioch, and there Saint Paul reproved him for withdrawing from the table of the converted

[1] The word here used, in the Greek, *ἱστορῆσαι*, means much more than "to see"—viz. "to know," "to become acquainted with." Hence *ἱστορία*, "history."

[2] The term here is simply *εἶδον*, "saw."

[3] Gal. i. 18, 19. A.D. 35.

[4] "In cap. i. Epist. ad Galat."

[5] Ibid. "Dignum fuit ut cuperet videre Petrum, quia primus erat inter Apostolos, cui delegaverat Salvator curam ecclesiarum." This Commentary, formerly considered the work of Saint Ambrose, is latterly attributed to his cotemporary, Ambrosiaster.

[6] Gal. ii. 1. A.D. 49.

Gentiles, lest he should give offence to the Jewish converts.[1]

That to which Saint Paul took exception was a matter, not of faith, but of conduct. It was simply an act of condescension on the part of Peter. "Clearly," says Tertullian, "Paul reproved him, not for any other reason than the change in his mode of living, which he varied according to the condition of persons, fearing those who were of the circumcision; and not for any perversion of religion."[2] Saint Cyprian, admiring the humility of Peter on this occasion, observes: "Peter, whom the Lord elected first, and on whom He built His Church, when Paul disputed afterwards with him about circumcision, did not vindicate his own rights proudly or arrogantly, as though he said that he held the Primacy, and should be obeyed by those who were his juniors and inferiors; neither did he despise Paul because he had formerly been a persecutor of the Church; but he admitted the counsel of truth, and readily acquiesced in the legitimate reason adduced by Paul, affording us, truly, an example of concord and patience, that we should not be obstinately attached to our own ideas, but that we should rather make our own those things which are sometimes usefully and wholesomely suggested by our brethren and colleagues, provided they be true and lawful."[3] "Behold," says Saint

[1] Gal. ii. 11–21. A.D. 49. Some of the Fathers and some modern writers think that the Cephas here mentioned by Saint Paul was not Saint Peter, but a disciple named Cephas. Père Hardouin, in a learned dissertation, written in 1709, supports this view. He argues that, whereas Saint Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians, calls Saint Peter "Peter," in chapter i., verse 18, and also in chapter ii., verses 7 and 8, it is very unlikely he would call him Cephas in verses 9 and 11 of the same chapter ii. However the great majority of the Fathers and other writers are of opinion that the Cephas here mentioned is Saint Peter.

[2] Tertullian, l. v. contra Marcion., c. iii. "Plane reprehendit: non ob aliud, tamen, quam ob inconstantiam victus, quem pro personarum qualitate variabat, timens eos qui erant ex circumcisione, non ob aliquam divinitatis perversitatem."

[3] Cyprian, "Ad Quintum," Epist. lxxi. "Nec Petrus, quem primum

Gregory the Great, "he is reproved by his inferior, and he is not impatient of the reproof: he does not remind him that he has received the keys of the kingdom of heaven."[1]

Here, the Prince of the Apostles simply carried out, in practice, that personal humility, and that exemplary moderation, which are sometimes such valuable qualities in those who govern others—qualities which, in his First Epistle, he inculcates on bishops, whom, as bishop of bishops, and visible head of the Church, he paternally exhorts to feed the flock of God, taking care of it, not by constraint, but willingly according to God, not lording it over the clergy, but being made a pattern from the heart; so that, when the Prince of Pastors shall appear, they may receive a never-fading crown of glory.[2]

In reading the above-quoted passages of the New Testament, however obvious may be their import, the Catholic does not interpret them by his own lights only; but is guided by the authority of the Church, which, from the earliest ages, as we shall presently see, has held the doctrine of the supreme jurisdiction of Peter, conferred on him by our Lord, and by him transmitted to his successors in the See of Rome.

Should some of my readers, who may not have studied the question, take the trouble to consult the works of certain leading Protestant divines, they will be in no small degree surprised at the large concessions therein made to the Catholic doctrine of the Supremacy or Primacy of Saint Peter.

Of these writers, it will be sufficient to quote one—the learned Doctor Barrow,[3] who has argued so ably

Dominus elegit, et super quem ædificavit Ecclesiam suam, cum secum Paulus postmodum de circumcisione decerptaret, vindicavit sibi aliquid insolenter, aut arroganter assumpsit, ut diceret se primatum tenere, et obtemperari a novellis et posteris sibi potius oportere:" etc.

[1] L. ii. in Ezech. hom. xviii. [2] 1 Peter v. 1–4.

[3] Isaac Barrow, D.D. This eminent scholar and divine was born in London in 1630. After three years at the Charter House public

and exhaustively on the subject. Although his treatise is written to controvert the Catholic doctrine, he frankly admits Saint Peter's *primacy of worth*, his *primacy of repute*, and his *primacy of order or bare dignity;* whilst he denies his *primacy of jurisdiction.*[1] Having adduced several instances of his personal endowments, capacity, zeal, and affection for our Lord, in which "he did exceed" and "outshine" the rest of the Apostles, he observes:—

> Upon these premises, we may well admit that Saint Peter had a *primacy of worth;* or that in personal accomplishments he was most eminent among the twelve Apostles. . . . This is the primacy which Eusebius attributeth to him, when he calleth him "the excellent and great Apostle, who for his virtue was the prolocutor of the rest."[2]
>
> As to a *primacy of repute;* . . . this advantage cannot be refused him; being a necessary consequent of those eminent qualities resplendent in him, and of the illustrious performances achieved by him beyond the rest.
>
> This may be inferred from that advantageous renown which he hath had propagated from the beginning to all posterity.
>
> This at least those elogies of the fathers (styling him the chief, prince, head of the Apostles) do signify.

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school, he was admitted a pensioner of Saint Peter's College, and subsequently of Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1660, he was appointed Greek professor in that University. In 1662, he was named to a congenial post—the professorship of Geometry in Gresham College; and, two years later, he was chosen the first professor of the new chair of Mathematics, founded by the executors of Mr. Lucas. In 1669, Dr. Barrow resigned this appointment, in favour of his illustrious pupil, Sir Isaac Newton; and thenceforward devoted himself exclusively to theological studies. In 1670, he was made Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, in succession to Dr. Pearson, appointed Bishop of Chester, and in 1675 he became Vice-Chancellor of the University. Doctor Barrow was chaplain to Charles II., who used to speak of him as "the most learned man in England." He was the author of several mathematical treatises, and of several learned theological works. He died in 1677, in his forty-seventh year.

[1] "A Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy," "The Theological Works of Isaac Barrow, D.D.," vol. vii. pp. 64, 65, 67. Oxford University Press, 1830.

[2] Τὸν καρτερὸν καὶ μέγαν τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὸν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων προηγορον (Eusebius, "Hist. Eccles.," ii. 14).

This also may be collected from his being so constantly ranked in the first place before the rest of his brethren.

As to a *primacy of order or bare dignity*, importing that, commonly, in all meetings and proceedings, the other Apostles did yield him the precedence, the προηγορία, or privilege of speaking first (whether in propounding matters for debate, or in delivering his advice), in the conduct and moderation of affairs, . . . this primacy may be granted, as probable, upon divers accounts of use and convenience; it might be useful to preserve order and to promote expedition; or to prevent confusion, distraction, and dilatory obstruction in the management of things; yea, to maintain concord, and to exclude that ambition or affectation to be foremost, which is natural to men.[1]

Here, we are furnished by Doctor Barrow with a strong argument in favour of the primacy which Catholics attribute to the Chair of Peter, in all ages; for, if such were necessary in the Apostolic times, "to preserve order and to promote expedition, or to prevent confusion, distraction, and dilatory obstruction in the management of things; yea, to maintain concord," surely much more would it be necessary as the Church became developed, and gradually extended itself to the utmost bounds of the earth. And so it manifestly entered into the designs of God, when He established His Church, that it should ever have a centre of unity, a principle of concord, a visible Head, whom all Catholics recognize in the successor of Saint Peter in the Apostolic See.

For this, a primacy of *worth*, of *repute*, of *order or bare dignity*, would never suffice; a primacy of *authority and jurisdiction* is required—that primacy which unites more than two hundred millions of Catholic Christians in one common faith, all professing the same tenets, without "change or shadow of alteration," all reverently turning towards the Successor of Saint Peter, as their Father and Teacher in matters spiritual—as Christ's Vicar on earth, and the Visible Head of the Church.

[1] "The Theological Works of Isaac Barrow, D.D.," vol. vii. pp. 64–66.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY FATHERS ON THE PRIMACY OF PETER.

"Ubi ergo Petrus, ibi Ecclesia." [1]—SAINT AMBROSE.

THE writings of the early Fathers on the Primacy of Saint Peter and his successors in the Apostolic Chair constitute an interesting and valuable chapter in Ecclesiastical history. The impartial reader by whom they are carefully perused will not hesitate to admit, that the doctrine of the Primacy was firmly maintained and emphatically taught by those venerable men; and, at the same time, he must be impressed by the evidence, thus afforded, of the Catholic, or universal, belief in that doctrine, in the early ages of Christianity.

We have seen how the Primacy was conferred by our Lord on the Prince of the Apostles, and exercised by him in the Apostolic times, as recorded in Holy Scripture. We shall now see, by the tradition of the Church, in the writings of the Fathers, and other authentic ancient documents, how it was recognized and honoured in Peter and his successors, by the hearers of the Apostles, and generations immediately succeeding, and, again, by their successors; and how it gradually grew and developed itself, with the growth and development of the Church: so that, as Peter's words were reverentially heard and obeyed, when the faithful dwelt within a small area in Palestine, and numbered between three and four thousand souls,[2] the

[1] "For where Peter is, there is the Church." [2] Acts ii.

voice of his successor, in our day, is listened to, with equal reverence and obedience, by Catholic Christians of every tongue and tribe and people, in all parts of the globe.

Tertullian,[1] one of the most ancient Latin Ecclesiastical authors, writes as follows, towards the close of the second century:—

Was anything hidden from Peter, who was called the rock on which the Church was to be built, who obtained the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the power of loosing and binding, in heaven and on earth?[2]

And again:—

If thou thinkest that heaven is still closed, remember that the Lord left the keys thereof here to Peter, and through him to the Church.[3]

The same writer, after his lapse into heresy, declaiming against Pope Zephyrinus,[4] for condemning the doctrine that sins of adultery and fornication were unpardonable, says:—

I hear also that an edict has been published, and indeed a peremptory one; to wit, the Supreme Pontiff, that is, the Bishop of Bishops, proclaims: "I remit the sins of adultery and fornication to those who have done penance."[5]

Here we have evidence, and, coming from a hostile source, it is the more valuable, that, in the beginning of the third century, the successor of Saint Peter was known as the Supreme Pontiff and the Bishop of

[1] Tertullian was born of Roman parents at Carthage, A.D. 160. About the year 195, he became a convert to Christianity. Shortly afterwards, he was ordained a priest, and wrote his celebrated Apology for the Christians. In 204 he visited Rome. The following year he lapsed into the heresy of Montanus. He died in 245.

[2] "Liber de Præscriptionibus," cap. xxii. [3] "Scorpiace," n. 10.

[4] Saint Zephyrinus presided over the Church, A.D. 202–219.

[5] "Liber de Pudicitia," cap. i. "Audio etiam edictum esse propositum, et quidem peremptorium; Pontifex scilicet Maximus, quod est Episcopus Episcoporum, edicit: 'Ego et mœchiæ, et fornicationis delicta pœnitentia functis dimitto.'" Tertullian wrote this book, "De Pudicitia," against the Pope's edict.

Bishops, and, as such, exercised the authority of his sacred office, and maintained the true doctrine against those who, thus early, had, through heresy, separated themselves from the Church. The Pope's edict was ordered by His Holiness to be read in the Church, and was so read and proclaimed, as was the Epistle of Pope Clement over a hundred years before.[1] Of this Tertullian, in no measured language, complains.[2]

Writing a few years later, Origen[3] says:—

When the supreme authority as regards feeding the sheep was delivered to Peter, and upon him, as upon a rock, was founded the Church, the confession of no other virtue than charity was required of him.[4]

Saint Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage,[5] writing about the middle of the third century, speaks as follows of Saint Peter's confession of faith:—

There speaketh Peter, on whom the Church was built, in the

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[1] For Pope Clement's Epistle, see Index, "Clement."

[2] Tertullian, "Liber de Pudicitia." "Sed hæc in Ecclesia legitur, et in Ecclesia pronuntiatur, et virgo est? Absit, absit a sponsa Christi tale præconium."

[3] Origen, a writer of profound learning, was born at Alexandria, in the year 185. He was the pupil of Clement of Alexandria, and, like his master, taught in the Christian school of that city. On account of his untiring labours and voluminous writings, he was surnamed *Adamantius*, Indefatigable. He was ordained priest by Theoctistus, Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, A.D. 230; and laboured successfully, in confuting heresies, and reclaiming those who had fallen away from the Church. Several of his pupils became illustrious prelates and champions of religion. Origen was accused of errors in his writings, out of which he appears to have risen speedily. This, unhappily, was not the case with his followers, called Origenists. In the Papacy of Zephyrinus, Origen visited Rome, to gratify his anxiety to see that most ancient Church. About the year 248, he sent his written profession of faith to Pope Fabian; and, later in the same year, he visited Rome, to confer with the Pope. He died at Tyre in 254, aged sixty-nine.

[4] Origen, "In Epist. ad. Rom.," cap. vi. lib. 5.

[5] Saint Cyprian was consecrated Bishop of Carthage, A.D. 248, and suffered martyrdom in the persecution under Valerian and Gallienus; A.D. 258. His works are numerous and valuable. His controversy with Saint Stephen, Pope, about the validity of baptism conferred by heretics, will be noticed further on. See Index, "Cyprian."

name of the Church, teaching and showing that, although the contumacious and proud multitude of those unwilling to believe should depart, the Church notwithstanding does not withdraw from Christ: and they are the Church, the people united to the priest, the flock adhering to its pastor. Whence you ought to know that the Bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the Bishop.[1]

Again, writing to Saint Cornelius, Pope,[2] he says:—

Peter, however, on whom the Church was built by our Lord, one speaking for all, and answering with the voice of the Church, says: "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life."[3]

The next extract is from the same Father's book on the Unity of the Church; and is a clear and emphatic argument in support of the Primacy, on which that Unity is based. In commending it to the attention of the reader, it may be well to remind him that it was written more than sixteen centuries ago.

The Lord speaks to Peter. "I say to thee," He says, "that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven." And again He says to him, after His Resurrection: "Feed my sheep." *Upon that one He builds His Church, and, to him He commits His sheep, to be fed.* And, although after His Resurrection He gives to all the Apostles equal power, and says, "As the Father hath sent Me I also send you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins you remit, they are remitted them: whose sins you retain, they shall be retained," yet, that He might manifest unity, He established one chair; and He disposed by His authority the origin of the same unity, which begins from one.[4]

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[1] Cyprian, "Ad Florent.," Epist. 69.

[2] Saint Cornelius, a Roman, governed the Church, from June 4, 251, to September 14, 252.

[3] Cyprian, "Ad Cornelium," Epist. 55.

[4] "*Super unum illum ædificat Ecclesiam suam, et illi pascendas mandat oves suas.* Et quamvis Apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam, parem potestatem tribuat et dicat, 'Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos: Accipite Spiritum Sanctum: Si cui remiseritis peccata,

Certainly the other Apostles were what Peter was, being endowed with equal participation of honour and power; but the beginning proceeds from unity. *The Primacy is given to Peter, that the Church of Christ may be shown to be one, and the chair one.*[1] And all are pastors, but the flock is shown to be one, which is fed by all the Apostles, with unanimous accord. . . . Does he who does not hold this unity of the Church believe that he holds the faith? Does he who strives against and resists the Church, *who deserts the Chair of Peter, on which the Church is founded, trust that he is in the Church?*[2]

The celebrated treatise on the Unity of the Church, from which these words are taken, was written by Saint Cyprian about the year 252, against Novatian, the first anti-pope, who sought to usurp the place of Saint Cornelius.[3] In a letter addressed to Antonianus,

remittuntur illi; si cui retinueritis, retinebuntur:' tamen, ut unitatem manifestaret, unam cathedram constituit, et unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem, suâ auctoritate disposuit."

[1] "*Primatus Petro datur, ut una Christi Ecclesia, et cathedra una monstretur.*" These words of Saint Cyprian are quoted by Pope Pelagius II., in his second Epistle to the bishops of Istria, A.D. 581. See Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," vii. 678.

[2] Cyprian, "Liber de unitate Ecclesiæ," par. iv. "Hanc Ecclesiæ unitatem qui non tenet, tenere fidem se credit? Qui Ecclesiæ renititur et resistit, *qui Cathedram Petri, super quam fundata est Ecclesia, deserit*, in Ecclesia se esse confidit?" "Cypriani Opera, Nicolai Rigaltii observationibus ad veterum exemplarium fidem recognita et illustrata," pp. 207, 208, Paris, 1648. In the editions of Cyprian's works by Erasmus, and Fell and Baluze, who followed him, as well as in some manuscripts, the words, in Italics, in this and the two preceding notes, are omitted; whilst, on the other hand, they are found in the edition of Rigault, Paris, 1648, from which I quote, an edition carefully compared with ancient manuscripts, and in those of Pamelius and other editors. Moreover, they were quoted by Pope Pelagius II., in his second Epistle to the bishops of Istria, A.D. 581. See Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," vii. 678. In any case, the substance of the controverted words is to be found, again and again, in undisputed passages of Saint Cyprian's writings.

[3] Novatian was an irregularly ordained priest in Rome, who, A.D. 251, prevailed on three bishops in remote parts of Italy to come to Rome, and consecrate him bishop of that city, in opposition to the Pope, Saint Cornelius. His principal supporter was Novatus, a schismatical priest of Carthage, who, on being condemned by Saint Cyprian, had left Carthage, and repaired to Rome. Novatian, convicted of heresy and schism, was excommunicated, in the Council of Rome, convened and presided over by Saint Cornelius, A.D. 251. The three

a bishop of Numidia, Saint Cyprian speaks of the ordination of the same holy Pope, as having occurred "when the place of Fabian, that is, when the place of Peter, and the rank of the sacerdotal chair, was vacant:"[1] and in the same letter he observes: "You have written also, that I should transmit to our colleague Cornelius a copy of your letter, in order that, laying aside all solicitude, he should know, that you are in communion with him, that is, with the Catholic Church."[2]

Again; on the occasion of Fortunatus having been chosen bishop by the schismatics at Carthage, they dispatched envoys to Rome, to give the Pope, Saint

bishops who consecrated him were deposed by the Pope, who appointed others to fill their sees. One of them, who repented, was admitted by Saint Cornelius to lay communion. "Three bishops, who ordained Novatian the schismatic bishop, were deposed, and others ordained to succeed them, by Cornelius Bishop of Rome, whose proceedings in this matter were generally approved of, all over the world," says Archbishop Potter ("A Discourse of Church Government," page 392).

[1] Cyprian, "Epistola 52, Ad Antonianum de Cornelii Papæ ordinatione." "Cum Fabiani locus, id est, cum locus Petri et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret."

[2] Ibid. "Ut, deposita omni solicitudine, jam sciret te secum, hoc est, cum Catholica Ecclesia, communicare." The word "Catholic," or Universal (from the Greek *κατά*, in, through, among, according to, and *ὅλους*, the whole), here applied to the Church by Saint Cyprian, was first so used in the Apostles' Creed, and next by an Apostolic Father, Saint Ignatius, who was a disciple of Saint John the Evangelist, succeeded Evodius as Bishop of Antioch, and suffered martyrdom in the year 107. He says: "Wherever Christ Jesus is, there is the Catholic Church"—*Ὅπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία* ("Epist. ad Smyrnæos," c. 8). There are extant seven Epistles of Saint Ignatius, inclusive of that to the people of Smyrna, here quoted. With reference to the word "Catholic," Saint Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, about A.D. 350, observes, that "the Church is distinguished by the very name of Catholic from all heresies, which strive in vain to usurp it. To the spouse of Christ this name always exclusively belongs, as is apparent whenever any stranger in any city inquires: 'Where is the Catholic Church?'" (Cyril, Catechesis xviii., n. 26). And Saint Augustine, writing A.D. 400, says: "The very name of Catholic holds me in the Church—a name which, not without cause, amidst so many heresies she alone has obtained; so that, whilst all heretics wish to be called Catholic, nevertheless should any stranger inquire of them, where the Catholic church is, none of them dare to point out their own church or house."

Cornelius, a false account of his ordination, with a view to His Holiness receiving him into communion. Upon this, Saint Cyprian addressed a letter to the Pope, giving him a correct version of the affair. In this letter, he says:—

> After these things, moreover, the schismatics, having set up a false bishop for themselves, dare to cross the sea, and to bear letters from schismatical and profane men to the Chair of Peter, and to the principal Church, the source of sacerdotal unity; and they do not reflect that they are the Romans, whose faith is praised by the Apostle preaching, and to whom infidelity cannot have access.[1]

Such clear and conclusive evidence of the Church of Rome having been regarded as "the Chair of Peter," "the principal Church," "the source of sacerdotal unity," and of its communion having been sought, as an indispensable condition of orthodoxy, by all, even the most remote, Churches, at this early period, must command at least the respectful attention and serious consideration of those who are conscientiously opposed to the Catholic doctrine of the spiritual supremacy of the Holy See.

Saint Cyprian's testimony derives additional weight from the part taken by him in the controversy about the validity of baptism conferred by heretics. This subject will be spoken of further on.[2]

Strikingly in accord with the writings of Saint Cyprian, above quoted, are the words of Saint Irenæus, second bishop of Lyons, written more than seventy years before.[3] Irenæus in his youth was a hearer of

[1] Cyprian, "Ad Cornelium," Epist. 55. "Et ad Petri Cathedram, atque ad ecclesiam principalem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est," etc. Several authorities consider that the term "principalem," used here, means more than "principal." The version perhaps ought rather to be—the princely, chief, ruling or governing Church.

[2] See Index, "Cyprian."

[3] Saint Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons and martyr, was born in Asia Minor, about the year 120. His parents, who were Christians, placed him under the care of Saint Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna. According to Saint Jerome, he was also a pupil of Papias, another disciple of the

Polycarp, who was himself the disciple of Saint John the Evangelist; and clearly his testimony must have especial weight, as coming from one so immediately connected with the Apostolic times. In his third book against heresies, he says:—

Since it would be very tedious in such a volume as this to enumerate the successions of all the Churches, we point to the tradition (received from the Apostles) of the greatest, and most ancient, and universally known Church, founded and established at Rome, by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, and to her faith announced to men, which, through the successions of bishops, has come down to us; and thus we confound all those who, in any way, either through self-complacency, or vain glory, or blindness, or perverse sentiments, hold wrong opinions.[1] For with this Church, in which the tradition of the Apostles has always been preserved by the faithful everywhere, it is necessary, on account of its more powerful primacy, that every Church, that is, the faithful on every side, should agree.[2]

Apostles. He is styled by Tertullian "the most diligent searcher of all doctrine," and by Saint Epiphanius, "a most eloquent and learned man, endowed with all the gifts of the Holy Ghost." He was sent by Saint Polycarp into Gaul, where he was ordained priest by Saint Pothinus, first Bishop of Lyons, in which see he succeeded that prelate, in the year 177. According to Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. l. v. c. 4), Irenæus visited Rome, to see Pope Eleutherius, to whom he bore a dutiful letter from the confessors and martyrs of Lyons. He suffered martyrdom, along with a multitude of Christians, in the persecution of Severus, A.D. 202. Of Saint Irenæus's principal work, "Against Heresies," in five books, the original Greek has not come down to our day; only a few fragments having been preserved by Eusebius and other writers. The existing Latin version is attributed by some to his own time, and by others to the end of the fourth century. Its accuracy is proved by the passages of the Greek original that have been preserved.

[1] "Præterquam oportet colligunt;" literally "draw conclusions which they ought not to draw." Thus Cicero says, "Ita cogitatione et ratione collegit."

[2] Irenæus, "Adversus Hæreses," lib. iii. c. 3; Paris, 1545. "Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam, propter potentiorem principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper, ab his qui sunt undique, conservata est quæ ab Apostolis traditio." The Greek version, given in the Leipsic edition of 1853, runs as follows: *Πρὸς ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διὰ τὴν διαφέρουσαν πρωτείαν ἀνάγκη πᾶσαν συμβαίνειν ἐκκλησίαν, τουτέστι τοὺς πανταχόθεν πιστοὺς, ἐν ᾗ διαπαντὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ὅπου δήποτε συντετήρηται ἡ παρὰ των ἀποστόλων διάδοσις.* There has been considerable controversy on this passage.

Saint Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem,[1] writing about the year 350, says:—

They all remaining silent, for the doctrine was beyond the reach of man, Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and the supreme herald of the Church, not following his own inventions, nor persuaded by human reasoning, but enlightened in his mind by the Father, says to Him, "Thou art Christ," not simply this, but "the Son of the living God."[2]

And again:—

In virtue, therefore, of the same Holy Spirit, Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and the key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven, in the name of Christ, restored to health Æneas, a paralytic, in Lydda, now called Diospolis.[3]

About the same time, Saint Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers,[4] writes as follows:—

The confession of Peter manifestly obtained a fitting reward, because he saw in the man the Son of God. Blessed is he who

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Some translate the Greek, *πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συμβαίνειν*, or the Latin, *ad hanc ecclesiam convenire*, as "should agree with this Church." Others, again, regarding this as a forced construction, prefer the rendering, "should have recourse to," or "resort to," this Church. The Greek *συμβαίνειν*, as may be seen in any lexicon, means, among other things, "to agree with," "to coincide," or, as in the French version, *convenir*, *tomber d'accord*. This is equally the case with the Latin *convenire*. Both renderings are considered correct; but the first is more generally adopted.

[1] Saint Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, was born A.D. 315; succeeded Maximus in that see, in 350; and died in 386. His principal works are his twenty-three Catechetical Discourses.

[2] Catechesis xi. 1. *Πέτρος ὁ προστάτης τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κορυφαῖος κήρυξ*, κ.τ.λ.

[3] Catechesis xvii., de Spiritu Sancto, ii. 37. *Ὁ προστάτης τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν κλειδοῦχος Πέτρος*, κ.τ.λ.

[4] Saint Hilary, Doctor of the Church, was consecrated Bishop of Poitiers, A.D. 353, and died in 368. He was one of the most eloquent and most powerful opponents of Arianism. His principal writings are "Twelve Books on the Trinity," a book on "The Faith of the Orientals," and Commentaries on the Gospel of Saint Matthew, and on a portion of the Psalms. There have been several editions of his works. The best are said to be those of L. Lemire, Paris, 1544, and of Coustant, Paris, 1693, both in folio—the latter republished in Verona, by the Marquis Maffei, in 1730, with additions.

was praised for observing and seeing beyond what human eyes could perceive; not beholding what was of flesh and blood, but discerning the Son of God by the revelation of the Heavenly Father; and who was deemed worthy to be the first to recognize that which was of God in Christ. O thou foundation of the Church, happy in thy new name, and rock, worthy of that superstructure which was to destroy the infernal laws, and the gates of hell, and all the bars of death! O blessed gate-keeper of heaven, to whose discretion the keys of the eternal porch are delivered, and whose judgment on earth is a prejudged authority in heaven; so that those things which are either bound or loosed on earth, meet with a similar decision in heaven.[1]

Saint Epiphanius,[2] who also flourished about the middle of the fourth century, writes:—

The Lord Himself says, He constituted him the first of the Apostles, the firm rock upon which the Church of God is built, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.[3]

Saint Basil,[4] writing at the same time, speaks of Peter, as follows:—

The blessed one who was preferred to the other disciples, and who alone received a testimony above all the others, and who was pronounced blessed rather than all the others, and to whom were entrusted the keys of the kingdom of heaven.[5]

Saint Gregory Nazianzen,[6] a cotemporary and intimate friend of Saint Basil, says:—

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[1] Hilary, "Commentarius in Matthæum, c. xvi."

[2] Saint Epiphanius was born in the district of Eleutheropolis, in Palestine, A.D. 310, and died in 403. About the year 367, he was chosen Bishop of Constantia, now Salamis, in Cyprus. His "Ancorate" is written as a stay or anchor, to hold the faithful steady against the winds and waves of heresy. His principal work is the "Panarium," or Antidotes against all heresies. He confutes heresies by tradition as well as by the Scriptures. The best edition of his works is considered that of Pere Petau, in Greek and Latin, 1622, with learned notes, two volumes folio.

[3] "In Ancorat."

[4] Saint Basil the Great, Archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and Doctor of the Church, was born in Cæsarea, A.D. 329, was consecrated archbishop in 370, and died in 379. His works consist of the Hexameron, or discourses on the Six Days of the Creation, Commentaries, Letters, and Moral Treatises.

[5] "Procem. de judicio Dei."

[6] Saint Gregory Nazianzen, Doctor of the Church, and surnamed

Do you wish me to adduce another example of order and discipline—an example illustrious and laudable, and especially worthy of the present commemoration and admonition? You see how out of the disciples of Christ, all certainly great, and exalted, and worthy of election, this one should be called a rock, and have entrusted to his faith the foundations of the Church.[1]

Saint Gregory of Nyssa[2] writes, about the same time:—

The memory of Peter, the head of the Apostles, is celebrated, and together with him the other members of the Church are glorified; but the Church of God is made solid in him; for he, according to the prerogative granted him by the Lord, is the firm and most solid rock on which the Saviour built His Church.[3]

Saint Optatus, Bishop of Milevis in Numidia, towards the end of the fourth century, writing against Parmenian, the successor of Donatus in the schismatical see of Carthage, says:—

Therefore you cannot deny, that you know, that in the city of Rome was first established by Peter the Episcopal Chair in which sat Peter, the head of all the Apostles, whence also he is called Cephas; in order that in this one chair unity might be preserved by all; lest the other Apostles should, each for himself, defend their several chairs; but that he should at once be a schismatic and a sinner, who against this one chair should set up another. Therefore in the one chair, which is first by its prerogatives, first sat Peter, to whom succeeded Linus, etc.[4]

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the Theologian, was consecrated Bishop of Sasima, in Cappadocia, by Saint Basil, A.D. 372. His father was Bishop of Nazianzum. Saint Gregory died in 391. His works consist of "orations," or discourses, on faith and morals, and against heresies, panegyrics of martyrs, letters, and poems.

[1] "In Orat. de moderatione servanda."

[2] Saint Gregory of Nyssa in Cappadocia was the younger brother of Saint Basil the Great. He was consecrated Bishop of Nyssa A.D. 372. He attended the Council of Constantinople in 381. He died about the year 400. His works are Funeral Orations, Sermons, Panegyrics of Saints, Commentaries on Scripture, and Dogmatic Treatises.

[3] "Laudatio altera Sancti Stephani, protomartyris."

[4] "Optati Milevitani Opera," lib. ii., contra Parmen., p. 48. Paris, 1631. The only work which we have from Optatus are his Seven books against the Donatists, here quoted. He is praised by Saints

Here he gives the succession of the Bishops of Rome, down to Siricius, the reigning Pope, whom he styles "at this day, our colleague, with whom the whole world as well as we are united in communion by the interchange of the usual letters." He then argues that the schismatics are outside the Catholic Church, because none of their bishops communicate with the same Roman Chair; and he alludes to the saving keys given to Peter, "our chief, to whom Christ said, 'I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against them.' Whence is it, then, that you strive to usurp to yourselves the keys of the kingdom, you who sacrilegiously wage war against the Chair of Peter, by your presumption and audacity?"[1]

Saint Ambrose, Bishop of Milan,[2] writing about the year 380, says:—

This is Peter, to whom He said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church." Therefore, where Peter is, there is the Church: where the Church is, there is no death; but eternal life. And therefore He added: "And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Blessed Peter, against whom the gates of hell did not prevail, nor the gate of heaven close itself; but, on the contrary, he destroyed the porch of hell, and laid open that of heaven.[3]

Augustine, Jerome, and Fulgentius. Saint Augustine observes, "Optatus might be taken as a proof of the truth of the Catholic Church, if she depended on the virtue of her ministers." Optatus died about A.D. 384.

[1] "Optati Milevitani Opera," lib. ii., contra Parmen., p. 49.

[2] Saint Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, and Doctor of the Church, was born A.D. 340, was consecrated Bishop of Milan in 374, and died in 397. The Benedictines of Saint Maur have given an edition of his works, in two volumes folio, A.D. 1686-1690. They principally consist of Treatises on the Holy Scriptures. His style is justly admired.

[3] Ambrose, "In Psalmum xl. ennaratio," sec. 30. "Ipse est Petrus, cui dixit: 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam.' Ubi ergo Petrus, ibi Ecclesia: ubi Ecclesia, ibi nulla mors, sed vita æterna," etc.

Again:—

Could He not confirm the faith of him, to whom by His own authority He gave the kingdom, whom, when He called him a rock, He pointed out as the foundation of the Church?[1]

Saint Augustine,[2] another illustrious Doctor of the Church, speaks of Peter as "holding the principality of the Apostolate,"[3] as "first in the order of the Apostles, the most forward in the love of Christ, frequently answering, one for all,"[4] and as one "in whom the Primacy of the Apostles is pre-eminent by so surpassing a grace."[5]

Again, writing against Julian, the Pelagian, Saint Augustine exclaims:—

That part of the globe, I think, ought to suffice for you, in which the Lord was pleased to crown with a most glorious martyrdom the first of His Apostles. If you had desired to hear the blessed Innocent,[6] who presides over that Church, you would then immediately have divested your dangerous youth of the snares of Pelagianism. For what could that holy man have replied to the African councils,[7] unless what, as of old time, the Apostolic See and the Roman Church perseveringly holds with the others?[8]

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[1] Ambrose, "De Fide," l. iv. c. 5, n. 56.

[2] Saint Augustine, Bishop of Hippo in Numidia, and Doctor of the Church, was born in 354, was consecrated coadjutor bishop of Hippo in December 395, and succeeded to that see, the following year. He died in 430. Saint Augustine was a most voluminous writer. Perhaps the best edition of his works is that of the Benedictines of St. Maur, in eleven volumes folio, A.D. 1679-1700.

[3] Saint Augustine, Sermo lxxxvi. cap. 2. "Apostolatus principatum tenens."

[4] Ibid., cap. 1. "Ipse enim Petrus in Apostolorum ordine primus, in Christi amore promptissimus, sæpe unus respondet pro omnibus."

[5] Saint Augustine, "De Baptism. contra Donat.," lib. ii. n. 2. "Petrum, in quo primatus Apostolorum tam excellenti gratia præeminet."

[6] Saint Innocent I., a native of Albano, presided over the Church, A.D. 402-417.

[7] The African councils here referred to were those of Carthage and Milevis, which condemned the errors of Pelagius, and wrote to the Pope against them. The synodal letters of both these councils were drawn up by Saint Augustine. These and the Pope's reply will be fully referred to, further on.

[8] "Contra Julianum Pelagianum, Sancti Augustini," liber i. cap. iv.

And further, he speaks of "the Roman Church, in which the Primacy of the Apostolic Chair has always flourished."[1]

Next, let us hear Saint Jerome,[2] on the same subject:—

But you say (he writes), the Church is founded upon Peter; although the same is done elsewhere upon all the Apostles; and all received the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and the strength of the Church is equally consolidated upon them. However among the twelve one is chosen, in order that, a head being established, the occasion of schism may be removed.[3]

And again:—

As Plato was the prince of philosophers, so of the Apostles was Peter, on whom was founded the Church of the Lord, an enduring fabric.[4]

Towards the end of the year 376, on account of the schisms prevailing in the East, Saint Jerome wrote to Pope Damasus, requesting his advice on certain controverted points of doctrine, and asking him with whom he ought to communicate at Antioch. In that letter he says:—

Therefore I have considered it my duty, to consult the Chair of Peter, and the faith praised by the mouth of the Apostle, thence now soliciting food for my soul where I formerly assumed the livery of Christ. . . . Although your greatness terrifies me, your humanity, nevertheless, invites me. From the priest I

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[1] Epistola xliii. "Romana Ecclesia, in qua semper Apostolicæ Cathedræ viguit principatus."

[2] Saint Jerome, priest and Doctor of the Church, was born at Stridonium in Pannonia, now Hungary, in 331, and died in 420, aged eighty-nine. The best editions of his works are that of Dom. Martianay, Benedictine of the Congregation of Saint Maur, published A.D. 1693–1706, in five volumes folio, and that of Vallarsi of Verona, eleven volumes folio, 1731.

[3] "Hieron. Adversus Jovinianum," l. i. "Tamen propterea inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut, capite constituto, schismatis tollatur occasio."

[4] "Hieron. Adversus Pelagium," l. i. c. 4. "Sicut ille princeps philosophorum, ita hic Apostolorum fuit, super quem Ecclesia Domini stabili mole fundata est."

eagerly beg the safety of the victim; from the shepherd, the protection of the sheep. Away with envy. Let the pomp of the Roman dignity withdraw. I speak with the successor of the fisherman, with the disciple of the Cross. I, following no leader but Christ, am united in communion with Your Blessedness, that is, with the Chair of Peter. On that rock I know that the Church is built. Whoever eats the lamb out of that house is profane. Whoever may not be in the ark of Noah, will perish in the deluge.[1]

Saint John Chrysostom,[2] writing about the same time, says:—

And why, passing by the others, does He speak to Peter about the sheep? He was pre-eminent among the Apostles, the mouth of the disciples, and the head of that assembly. Wherefore, too, Paul went up to see him, above the rest. At the same time He would show him, that he ought henceforward to have confidence; for, as though thinking no more of his denial, He commits to him the government of the brethren;[3] nor does He reproach him, but He only says to him: "If thou lovest me, preside over the brethren."[4]

And again he says:—

Thus he washed away that denial, so that he became even the first of the Apostles, and the whole world was committed to him.[5]

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[1] "Hieron. Epist. xv., alias lvii.," Ad Damasum Papam, scripta circa finem anni 376. "Ego, nullum primum nisi Christum sequens, Beatitudini tuæ, id est Cathedræ Petri, communione consocior. Super illam petram ædificatam Ecclesiam scio."

[2] Saint John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople and Doctor of the Church, was born at Antioch in 344, was consecrated Archbishop in 398, and, having suffered grievous persecution for the faith, died in 407. He was named "Chrysostom" ("golden-mouth," from the Greek), on account of his eloquence. He wrote many important works, of which there have been several editions. They comprise Homilies on the Scriptures, and a number of Treatises, Epistles, Sermons, and other writings.

[3] "*τὴν προστασίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν.*"

[4] "Chrysost. in Joannem, Homil. lxxxviii., alias lxxxvii." "*προέστατο τῶν ἀδελφῶν.*"

[5] "Chrysost. Adversus Judæos," viii. 3. *Οὕτως ἀπενίψατο τὴν ἄρνησιν ἐκείνην, ὡς καὶ πρῶτος γενέσθαι τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐγχειρισθῆναι ἅπασαν.*

And, further:—

But if any one should say, "How then did James receive the see of Jerusalem?" I shall answer him, that Peter was appointed, by Christ, the teacher not of the see, but of the whole world.[1]

Finally, he styles Peter "the leader of that choir, the mouth of all the Apostles, the head of that assembly, the president of the whole world, the foundation of the Church, the ardent lover of Christ."[2]

In the year 449, the celebrated Ecclesiastical historian, Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus in Syria,[3] on the occasion of his pretended deposition by the false synod of Ephesus, appealed to the Pope, Saint Leo the Great, as the sole legitimate judge in such causes. In the letter presented to the Pope by his messengers, Theodoret says:—

If Paul, the herald of truth, and the trumpet of the Holy Ghost, had recourse to the great Peter, in order that he might convey from him a solution of the question, to those who were

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[1] "Chrysost. In Joannem, Homil. lxxxviii., alias lxxxvii." Εἰ δὲ λέγοι τις, πῶς οὖν ὁ Ἰάκωβος τὸν θρόνον ἔλαβε τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων; ἐκεῖνο ἂν εἴποιμι, ὅτι τούτων οὐ τοῦ θρόνου, ἀλλὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐχειροτονησε ὁ Χριστὸς διδάσκαλον.

[2] "Chrysost. In illud, Hoc scitote quod in novissimis diebus, etc." Ὁ οὖν Πέτρος, ὁ κορυφαῖος τοῦ χοροῦ, το στόμα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἁπάντων, ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς φρατριάς ἐκεινης, ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἅπάσης προστάτης, ὁ θεμέλιος τῆς Ἐκκλησιας, ὁ θερμὸς ἐραστὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

[3] Theodoret, a celebrated Ecclesiastical writer, and Bishop of Cyrus, was born at Antioch, about the year 387. He was a proficient scholar in Syriac, Hebrew, and Greek literature. In the year 423 he was consecrated Bishop of Cyrus, a small town, about eighty miles from Antioch. Being accused of a leaning to Nestorianism, a sentence of deposition was pronounced against him by the false synod of Ephesus, A.D. 449. On this, Theodosius the younger commanded him not to go outside his diocese, and, the following year, banished him to his monastery at Apamea, refusing him permission to go to Rome, to justify himself before the Pope. In the year 451, Theodoret attended the General Council of Chalcedon, and was there called on to anathematize Nestorius and his doctrines. On his having done so, the council pronounced him orthodox, and restored him to his see. He died in 457. His Ecclesiastical History, in five books, extends from A.D. 322 to 427. It is published with the several editions of Eusebius and the other Greek Ecclesiastical Historians.

disputing at Antioch about the legal observances, with much more reason we, who are worthless and weak, have recourse to your Apostolic See, in order that we may receive from you remedies for the wounds of the Churches. For it is fit that you should in all things hold the primacy; for your See is adorned with many prerogatives.[1]

Again, writing to Renatus, he says:—

I therefore beseech you to persuade the most holy and blessed chief bishop (Leo) to use his Apostolic power, and to order me to hasten to your council: for that most holy see hath the government of the Churches, throughout the universe, for many reasons, and chiefly because it has continued free from the taint of heresy, and no one holding erroneous opinions ever sat in it; but it has preserved inviolate the Apostolic grace.[2]

Saint Leo the Great,[3] about the year 450, says:—

To Peter the Apostle, above the rest, after the Keys of the Kingdom, the care of the Lord's sheep-fold is committed.[4]

And further:—

One man, Peter, is chosen out of the whole world, to be placed over the calling of all nations, and over all the Apostles, and all the Fathers of the Church; that, although there are in the people

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[1] Theodoret, "Epist. cxiii., Ad Leonem." *πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς, οἱ εὐτελεῖς καὶ σμικροί, πρὸς τὸν ἀποστόλικον ὑμῶν τρέχομεν θρόνον, ὥστε παρ' ὑμῶν λάβειν τοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἕλκεσι θεραπείαν. Διὰ πάντα γάρ ὑμῖν τὸ πρωτεύειν ἁρμόττει. Πολλοῖς γὰρ ὁ ὑμέτερος θρόνος κοσμεῖται πλεονέκτημασι.*

[2] Theodoret, "Epist. cxvi., Ad Renatum." *ἔχει γάρ ὁ πανάγιος θρόνος ἐκεῖνος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διὰ πολλά, κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Saint Leo I., surnamed the Great, a member of a noble Tuscan family, born in Rome, governed the Church, A.D. 440–461. He rendered great services to religion and mankind during his eventful Pontificate. His saving Rome from the Huns under Attila, and his connection with the General Council of Chalcedon will be noticed further on. Saint Leo's works extant consist principally of Sermons and Letters. His style is pronounced by one of his biographers to be polished, flowing, of a pure and rich Latinity, and full of dignity and force. Of the several editions of his works, that of Pere Quesnel is condemned by the Church, as falsifying several passages of his writings.

[4] Sermo i., De Ascensione Domini. "Petro Apostolo supra cæteros, post regni claves, ovilis Domini cura mandatur."

of God many priests and many pastors, Peter however should, in his own person, rule all, as Christ supremely rules them.[1]

A century and a half later, Saint Gregory the Great,[2] writing to the Emperor Maurice, says:—

For it is evident to all who know the Gospel, that, by the voice of the Lord, the care of the whole Church was committed to Saint Peter, the Prince of all the Apostles. For to him it is said, "Feed my sheep;" "Peter, I have prayed for *thee;*" "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church;" etc. Behold he receives the keys of the heavenly kingdom: the power of binding and loosing is given to him. To him is committed the care and government of the whole Church.[3]

These quotations may well be closed by the following extracts from the writings of Saint Bernard.[4] On the

[1] Sermo iii., De annivers. assumpt. suæ ad Pontificatum. "Unus de toto mundo Petrus eligitur, qui et universarum gentium vocationi, et omnibus Apostolis, cunctisque Ecclesiæ patribus præponatur; ut quamvis in populo Dei multi sacerdotes sint, multique pastores, omnes tamen proprie regat Petrus, quos principaliter regit et Christus."

[2] Saint Gregory I., surnamed the Great, on account of his illustrious actions and holy life, was born of a senatorial family in Rome, in 540, was consecrated Pope on September 3, 590, and died on March 12, 604. His works consist of twelve books of Letters, his Dialogues, Homilies, Commentaries, and other writings, of all which there have been published several editions. His zeal for the conversion of all England, and his sending over Augustine and his companions on that mission, are already familiar to the reader.

[3] "S. Gregorii Magni Epistolæ," lib. iv., epist. 32, Ad Mauritium Augustum. "Cunctis enim Evangelium scientibus liquet, quod voce Dominica sancto et omnium Apostolorum principi Petro Apostolo totius Ecclesiæ cura commissa est. . . . Ecce claves regni cœlestis accipit; potestas ei ligandi et solvendi tribuitur. Cura ei totius Ecclesiæ et principatus committitur."

[4] Saint Bernard was the third son of Tescelin and Alice, members of two of the noblest families in Burgundy, and both related to the sovereign dukes. He was born in 1091, at the Château of Fontaines, near Dijon, a lordship belonging to his father. In 1113 he entered, as a novice, the austere Cistercian monastery of Citeaux, then governed by Saint Stephen Harding, an Englishman, the third abbot. In 1114 Bernard was professed, and the following year Saint Stephen, who entertained a high opinion of his sanctity and extraordinary talents, sent him, with twelve monks, to establish a new monastery in the diocese of Langres, in Champagne. They selected, as a site, a desolate valley, surrounded by forests, eleven leagues from Chalons; and here arose Saint Bernard's celebrated abbey, afterwards known as Clairvaux,

death of Pope Lucius II., in 1145, one of Saint Bernard's monks, Bernard of Pisa, was elected Pope, taking the name of Eugenius III. He was a man of great learning and piety, and had been appointed by Saint Bernard first abbot of his new monastery of Three Fountains, or, as it was more generally called, Saints Vincent and Anastasius, near Rome. On hearing of the elevation of his disciple, Bernard addressed to him a letter of deep feeling, and singular eloquence, styled by Cardinal Baronius "a truly golden letter."[1] In it he says:—

Thou hadst indeed chosen to be an abject in the house of thy God, and to sit down in the lowest place at His banquet: but it pleased Him, who had invited thee, to say, "Friend, go up higher."[2] And so thou hast gone up high. Relish not this height, but fear; lest perchance it may befall thee to utter, later on, these lamentable words: "From the face of Thy wrath and indignation, having lifted me up, Thou hast thrown me down."[3] For thou hast obtained a higher place, but not a safer; more sublime, not more secure. Terrible, truly terrible is this place. The place, I say, in which thou standest is holy ground; it is the place of Peter, the place of the Prince of the Apostles, where he has stood. It is the place of him, whom the Lord constituted the lord of His house, and the prince of all His possessions. If perchance thou swervest from the way of the Lord, he is buried in the same place, that he may bear testimony against thee. Worthily, indeed, to such a pastor, to such a governor, was the Church committed when it was as yet young, as yet in its cradle; instructed by whose teaching, and educated by whose example, it might trample on all earthly things; even as one who had shaken his hands free of every gift, and who used to say, out of a pure

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or *Clara Vallis*, the name given it by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, on account of the sanctity of its monks, and especially of the abbot. Saint Bernard was, for many years, the trusted counsellor of Popes and Kings, and exercised great and wide-spread influence, rendering invaluable services to religion and the State. He died at Clairvaux in 1153, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his office of abbot. The best edition of Saint Bernard's works is that published by Mabillon in 1690, re-published in 1719, in two volumes folio.

[1] "Annales Ecclesiastici," xii. 307. "Has plane aureas litteras dedit."

[2] Luke xiv. 10. [3] Psa. ci. 11.

heart and a good conscience, "Silver and gold, I have none" (Acts iii. 6).[1]

Saint Bernard also addressed to the same Pope his Five Books "of Consideration," in which he impresses on His Holiness the grave responsibilities and duties of his exalted office, and urges the necessity of daily contemplation and self-examination, as the best safeguards of his soul, amidst the weighty cares and distractions pressing upon him. In the second book he says:—

Come now, let us still more diligently investigate who thou art; that is to say, what character thou sustainest for the time, in the Church of God. Who art thou? The great priest, the supreme pontiff. Thou art the prince of bishops; thou art the heir of the Apostles. Thou art Abel in the primacy, Noah in government, Abraham in the patriarchate, Melchisedech in order, Aaron in dignity, Moses in authority, Samuel in judgment, Peter in power, Christ in anointment. Thou art he to whom the keys were given, to whom the sheep were entrusted. There are indeed also other gate-keepers of heaven and pastors of flocks: but thou hast inherited both titles, as much more gloriously as differently, in comparison with the others. They have single flocks severally assigned to them: all are entrusted to thee—one flock to one man. Nor of the sheep alone, but of all the shepherds also, thou art the one pastor. Dost thou ask me whence I prove this? From the word of the Lord. For, to whom, I do not say of the bishops, but of the Apostles themselves, were all the sheep committed so absolutely and without distinction? "If thou lovest Me, Peter, feed My sheep." What sheep? The people of this or that city, or region, or particular kingdom? "My sheep," He says. To whom is it not certain that He did not designate some, but assigned all? Nothing is excepted where no distinction is made.[2]

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[1] "Sancti Bernardi Epistola," 237. "Terribilis prorsus, terribilis est locus iste. Locus, inquam, in quo stas, terra sancta est; locus Petri est, locus Principis Apostolorum, ubi steterunt pedes ejus. Locus illius est, quem constituit Dominus dominum domus suæ, et principem omnis possessionis suæ. Si forte declinaveris a via Domini, sepultus est in eodem loco, ut sit tibi contra te in testimonium. Merito tali pastori, tali nutritio commissa est Ecclesia, cum adhuc tenera, adhuc in cunabulis esset: cujus docta magisterio, et exemplo educata, omnia terrena calcaret."

[2] "Sancti Bernardi De Consideratione Libri Quinque," lib. ii. cap. 8. "Quis es? Sacerdos magnus, summus Pontifex. Tu princeps epis-

Here, we have the concurrent testimony of holy and learned prelates and doctors, from the East and the West, from every quarter of Christendom at the time, all establishing the historical fact of the primacy of Peter and his successors, and the Catholic belief therein, existing in those early ages. Tertullian and Saint Cyprian speak from Carthage, the capital of Africa, and anciently the rival of Rome; Origen, from Alexandria, the metropolis of Egypt; Saint John Chrysostom, from Constantinople, the seat of the Empire of the East; Saint Cyril, from Jerusalem; Saints Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Gregory of Nyssa, from Cappadocia, in Asia Minor; Saint Augustine and Saint Optatus, from Numidia in Northern Africa; Theodoret, from Cyrus in Syria; Saint Epiphanius, from the classical island of Cyprus; Saint Jerome, now from Hungary, now from Jerusalem, now again from Antioch; Saint Irenæus, from Lyons; Saint Hilary, from Poitiers; Saint Ambrose, from Milan; Saints Leo the Great, and Gregory the Great, from Rome; and, although last not least, several centuries later, Saint Bernard, as it were, sums up, from the venerable abbey of Clairvaux. Much more, to the same effect, might be quoted from these writers: much, again, from other generally accepted authorities. But the extracts given are quite sufficient for the purpose; especially as a considerable amount of collateral corroborative evidence will necessarily occur, as we proceed.

coporum, tu hæres Apostolorum. . . . Tu es cui claves traditæ, cui oves creditæ sunt. Sunt quidem et alii cœli janitores et gregum pastores: sed tu tanto gloriosius quanto et differentius utrumque præ cæteris nomen hæreditasti. Habent illi sibi assignatos greges, singuli singulos: tibi universi crediti, uni unus. Non modo ovium, sed et pastorum tu unus omnium pastor. Unde id probem quæris? Ex verbo Domini," etc.

CHAPTER IV.

SAINT PETER, BISHOP OF ROME.

"Simon Petrus, filius Joannis, frater Andreæ Apostoli, et princeps Apostolorum, post episcopatum Antiochensis ecclesiæ, et prædicationem dispersionis eorum qui de circumcisione crediderant, in Ponto, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, et Bithynia, secundo Claudii Imperatoris anno, ad expugnandum Simonem Magum, Romam pergit, ibique viginti quinque annis Cathedram Sacerdotalem tenuit, usque ad ultimum, id est quartum decimum, Neronis annum, a quo affixus cruci martyrio coronatus est, capite ad terram verso."—SAINT JEROME.

ACCORDING to Eusebius,[1] Saint John Chrysostom,[2] Saint Jerome,[3] and many other writers, the See of

[1] Eusebius Pamphili, Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, styled "the Father of Ecclesiastical History," was born about the year 264, was consecrated bishop in 313, attended the Council of Nice in 325, and died in 340. His Ecclesiastical History, in ten books, comprises the history of the Church, from the Ascension to the defeat and death of Licinius, A.D. 324. His Chronicle, in two parts, gives the distinct succession of the kings and rulers of the principal nations from the beginning of the world down to the twentieth year of the reign of Constantine. Of this, the second part was translated into Latin by Saint Jerome. Eusebius also wrote a highly eulogistic "Life of Constantine," and some minor works. He adopted the name Pamphili, through love of his dear friend Pamphilus the martyr. Eusebius, all through, inclined to favour the errors of Arius; but he did not go so far in this direction as his namesake, Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, with whom he is not to be confounded. Indeed, he anathematized the Arian heresy at the Council of Nice, and proposed a formula of orthodox faith; but he had great difficulty in subscribing the word "consubstantial," ὁμοούσιος, which the Fathers added to his formula. The best edition of his "Ecclesiastical History" is considered that of Henri de Valois, *Valesius*, in his collection of the Greek Ecclesiastical Historians, published in Paris, in 1669, and again, with a Latin version, in 1677. The Cambridge edition of 1720, by Reading, is also highly esteemed. Each is in three volumes folio.

[2] Chrysostom, "In Inscriptionem Actorum, xi. 26."

[3] Hieron., In "Catalogo," i.; et "In Epist. ad Galat. ii."

Antioch—the most ancient after that of Jerusalem—was founded by Saint Peter. The date of its foundation is variously stated; some fixing it as early as the year 35, and some as late as the year 38, of the Vulgar Era. Antioch was the metropolis of Syria, and of all the East. Moreover, it was the connecting link of the East with the capital of that great Empire which then ruled the world. Here the disciples were first called Christians; and it was fitting, as observed by Saint John Chrysostom, that the city which first gave the faithful the name of Christians, should have for its first pastor the Prince of the Apostles.[1] Speaking of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, Eusebius, writing in the commencement of the fourth century, bears testimony to the fact, that he was celebrated by many, even to that day, as the Successor of Peter at Antioch, and the second who obtained episcopal consecration there;[2] Evodius, ordained by Peter, having been the first, in succession to the Apostle.[3] "We have received the tradition, that Peter was the bishop of the Church of Antioch, and then was translated to Rome," says Saint Jerome, who, lest Saint Luke's silence thereon, in the Acts of the Apostles, should give rise to doubts on the subject, immediately adds: "Nor is it surprising if Luke is silent about this fact, since, with the licence of a historiographer, he omits many things, which Saint Paul relates, as having happened to himself; and it is not inconsistent, that what one person may consider worthy of being related, another may, among other things, altogether omit."[4]

Saint Peter held the See of Antioch, most probably, seven years. "Not that he stayed there all that time," observes Dr. Cave, "but that, having ordered and dis-

[1] "In Inscriptionem Actorum, xi. 26."

[2] Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," iii. 36.

[3] Ibid., iii. 22. Ignatius, Epist. 12. The very ancient feast of "Saint Peter's Chair at Antioch" is celebrated by the Church on the 22nd of February.

[4] Hieronymus, "In Comment. Epist. ad Galat., cap. ii."

posed things to the best advantage, he returned to other affairs and exigencies of the Church, confirming the new plantations, bringing in Cornelius and his family, and, in him, the first fruits of the Gentiles' conversion to the faith of Christ."[1] He preached the Gospel in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia Minor, as well as in Judea, before going to Rome.[2] He was in Jerusalem in the year 35, when he was visited by Saint Paul, who remained with him fifteen days;[3] and, again, in 41, when he was imprisoned by Herod Agrippa, and was miraculously delivered, through the prayers of the Church.[4]

In the partition of "all nations" for the preaching of the Gospel, made by the Apostles, immediately before their dispersion, A.D. 41, 42, it was, in the overruling designs of Divine Providence, arranged, that Peter should be the one chosen to carry the light of faith to the metropolis of the world.[5] Rome had now attained the summit of her greatness. Her legions had subdued every foe. All nations were her tributaries. Towards the city of the Cæsars all mankind turned; for in that great city were centred the power, the wealth, the civilization of the earth. The geographical

[1] "Antiquitates Apostolicæ," by William Cave, D.D., p. 34.

[2] Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," iii. 1; Saint Jerome, "Catalogue." Saint Leo the Great, Sermon 80; Epiphanius, "Hæreses," 7, n. 6; also Peter, Epistle I.

[3] Galat. i. 18, 19. Vide supra, chap. ii.

[4] Acts xii.

[5] It is a very ancient tradition of the Church, that Christ desired the Apostles to remain in Jerusalem and Judea for the space of twelve years before they dispersed to fulfil the mission, which He gave them, to teach all nations. This is stated by Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," v. 18; as well as by the author of Κήρυγμα Πέτρου, "The Preaching of Peter," a work of great antiquity, quoted by Clement of Alexandria, in his "Stromata," vi. 5. The words quoted are: "Wherefore Peter says, that the Lord said to the Apostles, 'If any one therefore is willing to be led out of Israel by penance, and on account of My name to believe in God, his sins will be remitted. After twelve years, go forth into the world, lest any one should say, We have not heard.'" "Μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐξέλθετε εἰς τὸν κόσμον μή τις εἴπῃ, οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν."

position of Rome, too, alike central and accessible, was peculiarly favourable. All these resources, and advantages, material and moral, were, in God's own time, to be made subservient to the work of His Church. Here, then, was fittingly established "the Apostolic See" [1]—"the Chair of Peter" [2]—"the place of Peter" [3]—"the place of the Prince of the Apostles" [4]—"the episcopal chair in which sat Peter the head of all the Apostles" [5]—"the principal Church, the source of sacerdotal unity;" [6] and well indeed did Pope Pelagius II. exclaim: "Who ever presumes to say, that Saint Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, did not act well, when he changed his see from Antioch to Rome?" [7]

To the same effect are the following remarkable words of another successor of Saint Peter, Saint Leo the Great, writing about the year 450:—

When the twelve Apostles, having received, through the Holy Ghost, the gift of tongues, had undertaken to imbue the world with the Gospel, distributing among themselves the regions of the earth, the most blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostolic order, was appointed to the capital of the Roman Empire; that the light of truth, which was revealed for the salvation of all mankind, might more efficaciously be diffused from the head through the whole body of the world. For of what country would there not be inhabitants in that city; or what peoples anywhere would be ignorant of what Rome taught? Here,

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[1] Saint Augustine, "Contra Julianum Pelagianum," lib. i. c. 4; Theodoret, "Ad Leonem, epist. cxiii.;" and the other early Fathers, *passim*.

[2] Saint Jerome's letter to Pope Damasus, written about the year 376; Epist. xv., alias lvii. "I am united in communion with Your Holiness, that is, with the Chair of Peter." Also the other early Fathers, *passim*.

[3] Saint Cyprian, Epist. 52, addressed to Antonianus, about the ordination of Pope Cornelius, A.D. 251.

[4] Saint Bernard, Epist. 237, addressed to Pope Eugenius III.

[5] Saint Optatus, against Parmenian, book ii., written about A.D. 370.

[6] Saint Cyprian, Epist. 55, addressed to Pope Cornelius, A.D. 252.

[7] Pelagii II. Epist. i. "Quis enim unquam audet dicere, Sanctum Petrum, Apostolorum principem, non bene egisse, quando mutavit sedem de Antiochia in Romam?" Pope Pelagius II., a Roman, governed the Church, A.D. 578–590.

the opinions of philosophy were to be trampled under foot; here, the vanities of worldly wisdom were to be annulled; here, the worship of demons was to be confuted; here, the impiety of all sacrileges was to be overthrown; where had been collected, by the most diligent superstition, whatever had anywhere been instituted by vain errors. To this city, therefore, most blessed Apostle Peter, thou dost not fear to come; and, the partner of thy glory, the Apostle Paul, being as yet occupied in the ordaining of other Churches, thou dost enter this forest of raging wild beasts, this ocean of most turbulent depth, more courageous than when thou didst walk upon the waters. Thou dost not fear Rome, the mistress of the world, who wert afraid of the maid-servant of the high priest, in the house of Caiaphas. Was the power of Claudius or the cruelty of Nero less than the judgment of Pilate or the fierce hostility of the Jews? The force of love, then, conquered the occasion of fear; nor didst thou deem it right that thou shouldst yield to terror, whilst consulting the salvation of those whom thou hadst undertaken to sustain. When the profession of thy love for our Lord was confirmed by the mystery of the triple interrogation, then indeed it was that thou didst conceive this disposition of intrepid charity. Nor was anything else sought for by this earnest disposition of thy mind than that, in feeding the sheep of Him whom thou didst love, thou shouldst bestow upon them the food with which thou hadst thyself been enriched. Thy confidence, too, was increased by so many prodigies of miracles, so many gifts of graces, and experiences of virtues. Already, thou hadst instructed the nations of the circumcision, who had believed; already, thou hadst founded the Church of Antioch, where first arose the dignity of the Christian name; already, thou hadst filled Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia with the laws of the preaching of the Gospel; and, neither doubtful of the advancement of the work, nor ignorant of the term of thy life, thou didst bear the trophy of the Cross of Christ to the Roman capital, whither, by Divine pre-ordination, thou wert preceded by the honour of power, and the glory of suffering.[1]

Having appointed Evodius (previously his vicar) his successor at Antioch, Saint Peter removed to Rome, to establish his see there, A.D. 42, the second year of the Emperor Claudius.[2] In the words of the most ancient Ecclesiastical historian, "Immediately under the reign

[1] Leo, "Sermo 1, in Natal. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli."
[2] Eusebius, in "Chronico;" Saint Jerome, in "Catalogo," ubi de Petro.

of Claudius, by the benign and gracious providence of God, Peter, that powerful and great one of the Apostles, who by his courage took the lead of all the rest, was conducted to Rome," and, "like a noble commander of God, strengthened with Divine armour, bore the priceless treasure of the revealed light from the East to those in the West, announcing the light itself, and the soul-saving word—the proclamation of the kingdom of heaven."[1]

Another very ancient Christian historian, writing in the year 416, says: "Claudius obtained the Empire, the fourth from Augustus, and remained in it fourteen years. In the beginning of his reign, Peter, the Apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, came to Rome, and with faithful word taught the saving faith to all believers, and approved it by most sublime virtues."[2]

On Saint Peter's arrival in Rome, he first joined his fellow-countrymen the Jews, who, since the reign of Augustus, had dwelt in the quarter beyond the Tiber. Of these he converted many; but, ere long, with a view to entering on his mission of preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles, he took up his abode with Pudens, a Roman of high social position, and a convert to Christianity.[3] The house of Pudens stood in the valley

[1] Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," ii. 14. Eusebius here speaks of the complete discomfiture of Simon Magus by Saint Peter at Rome, and the tragical death of the impostor. The story is doubted by some writers; but, besides Eusebius, several of the Fathers allude to it—notably, Justin, Irenæus, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Sulpitius Severus, Isidore, and Prosper.

[2] Orosius, "Historiarum Libri Septem," cap. vi. Paulus Orosius, a learned Spanish priest, was born at Tarragona in the latter part of the fourth century. He was the cotemporary and friend of Saint Augustine. His principal work is his "Seven Books of Histories, against the Pagans," above quoted, completed A.D. 416. He also wrote an "Apology of Free Will against Pelagius."

[3] Some are of opinion that this Pudens was the Christian in Rome mentioned by Saint Paul, in 2 Tim. iv. 21. Ancient writers speak of him as Pudens the Senator; but modern critics incline to the belief that he was not of senatorial rank, and that he was the ancestor of Pudens the Senator, who lived about one hundred years later, and

between the Viminal and Esquiline hills; and here the Apostle resided seven years, A.D. 43–49, baptizing vast numbers of converts,[1] and preaching the religion of Christ.

The house of Pudens was thrown open to the Christians for their religious assemblies; and ultimately it was converted by Saint Peter into a church, known afterwards as the Title, or parish church, of the Pastor.[2] On the same site now stands the very ancient church of Saint Pudentiana, first erected by Saint Pius I., A.D. 145.[3]

Notwithstanding the gigantic evils with which he had to grapple, the widely spread and deep-rooted prejudices which he had to eradicate, the effects of the Apostle's zeal were immediate; the harvest of his labours was most abundant. In describing these, the historian already quoted observes: "So greatly did the splendours of piety enlighten the minds of Peter's hearers, that, not content with hearing but once, or with receiving the unwritten Gospel of God, they

whose daughters, Saints Praxedes and Pudentiana, are venerated by the Church. See Constantius, "Annales SS. Petri et Pauli, apud Cortesium," pp. 334 et seq.

[1] Tertullian, writing towards the close of the second century, makes allusion, as follows, to Saint Peter's baptizing in Rome: "Quos Joannes in Jordane, et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit" ("De Baptis.," c. iv.).

[2] Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," i. 593. "Domus (Pudentis), ad radicem Viminalis posita, prope Exquilinum, patuit omnibus Christianis, ubi et sacræ agebantur synaxes; conversa deinde penitus in ecclesiam, eadem Pastoris Titulus dicta est." For "Title," *Titulus*, see Index.

[3] The church of Saint Pudentiana, several times rebuilt or restored, is said to be the most ancient of the churches of Rome—*omnium ecclesiarum urbis vetustissima*. Cardinal Wiseman, on receiving the purple, took his title from this church. Some writers say, that the present venerable church of Saint Peter Ad Vincula occupies the site of the first church erected in Rome by the Apostle. The balance of probability however inclines in favour of the church of Saint Pudentiana. All appear to agree, that the first two churches erected in Rome by the Apostle stood on the sites now occupied by these two churches. In the most ancient martyrologies, we find mention made of "the feast of the first church erected and consecrated in Rome by Saint Peter." See Fogginius, "De Romano Divi Petri Itinere et Episcopatu," p. 281.

perseveringly entreated Mark, as the follower of Peter, to leave them in writing, a monument of the doctrine thus orally communicated. Nor did their solicitations cease until their object was attained; and thus it is that we have that sacred writing which is called 'the Gospel according to Mark.' It is said also, that the Apostle (Peter), knowing what was done, by the revelation of the Holy Spirit, was delighted with the ardent zeal of these men, and that the history was confirmed by his authority for the purpose of being read in the Churches. This is related by Clement in the sixth book of his Institutions,[1] to which is added the testimony of Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis."[2]

Saint Mark is styled, by some of the most ancient writers, "the interpreter of Peter."[3] Papias, a disciple of the Apostles, Bishop of Hierapolis, and, according to Irenæus, "the hearer of John and the associate of Polycarp,"[4] tells us, that "Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, whatsoever he recorded, he wrote with great accuracy, but not however in the order in which it was spoken or done by the Lord, for he never heard or

[1] The Clement here spoken of is Saint Clement of Alexandria, a native of Athens, and a Platonic philosopher before his conversion. He was a very learned man, and succeeded Pantænus, in the celebrated catechetical school of Alexandria. Here, he had as pupils Origen and Saint Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem and martyr. He was ordained priest about the year 195. His principal works are, his "Exhortation to the Gentiles," pointing out to them the follies of idolatry, his "Stromata" (literally Hangings, or Tapestry), comprising eight books of miscellaneous writings, his "Pedagogue," in three books, intended to lead his spiritual children in the way of heaven, and his "Hypotyposes," or "Institutions," above alluded to. His works were published by Doctor Potter, in Oxford, in 1715. This edition is considered superior to those of Paris, 1616, and Venice, 1757.

[2] Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," ii. 15. See also Saint Jerome, "De viris illustribus," in Marco.

[3] Saint Jerome, in "Catalogo;" also "De viris illustribus;" Athanasius, "De Libris Sacræ Scripturæ;" Papias, apud Eusebium; Irenæus, as presently quoted; Tertullian, "contra Marcionem," iv. 5.

[4] Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, flourished in the beginning of the second century. A few fragments of his writings are preserved in the works of Eusebius, Saint Irenæus, and other ancient writers.

followed the Lord; but afterwards, as I have said, he was a follower of Peter, who spoke for the purposes of instruction, and not as giving a consecutive history of the words of the Lord."[1]

In the year 44, Saint Peter, having firmly established the Roman See, being mindful of the Churches which he had founded in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Asia Minor, addressed to them his First Epistle.[2] In that sacred letter, "sparing in words, but replete with instruction," Erasmus, Grotius, and other commentators recognize "a fulness of authority and Apostolic majesty, worthy of the Prince of the Apostles."[3] The same observations may well be applied to Saint Peter's Second Epistle also, which was written in the year 66, immediately before his martyrdom.[4] Clearly, the First Epistle was written in Rome, "which," says Eusebius, "by a trope he calls Babylon"[5]—a name commonly given to Rome by Christians, at the time, according to Tertullian, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Orosius, and other writers.[6] It is generally supposed to have been written in the year 44, as Saint Mark was

[1] Papias, apud Eusebium, "Hist. Eccles.," iii. 39. Saint Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, writing on this subject, about the close of the second century, says, "Matthew, among the Hebrews, published the work of the Gospel in their language, whilst Peter and Paul were evangelizing in Rome, and founding the Church; and, after its publication, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, handed down to us those things which Peter used to preach" ("Contra Hæreses," lib. iii. c. 1). A Greek translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew was made in the Apostolic times—some say, under his own supervision.

[2] 1 Pet. i. 1. Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," i. 343.

[3] "Præfat. in hanc Petri Epistolam." Erasmus: "Est autem Epistola profecto digna Apostolorum Principe, plena auctoritatis et majestatis Apostolicæ; verbis parca, sententiis referta." Grotius: "Conveniens Principi Apostolorum."

[4] 2 Pet. i. 14. "Being assured that the laying away of this my tabernacle is at hand, according as our Lord Jesus Christ hath signified to me." In these words the Apostle evidently alludes to his vision of his Divine Master, as he passed out through the Porta Capena; which will presently be more fully referred to.

[5] Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," ii. 15.

[6] Tertullian, "Adversus Judæos," c. 9, et "Contra Marcion.," iii. 13. Hieron. in "præf. de Spiritu Sancto." Augustin. "De Civitate Dei,"

then in Rome.[1] A few authors however fix its date some years later.

About the year 45, Saint Peter sent Mark to found the See of Aquileia, which, of the Western cities, was next to Rome in importance, at that time.[2] Mark also preached the Gospel in several other parts of Italy. It was probably two years later, that the Apostle sent Mark to establish, and preside over, the See of Alexandria,[3] which then took rank as the second city of the Empire.[4] The success of Mark's mission in the metropolis of Egypt was signal and immediate; for we are told, that "so great a multitude of believers, both of men and women, were collected there at the very outset, that, in consequence of their extreme philosophical discipline and austerity, Philo considered their pursuits, their assemblies and entertainments, and, in short, their whole manner of life, deserving a place in his descriptions."[5] This Philo was a celebrated Jewish philosopher, a native of Alexandria, in the Apostolic times.[6] About the year 40, he was sent by the Jews of Alexandria, to Rome, at the head of an embassy to Caius Caligula, to refute the charge that they neglected

lib. xviii. c. 22. Orosius, "Histor. lib. vii." c. 2. See also Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," chap. xv.

[1] 1 Pet. v. 13.

[2] Martyrol. Usuard. et Adon. sub die iv. Idus Junii. "Marcus Evangelista Evangelium quod Romæ scripserat, Petro mittente, primum Aquileiæ prædicavit."

[3] Eusebius in "Chronico." Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," i. 344.

[4] Herodianus, lib. vii.: also Eusebius. Saint Mark founded many other Churches in Egypt, and finally suffered martyrdom there, about three years after the death of Saints Peter and Paul. "But the second See," says Pope Gelasius, in his decree concerning the Apocryphal books, "was consecrated, in the name of Blessed Peter, by Mark his disciple and the Evangelist; for he, being sent by the Apostle Peter into Egypt, preached the word of truth there, and suffered martyrdom."

[5] Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," ii. 16.

[6] Philo Judæus was so thoroughly imbued with the principles, and so closely imitated the style, of Plato, that it used to be said, *Aut Plato philonizat, aut Philo platonizat.* The general opinion is, that he did not become a Christian; although it is stated, by some writers, that he was converted by Saint Peter in Rome.

the honours due to Cæsar. On the occasion of his second visit, in the reign of Claudius, A.D. 44, "he had familiar intercourse with Saint Peter at Rome, whilst he was proclaiming the Gospel to the inhabitants of that city."[1]

Besides Saint Mark, Saint Peter ordained numbers of his disciples Bishops, and sent them to found Churches in various countries. Even down to our remote times, the names of several of these sees and of their first bishops have been preserved. A long list of these in Italy, Sicily, France, Spain, and Germany, is given by Cardinal Baronius,[2] as taken from the most ancient martyrologies.[3] These it is unnecessary, as it would be tedious, to enumerate here.

The Jews having raised several tumults in Rome, through their jealousy of the daily increasing body of

[1] Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," ii. 17; and Saint Jerome, "De Script. Eccles. in Philone."

[2] Cæsar Baronius, distinguished alike for his learning and piety, was born at Sora, in the kingdom of Naples, A.D. 1538. At the age of eighteen, he entered the Congregation of the Oratory at Rome, under Saint Philip Neri, whom he succeeded as father superior, in 1593. In 1596, he received the Cardinal's hat from Pope Clement VIII. He was shortly afterwards appointed Librarian of the Vatican, for which important office he was well qualified by his learning. At the age of thirty, in obedience to his superior, Saint Philip Neri, Baronius entered on his great work, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ranging from the year of our Lord 1 to 1197; and published in Rome, A.D. 1588 to 1593, in twelve volumes folio. This work was undertaken, to oppose the compilation of the Centuriators of Magdeburg, whose main objects were, to attack the Church of Rome, to establish the doctrines of Luther, and to decry the Catholic Fathers and Theologians. Baronius's Annals were continued by his brother Oratorians, Raynaldi for the years 1198 to 1565, and Laderchi for 1566 to 1571, and they are being brought down from 1572 to our times by Fr. Theiner, Priest of the Oratory, Rome. Some faults, unavoidable in a voluminous work, the first of its kind, and some inaccuracies in chronology, exist in the Annals of Baronius, and have been pointed out by F. Pagi, and other critics. All their remarks will be found in an edition of the Annals, published in Lucca, in 1740. Notwithstanding these blemishes, the work will ever stand forth, as a grand monument of learning, research, and perseverance, such as we look for in vain in the present day.

[3] Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," vol. i. p. 356; and Fogginius, "De Romano Divi Petri Itinere et Episcopatu," p. 287.

Christians, the Emperor Claudius, by an edict, A.D. 49, banished both Jews and Christians from the Imperial City.[1] On this, Saint Peter re-visited the East, and was present at the Council of Jerusalem, which was held the same year, and in which he took the leading part.[2] About this time, he also visited the Church of Antioch, on which occasion he met Saint Paul there. This remarkable interview of the Apostles has already been alluded to.[3]

As during the seven years that he presided at Antioch, so during the five and twenty years that he filled the See of Rome, Saint Peter travelled much, founding Churches, visiting those already established, and propagating and confirming the faith in various countries.[4] According to some authorities, he penetrated as far as the British Isles; but the evidence adduced to establish this fact appears rather vague and unreliable.[5]

Occupied as he thus was with the care of the Universal Church, Saint Peter appointed auxiliary bishops, to govern the Church of Rome, during the frequent and protracted periods of his absence, and to attend to those who came from a distance to consult the Apostolic See. According to some writers, this office was filled by Linus and Cletus, his immediate successors; according to others, by Clement, whom Saint Peter ordained and appointed to succeed himself, but who declined the weighty charge of presiding over the Church until after the pontificate of Cletus.[6]

[1] Acts of the Apostles, xviii. 2. Orosius, "Historiarum," lib. vii. c. 6. Suetonius, "in Claudio," cap. xxv. This edict, directed against the Jews, operated extensively against the Christians, who were confounded with them. Its date is generally supposed to have been A.D. 49, "the beginning of ninth of Claudius."

[2] Acts xv. Vide supra, chap. ii.

[3] Gal. ii. 11–14. Vide supra, chap. ii.

[4] This visitation of all the Churches by Saint Peter, at a still earlier period, A.D. 34, is alluded to in the Acts of the Apostles, ix. 31, 32.

[5] Vide Usher, "Britanniarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates, pp. 7–9. Dublin, 1639.

[6] Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," i. 673, 674. Tertullian, "De

The wide-spread and rapid progress of the faith in Rome,[1] numbering adherents even within the walls of the Imperial palace,[2] and the preaching of the Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, especially the former, inculcating temperance, chastity, and other virtues, diametrically opposed to the lives of the Emperor and his court, greatly exasperated Nero, and were the main cause of his sanguinary persecution of the Christians, which commenced in the year 64. A large portion of the city had been wantonly burned down by the Emperor, with the intent, according to some historians, of its being rebuilt on a scale of unexampled magnificence. This conflagration was laid to the charge of the Christians. The details of the barbarous persecution they endured, the refinements of cruelty invented for their extirpation, and the unwavering faith and heroic constancy of their martyrs, are recorded in history.[3]

Meanwhile, the two Apostles unceasingly ministered to the afflicted flock, and fearlessly preached the truths and maxims of the proscribed religion. In the height of the persecution, Peter, considering that it was not the Church of Rome alone, but the entire flock of Christ, which demanded his pastoral care, wrote his

Præscriptionibus," c. 32. Epiphanius, "Hæreses," 27. "Concilia," Labbei et Cossartii, i. 63: "Hic ordinavit duos episcopos, Linum et Cletum, qui præsentialiter omne ministerium sacerdotale, in urbe Româ, populo vel ad se venientibus, exhiberent."

[1] About this time, Tacitus speaks of the Christians condemned by Nero at Rome, as "a huge multitude," *ingens multitudo*. Annales xv. 44. A.D. 65.

[2] This we learn from Saint Paul, writing from Rome, whither he had been conveyed a prisoner, A.D. 64: "All the saints salute you: especially they that are of Cæsar's household" (Phil. iv. 22).

[3] Tacitus, "Annales," xv. 44. "A huge multitude of Christians were condemned, not indeed upon evidence of their having set the city on fire, but rather on account of the hatred of the whole human race. To their sufferings Nero added mockery and derision. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts, to make dogs devour them; others were crucified; and many, covered with inflammable matter, were lighted up, when the day declined, to serve as torches during the night."

Second Epistle.[1] In it, he reminds the faithful of the precious gifts they have received from God; counsels them to join the practice of all virtues with their faith; strongly cautions them against false teachers; and gives an eloquent description of the dissolution of the world, and of the final judgment. Here, as in several other instances already enumerated, we recognize the *Magisterium*, or office of universal teacher, by Divine appointment, devolving on Saint Peter, and his successors in the Apostolic See.

It was towards the close of the year 66, that the Emperor's rage against the Christians was brought to a climax by the vast number of proselytes who professed the new doctrines, notwithstanding the persecution.[2] By his orders, the Apostles, Saints Peter and Paul, were arrested, and lodged in the Mamertine prison, in the month of October that year. Here, they continued to preach, not only to the prisoners, but to the faithful, who came in crowds to see them. They also healed the sick, and wrought many other miracles. Among the guards were two soldiers, Processus and Martinianus, who were converted and baptized by Saint Peter.[3] These two converts and forty-seven others of the guards and prisoners eventually fell victims to the sword of Nero. The martyrdom of the former is celebrated by the Church on the 2nd of July; and of the latter, on the 14th of March.

As at any moment the mandate for the execution of the Apostles might arrive, the faithful strongly urged Peter, with prayers and tears, to escape from prison, and thus preserve a life of so much consequence to the Church. At first, the Apostle refused to leave; but

[1] Vide supra, chap. ii.

[2] Several of the Fathers allege, as an additional cause, the final discomfiture of Simon Magus by Saint Peter, and the miserable death of the impostor, who stood high in the Emperor's favour.

[3] The fountain is still shown, which, according to ancient tradition, miraculously sprang up in the floor of the prison, to supply Saint Peter with water for the ceremony.

ultimately he yielded to their earnest solicitations. Having joined in prayer with the brethren, and wished them farewell, he escaped by night, getting over the prison wall. It is related, that, going out through the Porta Capena, the ancient gate at which the Appian Way commenced, he had a vision of our Lord entering. "Lord, whither art thou going?" said he. Christ answered, "I am coming to Rome, to be crucified again."[1] These words Peter considered as a reproof of his flight; and he inferred from them, moreover, that it was his Divine Master's wish to be crucified again, in him, His servant. Accordingly, he immediately returned to the prison, and surrendered himself to the guard. On the 29th of June following, after an imprisonment of close on nine months, the Apostles were led out to execution, Saint Peter having first taken a most affectionate leave of the brethren, especially of Saint Paul. It was arranged that the executions should take place in different quarters. Saint Paul, whose quality of a Roman citizen saved him from the degradation of crucifixion, was beheaded at the Salvian Waters, now Tre Fontane, on the Ostian Road, while Saint Peter was crucified on the Janiculum, where now stands the Church of S. Pietro in Montorio.[2] At his own request, he was crucified with his head downwards, considering himself unworthy to suffer as his Divine Master had suffered. Over his remains, interred near the same spot, now stands the magnificent basilica which bears his name:—

> "the vast and wondrous dome,
> To which Diana's marvel was a cell—
> Christ's mighty shrine, above His martyr's tomb!"[3]

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[1] "Domine quo vadis?" "Venio Romam iterum crucifigi." The Church of "Domine quo vadis" now occupies the spot consecrated by this tradition.

[2] It is the opinion of some writers, that Saint Peter was crucified in the valley between the Janiculum and Vatican hills.

[3] The body of Saint Peter was embalmed and interred, by the

Thus (observes Eusebius, writing in the early part of the fourth century) Nero, proclaiming himself, above all others, the chief enemy of God, was incited by his rage to murder the Apostles. Paul is related to have been beheaded at Rome, in his reign, and Peter to have been crucified likewise. And this account is confirmed by the fact, that the names of Peter and Paul still remain in the cemeteries of that city, even to this day. But likewise a certain Ecclesiastical writer, Caius by name, who was born about the time of Zephyrinus, Bishop of Rome,[1] disputing with Proclus, the leader of the Phrygian sect, gives the following statement respecting the places where the sacred tabernacles of the aforesaid Apostles are laid. "But, I can show," says he, "the trophies of the Apostles. For, if you go to the Vatican, or to the Ostian Road, you will find the trophies of those who have laid the foundation of this church. And that both suffered martyrdom about the same time, Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth,[2] bears testimony, as follows, in his discourse written to the Romans:[3] 'Thus, likewise, you, by means of an admonition of this kind, have mingled the seed that has been planted by Peter and Paul at Rome and Corinth. For both of these, having planted in our city of Corinth, instructing us, as they did likewise in Italy, suffered martyrdom about the same time.'" This testimony I have added, in order that the truth of the history may be more confirmed.[4]

There is a variety of opinions amongst the learned as to the year of Saint Peter's death. Some would ascribe it to the year 65; others to 66; and others again to 67, of the Vulgar Era. To those who carefully weigh all the arguments, the year 67 is likely to appear the most probable. As we have seen, the dispersion of the Apostles took place A.D. 41–42; or twelve

brothers Marcellus and Apuleius, in the Vatican, not far from the Via Triumphalis, at the gardens of Nero, where, under Constantine the Great, a large temple was erected, and subsequently by the pontiffs the present glorious church. Saint Paul's body was entombed by Lucina, a matron of senatorial rank, in her land on the Ostian Road, where a magnificent church is erected in his honour. Constantius, "Annales SS. Petri et Pauli," apud Cortesium, p. 301.

[1] Saint Zephyrinus presided over the Church, A.D. 202–219.

[2] Saint Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, flourished about the middle of the second century.

[3] This letter was written in reply to that of Pope Soter, alluded to in the next chapter.

[4] Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," ii. 25.

years after our Lord's Ascension. On this, Saint Peter, led by Divine Providence, immediately journeyed to Rome, arriving there in the year 42, "the second of Claudius." If we add twenty-five years for his pontificate at Rome, we arrive at the 29th of June, 67, "the fourteenth of Nero," as the date of his martyrdom.[1]

This view is confirmed by the following words of Saint Jerome: "Simon Peter, after presiding as bishop of the Church of Antioch, and preaching to those of the Circumcision dispersed in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, in the second year of Claudius, went to Rome to vanquish Simon Magus, and there, for five and twenty years, he held his Sacerdotal Chair, until the last, that is the fourteenth, year of Nero, by whom being crucified, with his head downwards, he was crowned with martyrdom."[2]

The foundation of the Church of Rome, and the establishment of his pontifical chair there by Saint Peter, has been celebrated as a festival by the Universal Church, from the earliest ages of Christianity. The day of celebration is the 18th of January—the feast of "Saint Peter's Chair at Rome." In the martyrologies of Bede, Ado, and Usuard, this festival is mentioned; and in the most ancient Roman rituals is to be found the following prayer, to be recited on the day:—

O Almighty and Eternal God, who, by an ineffable Sacrament, didst confer on thy Apostle Peter the primacy of the city of Rome, whence Evangelical truth might diffuse itself through all

[1] Claudius reigned A.D. 41–54; and Nero 54–68. According to the learned Jesuit, Denis Petau, Latinized *Petavius*, a high authority on all matters of chronology, the reigns of the Roman Emperors were always counted from the beginning of the first year and not from the day on which they commenced to reign. Petavius, "Rationarium Temporum." Leyden, 1710.

[2] "In Catalogo Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum," in S. Paulo. The original is given in the heading of this chapter. Eusebius, in his Chronicle, says, "Peter, by nation a Galilean, the first pontiff of the Christians, having first founded the Church of Antioch, set out for Rome, where, preaching the Gospel, he continued for five and twenty years the bishop of that city."

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[1] Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," ii. 17; and Saint Jerome, "De Script. Eccles. in Philone."

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Pearson[1] has done before him, that Saint Peter was at Rome. This is so clear in Christian antiquity, that it is a shame for a Protestant to confess that any Protestant ever denied it. This partial procedure demonstrates that Mr. Bower has by no means got clear of the prejudices of some Protestants, as an impartial writer of history, which he strongly pretends to be, ought to do, and he has in this case greatly hurt the Protestant cause, instead of helping it.[2]

Although last not least, may be cited the authorities referred to by Mr. Whiston:—

All the ancients formerly and the great majority of moderns (says M. Baratier) have undertaken to derive the succession of the Bishops of Rome from the Apostle Peter. So great in this matter has been the agreement of all, that in truth it ought to be deemed a miracle, that certain persons born in our day have presumed to deny a fact so manifest.[3]

Bishop Pearson, in the heading of the seventh chapter of his first dissertation on the subject, says:—

That Saint Peter was at Rome, is proved from Ignatius, Papias, the very ancient author of Κήρυγμα Πέτρου, Dionysius of Corinth, Irenæus, Caius, Clement of Alexandr, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Lactantius, Eusebius, Athanasius, Epiphanius, Julian the Apostate, Augustine, Palladius. Therefore it is wonderful that those can be found who deny that Peter ever was at Rome.[4]

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twentieth year. Among his several Essays and Treatises, is that here referred to—"A Chronological Inquiry about the Succession of the Roman Bishops from Peter to Victor," published in Latin at Utrecht, in 1740.

[1] John Pearson, D.D., distinguished for his great learning, was born in the county of Norfolk, in 1613. He was a fellow, and professor of Divinity, in the University of Cambridge. In 1672, he was appointed Bishop of Chester. He died in 1686. Bishop Pearson was the author of several able works. Among these, were "Two Dissertations on the series and succession of the First Bishops of Rome," above referred to, published by Henry Dodwell among his "Posthumous Works," in 1688.

[2] "Memoirs of his own Life and Writings," by William Whiston, M.A., p. 599.

[3] "Disquisitio Chronologica de Successione Episcoporum Romanorum, inde a Petro usque ad Victorem," Auctore Johanne Philippo Baraterio, A.M., p. 2. Ultrajecti, 1740.

[4] "Johannis Pearsonii, Cestrensis nuper Episcopi, Opera Posthuma Chronologica, viz. De serie et successione Primorum Romæ Episcoporum," p. 32. London, 1688.

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CHAPTER V.

SAINT PETER'S SUCCESSORS IN THE SEE OF ROME.

"Quis es? Sacerdos magnus, summus pontifex. Tu princeps episcoporum, tu hæres Apostolorum. . . . Tu es cui claves traditæ, cui oves creditæ sunt."[1]—SAINT BERNARD (*Letter to Pope Eugenius III.*).

WE have seen that the Catholic belief is, that the successors of Saint Peter in the Apostolic Chair, down to our day, have inherited from him all the power, privileges, and jurisdiction over the Universal Church, which he received from Christ, and that their successors will continuously inherit the same until the end of the world.

That this belief, derived from Holy Scripture, and supported by the writings of the Fathers, has steadily developed itself, with the growth of the Church, is a universally accepted historical fact. Without entering into minute details, which, however important the subject, would be tedious to my readers, I now purpose briefly referring to some of the prominent instances, in the early ages, of the beneficial exercise of this primatial authority by the Apostolic See, and of its general recognition by the faithful.

About the year of our Lord 96, there arose in the Church of Corinth "an impious and detestable division,"[2] when an attempt was made to depose the

[1] "Who art thou? The great priest, the supreme pontiff. Thou art the prince of bishops; thou art the heir of the Apostles. . . . Thou art he to whom the keys were delivered, to whom the sheep were entrusted."

[2] Saint Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians.

priests of that Church, men who were distinguished by the purity of their lives and the integrity of their doctrine, and who had been appointed by the Apostles and Apostolic men, with the general consent. Certain persons were deputed by the faithful at Corinth to represent the condition of affairs to the Roman Church, and to request its interposition, to put an end to the schism. And it is especially deserving of note, that, although Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist was then living, the people of Corinth did not apply to him; but they rather appealed to the Roman Apostolic See, to exercise its authority, in allaying the disturbances by which they were distracted, and restoring peace to their Church.

The Church was then presided over by Saint Clement,[1] of whom St. Paul speaks, as one of those "whose names are in the book of life."[2] Clement immediately, in compliance with their request,[3] wrote "a most powerful[4] letter from the Church which is at Rome to the

[1] Saint Peter was succeeded by Saint Linus, A.D. 67. Linus is spoken of by Saint Paul, in 2 Timothy iv. 21; and, according to Eusebius ("Hist. Eccles.," iii. 2, 4), he was "the first after Peter that obtained the episcopate at Rome." He suffered martyrdom in the year 78, and was succeeded that year by Cletus, who, on his martyrdom in 90, was succeeded by Clement. Saint Clement governed the Church from A.D. 90 to 100. He is named, as are Linus and Cletus, in the canon of the Mass. There is some confusion in the ancient lists, as to the first four successors of Saint Peter. In some, Clement is placed before Linus and Cletus; but this may have arisen from the fact, already noted, that Saint Peter destined Clement as his own successor, but that the latter declined the heavy charge of governing the Church until after the pontificate of Cletus. Again, in some lists, Cletus and Anacletus are treated as one and the same, whereas they were two distinct persons, as enumerated by Baronius, Platina, Panvinius, and others, including Anastasius the Librarian, whose "Lives of the Popes" was written in the ninth century. The correct rotation, as most generally accepted, is Peter, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Anacletus.

[2] Phil. iv. 3.

[3] It is the general opinion of writers and commentators, that Clement or the Roman Church was consulted in this crisis by the presbyters of Corinth, either by letter or messenger, as may be inferred from the character and context of this letter.

[4] "ἱκανωτάτην γραφήν." This is generally translated "a most

Corinthians, reuniting them in peace, and re-establishing their faith, and the tradition which it had recently received from the Apostles."[1] This epistle was "universally accepted," and read in the Churches for a very long period.[2]

"Of this Clement," says Eusebius,[3] "there is one epistle extant, acknowledged as genuine,[4] of great length and very remarkable, which he wrote in the name of the Church of the Romans to that of the Corinthians, when there was a dissension in Corinth. This we know to have been publicly read, for the common benefit, in most of the Churches, both in former times and in our own; and that at the time mentioned a sedition did take place at Corinth, is abundantly attested by Hegesippus."[5]

powerful letter," *epistola potentissima;* but to some the more literal rendering, "fully adequate," or "all-sufficient," may appear preferable.

[1] Irenæus, "Adversus Hæreses," iii. 3. Eusebius, "Hist. Eccles.," v. 6.

[2] Eusebius, "Hist. Eccles.," iii. 38, ἀνωμολογημένη παρὰ πᾶσιν.

[3] Ibid., iii. 16.

[4] The genuineness of Saint Clement's First Epistle to the Corinthians is universally admitted; but that of the Second is controverted. These two Epistles, in modern times, until about seven years ago, were extant, in only an imperfect form, in the ancient Alexandrian manuscript. About one-tenth part of the First, and all the Second, save a few fragments, were wanting. However, recently, Philotheus Bryennius, the Metropolitan of Serres, discovered, in the library of a monastery at Constantinople, a manuscript, written by the notary Leo in the year 1056, in which the parts wanting are supplied: and thus he was enabled to publish the two Epistles of Clement complete, in 1875. About the same time, A.D. 1876, was discovered a Syriac manuscript, containing the whole of the New Testament, except the Apocalypse, and also giving the two Epistles of Clement. In the portions of Clement's First Epistle thus supplied, there is a marked tone of authority observable, where he alludes to the dangers that would be incurred by the Corinthians, should they "disobey the words spoken by God through us," and where he calls on them to obey "what is written by us through the Holy Spirit." Vide Jungmann, "Dissertationes in Hist. Eccles.," i. 126, Ratisbonæ, 1880.

[5] Saint Hegesippus, a primitive Father immediately succeeding the Apostolic times, was by birth a Jew, and was a member of the Church of Jerusalem. He visited Rome, and remained there about twenty years; viz. A.D. 157–177, from the pontificate of Anicetus to that of

To the same effect is the evidence of Saint Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, in a letter to the Romans, which he addressed to Pope Soter,[1] about the year 175, and in which he alluded to the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, "showing that it was the practice to read it in the Churches, even from the earliest times: 'To-day,' he says, 'we have passed the Lord's holy day, in which we have read your epistle, which we shall always read, in order to have our minds instructed, as we shall also read that previously written to us by Clement.'"[2]

Even at this early period, notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers of travelling, it was customary for the clergy of remote Churches to visit Rome and to confer with the Popes, on points of doctrine and discipline. By these means, uniformity was preserved. Thus Hegesippus informs us, that, in making his long journey from Jerusalem, to visit Pope Anicetus, about A.D. 157, he "conversed with most of the bishops when he travelled to Rome, and received the same doctrine from all."[3] Having alluded to the Epistle of Pope Clement to the Corinthians, and its beneficial effects, he adds: "And the Church of Corinth continued in the true faith, until Primus was bishop there, with whom I had familiar conversation (as I passed many days at Corinth), when I was on the point of sailing to Rome, during which time also we were mutually refreshed in the true doctrine."[4] He then continues: "After coming to Rome, I made my stay with Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherius. After Anicetus, Soter suc-

Eleutherius, as he himself informs us (apud Eusebium, "Hist. Eccles.," iv. 22). In the year 133, Hegesippus wrote a History of the Church, down to his own times, unfortunately not extant. The little that remains of his writings has been preserved by Eusebius and others by whom he is quoted. It will be necessary to refer to this Father again, further on.

[1] Saint Soter, a native of Campania, governed the church, A.D. 168–177. [2] Eusebius, "Eccles. Hist.," iv. 23.

[3] Apud Euseb., "Hist. Eccles.," iv. 22. [4] Ibid.

ceeded, and after him Eleutherius.[1] In every succession however, and in every city, the doctrine prevails, according to what is declared by the Law, and the Prophets, and the Lord."[2]

It was about the year 158, that the venerable Polycarp,[3] Bishop of Smyrna, a disciple of Saint John the Evangelist, travelled to Rome, in his extreme old age, to confer with Pope Anicetus, about the time of celebrating Easter. The feast of Easter was then observed in the Asiatic Churches, on the fourteenth day of the vernal equinoctial moon, or lunar month, on whatever day of the week it fell (on which day the Jews were formerly commanded to sacrifice the Paschal lamb); whereas in all other parts of the world it was observed on the Sunday immediately following; such, says Eusebius, being, "the practice that has prevailed from Apostolic tradition until the present time, so that it would not be proper to terminate our fast on any other but the day of the Resurrection of our Saviour."[4] After much discussion between the Pope and Bishop Polycarp, it was agreed that each might keep the feast on the day on which he had hitherto kept it; and Anicetus, further, in order to testify his respect for his venerable visitor, allowed him to celebrate the Eucharistic sacrifice, in his place, in his own church.[5]

[1] Pope Anicetus presided over the Church, A.D. 157–168; Soter, 168–177; and Eleutherius, 177–193.

[2] Apud Euseb., "Hist. Eccles.," iv. 22.

[3] Saint Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, and martyr, became a Christian in his youth—about the year 80. He was the disciple of Saint John the Evangelist, by whom he was appointed Bishop of Smyrna, about A.D. 96. He lived to a very advanced age; and suffered martyrdom at Smyrna, in the year 166. For Polycarp's visit to Pope Anicetus, see Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," iv. 14.

[4] Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," book v. chap. 23. The vernal equinoctial moon is that of which the fourteenth day falls on, or next follows, the Vernal Equinox or 21st March. Thus, in the year 1885, the vernal equinoctial moon commenced on the 17th March; its fourteenth day was Monday, 30th March, and Easter Sunday fell on the Sunday after; viz. 5th April.

[5] Eusebius, "Eccles. Hist.," v. 24.

In the time of Pope Victor, who governed the Church A.D. 193–202, the controversy was renewed, with much warmth. The Pope was desirous that Easter day should be universally observed on the Sunday; and, to insure this object, the Asiatic bishops were convened in council, in obedience to his wishes, A.D. 193. They however decided to persevere in following the tradition handed down to them by their fathers, who, they alleged, had received it from the Apostle Philip and Saint John the Evangelist; and Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, who presided at the council, wrote to the Pope, to that effect.[1] In his letter, he says: "I could also mention the bishops that were present, whom you requested me to summon, and whom I did call—whose names, did I write them, would represent a great number."[2] Victor, thereupon, proceeded to excommunicate the Asiatic Churches, but was dissuaded from doing so by Saint Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, and other prelates of the West.[3] In his letter, Irenæus reminds the Pope of the forbearance of his predecessors, especially Anicetus, in dealing with those who followed the Asiatic mode of keeping the festival.[4] "And those bishops," he continues, "who governed the Church before Soter,[5] and over which you now preside, I mean Anicetus, and Pius, Hyginus, with Telesphorus and Xystus, neither did themselves observe it, nor did they permit those with them to do so. And yet, though they themselves did not keep it, they were not the less in peace

[1] Eusebius, "Eccles. Hist.," v. 24. [2] Ibid.

[3] Baronius and others infer, from Eusebius's account, that the sentence of excommunication was actually pronounced by Pope Victor; while Natalis Alexander, Thomassin, and other writers, are of opinion that he confined himself merely to a threat. In either case, it is certain that the sentence was not proceeded with, in deference to the dissuasion of Saint Irenæus and other Western prelates.

[4] Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," v. 24.

[5] Anicetus permitted the Asiatics to follow their own mode of observing Easter, even in Rome. But his immediate successor, Pope Soter, obliged them to observe the custom of the place, where they might be.

with those from Churches where it was kept, whenever they came to them."[1]

A little before the conclusion of this (the second) century, Victor, Bishop of Rome, cast Theodotus out of the Church, for denying our Lord's divinity (observes Archbishop Potter). And the same person excommunicated the bishops of Asia and their Churches, for observing Easter at the same time as the Jews, wherein he pretended they deviated from the Apostolic rule. This indeed was an unjust act, and blamed by Irenæus and other bishops of that age, who rightly thought that Churches might differ from one another in things of this kind, without any breach of Catholic communion or charity. However, it is a good evidence, that excommunication was used at this time in the Church.[2]

Here, the Protestant Archbishop, while blaming the course pursued by Pope Victor, as "unjust," admits that it is good evidence that excommunication prevailed at that time in the Church; and, in this instance, and the others which he alludes to, he bears testimony, at least indirectly, to the authority claimed by the Popes, at that early period, and their vigilance and firmness, not only in defending and preserving the deposit of faith especially entrusted to their guardianship, but in strictly insisting upon uniformity of discipline and ritualistic observance, where they deemed it essential to the welfare of the Church.

The question was finally settled, in accordance with the views of the Popes, at the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, as we shall presently see.[3]

In an earlier page, has been quoted a passage from

[1] Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," v. 24.

[2] "A Discourse of Church Government," by John Potter, D.D., p. 370, London, 1711. John Potter was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire, in 1674. He was an accomplished scholar, and the author of several theological and other learned works. In 1708, he became regius professor of divinity, and canon of Christ's Church, Oxford. In 1715, he was named Bishop of Oxford; and in 1737 he was promoted to the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury, by George II. He died in 1747.

[3] The same decision had been arrived at by the Council of Arles, A.D. 314; and confirmed by Pope Sylvester, but failed to secure uniformity.

the works of Saint Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, written about the year 180, in which he alludes to the Roman See, as "the greatest, and most ancient and universally known Church, . . . in which the tradition of the Apostles has always been preserved, and with which, on account of its more powerful primacy, it is necessary that every Church, that is, the faithful on every side, should agree."[1] He then enumerates the Popes from Saint Peter down to Eleutherius, who presided over the Church in his day—a succession which, he argues, is a confutation of all heretics, that is, of all those who are not in communion with the successor of Saint Peter.

With the same intent, Saint Optatus, an African bishop, some two centuries later, gives the list, from Peter to Siricius, the Pope of his time;[2] and Saint Augustine, writing about the year 400, enumerates all the Roman Pontiffs from Peter to Anastasius, who then governed the Church. "If," says he, "the order of the succession of bishops is to be considered, how much more certainly and how salutarily do we reckon from Peter himself, to whom, bearing the scheme of the whole Church, our Lord says, 'Upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her' (Matt. xvi. 18). For to Peter succeeded Linus. . . . To Siricius succeeded Anastasius. In this order of succession no Donatist bishop is found."[3]

At the same early period in which Irenæus flourished,

[1] "Divi Irenæi Opera," Contra Hæreses, p. 211. Paris, 1545.

[2] "Optati Milevitani Opera," lib. ii. contra Parmen, p. 48. Paris, 1631.

[3] "Augustini Epistola," 165, alias 53. "Si enim ordo episcoporum sibi succedentium considerandus est, quanto certius et vero salubriter ab ipso Petro numeramus, cui, totius Ecclesiæ figuram gerenti, Dominus ait: super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferorum non vincent eam (Matt. xvi. 18). Petro enim successit Linus. . . . Siricio Anastasius. In hoc ordine successionis nullus Donatista episcopus invenitur."

we find those who were outside the pale of the Church, and were desirous to become Christians, either visiting Rome, or applying to the Pope for missionaries, to instruct and baptize them. An interesting case in point is that of Lucius, the first Christian British King, called by the Welsh Llewer Mawr, or the Great Light, who, about the year 177, sent an embassy to Rome, to Pope Eleutherius, entreating that, "by his command, he might be made a Christian." The Pope, thereupon, sent missionaries, who baptized the king and great numbers of his subjects; "and the Britons preserved the faith which they had received, uncorrupted and entire, in peace and tranquillity, until the time of the Emperor Dioclesian."[1]

It was in the year 429 that Saint Celestine, who then governed the Church, sent Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, as his Vicar, to Britain, to counteract the diffusion by Pelagius of his heresy among his fellow countrymen.[2] Germanus was accompanied by Saint Lupus, Bishop of Troyes; and these two prelates, succeeded by their preaching, prayers, and miracles, in freeing the inhabitants from the taint of false doctrines. Three years later, Celestine ordained Patrick, for the conversion of all Ireland;[3] and in the year 596 Saint Gregory the Great dispatched Augustine and his companions, to confer a similar blessing on England. So also the Gauls, the Germans, and many another race, have reason to look back with joy and gratitude to remote periods, now enveloped in the mists of antiquity, when the light of faith was diffused among their ancestors by devoted missionaries appointed to the work by the successors of Saint Peter. Here, the inhabitants

[1] Bede, "Ecclesiastical History," book i. chap. 4; and "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle."

[2] Prosper, "Chronicon," ad ann. 429. "Papa Cœlestinus Germanum, Autissiodorensem Episcopum, *vice sua*, mittit, et deturbatis hæreticis Britannos ad Catholicam fidem dirigit."

[3] A.D. 432. Long before this, parts of Ireland had been evangelized by missionaries from Rome.

had to be rescued from the darkness of Paganism. Here, the faith, already planted, had to be confirmed and extended. Here, again, the evils of schism and heresy had to be eradicated. Thus, from the Prince of the Apostles down to Leo XIII., might each Pontiff, in his turn, exclaim, in the words in which Pope Celestine commenced his letter to the Bishops of Vienne and Narbonne in Gaul, A.D. 432, "By no limits of place is my pastoral vigilance confined: it extendeth itself to all places where Christ is adored."

In the pages of Bede[1] and other early historians, we find accounts of the close connection of our Saxon and Celtic ancestors, in these islands, with the Holy See. Thus, in the year 688, Cædwalla, King of the West Saxons, went to Rome, "at the time that Sergius was Pope," in order to be baptized in the church of the blessed Apostles; and his successor Ina, after a reign of thirty-seven years, "gave up his kingdom in like manner to younger persons, and went away to Rome, A.D. 728, when Gregory was Pope, to visit the blessed Apostles, being desirous to spend some time of his pilgrimage upon earth in the neighbourhood of the holy place, that he might be more easily received by the saints into heaven. The same thing was done, about the same time, by many of the fervent English nation, noble and ignoble, laity and clergy, men and women."[2] The institution of Peter's Pence, or Rome-

[1] The Venerable Bede was born in 673, in a village in the county of Durham. At seven years old, he was committed to the care of Saint Bennet Biscop, who founded the monastery of Weremouth in 674, and that of Jarrow in 680. Bede was principally educated at Jarrow, where he became a monk. In 702 he was ordained priest. His time was chiefly occupied in study, and in copying and composing books. He died in 735, aged sixty-two. His works were published in Paris, in 1544, in three volumes folio; and again in 1554, in eight volumes; in Basle in 1563, and in Cologne in 1612 and 1688—all in eight volumes folio. His principal work is his "Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation," first separately printed at Esslingen by Conrad Fyner, in 1574.

[2] Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," book v. chap. 7.

scot, by Ina is another proof of the intimate relations subsisting at this period between the Saxon princes and the Apostolic See.[1]

We have seen how, about the year 251, the schismatics at Carthage, endeavouring to intrude a false bishop into that see, sent a messenger to Rome, praying that their candidate Fortunatus might be received into communion by the Pope, Saint Cornelius—a notable proof, that, as early as the middle of the third century, in the remote capital of Africa, communion with the See of Rome was deemed, not only by the faithful, but even by schismatics, an essential condition of the legitimacy

[1] Peter's Pence, or Rome-Scot, was a tax instituted, in the early part of the eighth century, by Ina, King of the West Saxons, for the support of the Pope, and, as some writers allege, in return for a house for the reception of English pilgrims, erected in Rome. Ina abdicated in favour of his relative Ethelherd, A.D. 728, and made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he entered a monastery. His wife, Ethelburga, who had accompanied him, took the habit in a house of religious women, at the same time. Offa II., King of the Mercians, who reigned A.D. 755-796, following Ina's example, established Peter's Pence among his subjects; and, in the course of time, the payment became general all over England; so that every family, possessing twenty pence worth of goods of any kind, was liable to this tax of one penny in the year. The payment of Peter's Pence in England continued until the time of Henry VIII., when it was prohibited by statute, 25th Henry VIII., cap. 21 in England, and 28th Henry VIII., cap. 19 in Ireland. Cardinal Garampi, writing towards the end of the last century, alleges that Peter's Pence were originated by Offa, and not by Ina. To this allegation is opposed the evidence of Ranulph Higden, the Monk, of Chester, who writes in his Chronicle, concerning Ina, as follows: "Qui primus omnium regum denarium ex singulis domibus regni sui Beato Petro fertur concessisse, quod diu ab Anglis Romescot, Latine vero Denarius Petri vocabatur." Ranulph Higden was a Benedictine monk of Saint Werberg's, in the county of Chester, and died, close on his hundredth year, A.D. 1363. His Chronicle, written in Latin, was styled "Ranulphi Higdeni Polychronici Libri Septem," and was translated into English, by John of Trevisa, in 1387. This translation was retouched in 1482 by Caxton, who added an eighth book, bringing it down to 1460. Caxton's version of the passage above quoted is: "Ina bytoke his kyngedome of West Saxons to his cosyn ethelardus and wente to rome hyt is sayd that he was the fyrst of kynges that graunted to seynt peter of every hous of his kyngedome a peny that longtime by englysshemen was callyd Rome scott but in Latyn it is callyd petres peny" ("Cronica Ranulphi Cestrensis Monachi," lib. v. cap. 24. Westminster, Caxton, 1482).

of bishops. We have also seen how, on that occasion, the legitimate bishop, Saint Cyprian, writing to Cornelius, against "those schismatical and profane men," speaks of the Roman See as "the Chair of Peter," "the principal Church," and "the source of sacerdotal unity," and how, in a letter to Antonianus, an African bishop, Cyprian speaks of Cornelius, as holding "the place of Peter," and promises to inform His Holiness that Antonianus is "in communion with him, that is, with the Catholic Church."[1]

We have further seen how Saint Optatus, Bishop of Milevis in Numidia, writing against the Donatists, A.D. 370, tells them, that they are outside the Church, because their bishops are not in communion with the Successor of Saint Peter.[2] We have read the touching language of Saint Jerome, in his letter to Pope Damasus, whom he consults on certain points of doctrine, and whose advice he requests, as to whom he ought to communicate with, at Antioch; A.D. 376:—"I am united in communion with Your Holiness, that is, with the Chair of Peter. On that rock I know the Church is built."[3] We have also heard Saint Augustine, on the primacy of Innocent I., "presiding over that Church in which the Lord was pleased to crown with a most glorious martyrdom the first of His Apostles."[4] We have further listened to the learned Ecclesiastical historian, Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus in Syria, appealing to Saint Leo the Great, that, out of his paternal solicitude, he would furnish "remedies for the wounds of the Churches," even as "Paul, the herald of truth and the trumpet of the Holy Ghost, had recourse to the great Peter, in order that he might convey from him a solution of the question to those who were disputing at Antioch about the legal observances."[5]

This chain of evidence might be traced, link by link, in the reign of every Pope, down to the present day;

[1] Vide supra, chap. iii. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid.

but it would be tedious to follow it further. Besides, it is quite unnecessary to do so; for even the most inveterate enemies of the Papacy admit—nay, they adduce many a familiar instance to prove—that, with the growth and development of the Church, the assertion of their supremacy by the Sovereign Pontiffs grew apace; and it is a fact well deserving the consideration of our separated brethren, that, although continuously protested against and assailed by the great ones of this world, that supremacy has survived, in full potency, now over eighteen centuries and a half; which is in itself an earnest (wholly irrespective of the Divine promise to Peter and his successors) that it will continue to flourish, and exert its influence for good, until the consummation of the world.

Before closing this chapter, it may not be amiss to refer to the controversy about the validity of baptism conferred by heretics, that arose between Saint Cyprian and the Pope, Saint Stephen;[1] especially as it is sometimes used by non-Catholics, as an argument against the actual authority of the Holy See, at that early period. This controversy arose about the year 255. Cyprian pronounced baptism conferred by heretics invalid and null; whilst, against this opinion, which he condemned, Stephen upheld the ancient doctrine of the Church, that baptism given in the Evangelical words, that is, in the name of the three persons of the Holy Trinity, is valid, although conferred by a heretic. Even in the African Churches, this had been the doctrine, until it was changed by Agrippinus, Bishop of Carthage, about fifty years before Cyprian. To the more recent tradition of his Church Cyprian adhered, confirming it, in a synod of seventy-two bishops, which he convened at Carthage. In acting thus, he and his colleagues maintained, that the question was one which might well be left to the discretion of each bishop in his own

[1] Saint Stephen presided over the Church, A.D. 253–257.

diocese; but, clearly, they did not thereby intend to dispute the authority generally of the Holy See. On the contrary, as is evident from the extracts I have given from his works, and from the whole tenor of his writings, Cyprian was one of the most strenuous champions of the primacy of the Chair of Peter. On the arrival at Rome of the messengers of the African bishops, bearing the decision of the synod to Saint Stephen, the Pope refused to receive them; but it does not appear that he proceeded to the extreme measure of excommunication, which, according to Saint Augustine, he at one time contemplated. Indeed, all through, he exhibited singular forbearance, being confident of the ultimate triumph of truth, and clearly foreseeing the submission which the African bishops soon afterwards made to the Church.

Stephen (says Saint Augustine) had thought that those who were endeavouring to overturn the ancient custom of the Church, about receiving heretics, should be excommunicated; but, being influenced by the difficulty of that question, and endowed with holy charity, he deemed it better to remain in union with those who had thought differently. Thus, although he was extremely, but fraternally, moved by anger, nevertheless the peace of Christ prevailed in their hearts, so that, in the debate, no evil of schism arose among them.[1]

When all cried out against the novelty (says Saint Vincent of Lerins[2]) and the priests everywhere opposed it, according to each one's zeal, then Pope Stephen, of blessed memory, Bishop of the Apostolic See, stood up with his other colleagues against it; but he in a signal manner above the rest, thinking (as I believe)

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[1] Augustine, "De Baptism. contra Donat.," lib. v. cap. 25.

[2] Saint Vincent of Lerins flourished towards the middle of the fifth century. He dwelt in the celebrated monastery of Lerins, in one of the isles, so named, in the Mediterranean, off the coast of France, department of Var. His Commonitory against heretics was written in the year 434. His style is remarkable for clearness, eloquence, and close reasoning. He gives the following definition of Catholic truth: —"Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est, hoc est etenim vere proprieque Catholicum." "That which is everywhere, always, and by all believed, is consequently truly and properly Catholic."

that he should surpass them all in the devotion of his faith, as much as he excelled them in the authority of his place. Finally, in the epistle which he sent to Africa, he decreed the same in these words: "Let there be no innovation, but let that which is handed down to us by tradition be observed." . . . What then was the end of the entire affair? What but that which is usual and customary? Antiquity was retained and novelty was exploded.[1]

Thus, through the whole course of Ecclesiastical history, even from the earliest ages, we find the Popes continuously engaged in the work of remonstrance, exhortation, and instruction, addressing their letters, and sending their legates, to distant Churches, about the several subjects of controversy that, from time to time, arose. In not a few instances, we meet with the same spirit of zeal tempered by discretion, which characterized Saint Stephen, in his bearing towards the African bishops, and which, happily, tended to lead them eventually to bow to the decision of the Church, without "any evil of schism arising among them."[2]

This holy Pope's martyrdom took place in the persecution of Valerian, in the year 257; and Saint Cyprian gained the martyr's crown, the following year. If, in the warmth of this controversy, Cyprian carried his opposition too far, he effaced the offence by his glorious martyrdom, as observed by Saint Augustine.

[1] Vincentii Lerinensis, "Commonitorium contra Hæreses," cap. ix. "Tunc beatæ memoriæ Papa Stephanus, Apostolicæ sedis antistes, cum cæteris quidem collegis suis, sed tamen præ cæteris, restitit; dignum (ut opinor) existimans, si reliquos omnes tantum fidei devotione vinceret, quantum loci auctoritate superabat. Denique in epistola, quæ tunc ad Africam missa est, idem his verbis sanxit: Nihil novandum: nisi quod traditum est (nempe servetur). . . . Quis ergo tunc universi negotii exitus? Quis utique, nisi usitatus et solitus? Retenta est scilicet antiquitas, et explosa novitas." These words were written A.D. 434.

[2] According to Saint Jerome, the African bishops conformed to the decision of the Church, on this question, A.D. 262, or four years after Saint Cyprian's death.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RELATIONS OF POPES WITH COUNCILS.

"Catholici omnes id munus proprium esse docent Summi Pontificis, ut per se vel per legatos præsideat, et tamquam supremus judex omnia moderetur."—BELLARMIN (*De Conciliis*).

IN the relations of Popes with Councils, in the early ages, we may also discern the doctrine of the Primacy of the Chair of Peter, gradually developing itself with the growth and development of the Church.

In the commencement, as we have seen, the several bishops used to communicate with each other, either personally or by letter, on various points of doctrine—the Bishop of Rome being especially consulted.[1] Thus was uniformity of doctrine maintained.[2] Then, in time, as the necessity arose, with the extension of the Church, and the opportunity occurred, in the intermission of persecution, councils were held.[3]

At first, owing to the difficulties of travelling and inter-communication, the representative area of these councils was necessarily circumscribed; but the assembled Fathers took care, by letters and messengers, to communicate the result of their deliberations to

[1] Vide supra, chap. v.

[2] According to Hegesippus, speaking of his journey from Jerusalem to Rome, to visit Pope Anicetus, A.D. 157. Vide supra, ibid.

[3] Besides the Council of the Apostles at Jerusalem, A.D. 49, referred to in a former chapter, there were more than twenty councils held, down to the end of the third century. Particulars of these will be found in the Collections of Councils of Labbe and Cossart, Hardouin and others.

distant Churches; especially to that of Rome. In fact, from a very early period, the sanction of their proceedings by the Bishop of Rome was clearly deemed indispensable, as communion with the Apostolic See was universally regarded as an essential condition of orthodoxy. Moreover, it was by all considered to be the special office of the Roman Pontiff to communicate the decrees of councils, ratified by him, to all the Churches.

In this, we cannot but recognize the hand of God—the over-ruling providence of Him, who had promised to remain with His Church for ever. Necessarily, with the extension of Christianity, questions of doctrine would constantly arise, heretical opinions would be broached, from time to time—the former requiring accurate definition; the latter, immediate exposure and confutation. But how, under the circumstances, was uniformity of belief to be insured? A council might be held at Antioch, or at Alexandria, or at Constantinople, or at Lyons. How were the decisions of such a council to be made generally known—how rendered acceptable to other Churches? How were the opinions, possibly conflicting, of remotely divided provinces to be reduced to complete uniformity? How were points of doctrine to be decided, that might be controverted between them? Was Antioch to yield to Constantinople, or Alexandria to Lyons? Or, again, was each provincial or national Church to hold its own independent opinions? Was there no court of final appeal—no supreme tribunal, to decide all controversies—no central authority, to give the stamp of its sanction to the decisions arrived at, and to communicate those decisions, thus ratified, to all the Churches? In reply, Saint Irenæus, Saint Cyprian, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine—all the Fathers—point to the Chair of Peter, the Apostolic See, as the centre of unity, the keystone of the arch of Catholic faith, the divinely constituted authority, to whose arbitrament all should submissively bow, whose ruling all should unhesi-

tatingly accept; and, accordingly, this doctrine has governed and shaped the proceedings of councils, from the early ages of Christianity down to our times.

Councils are either Provincial—those of the bishops of a province, presided over by the metropolitan; or National, composed of all the bishops of a nation, presided over by the patriarch, primate, or other chief ecclesiastical authority;[1] or Œcumenical—those of the Universal Church, convened by the Supreme Pontiff, and presided over by him, either personally, or through his legates. The last are so named from the Greek *οἰκουμένη*, "the habitable world," or what was at one time deemed equivalent to it, "the Roman Empire."

National and Œcumenical, or General, Councils were, in the commencement, convened by the Christian Emperors; for it was only out of the Imperial treasury the heavy charges incidental thereto could be defrayed, and through the Imperial power and resources the necessary arrangements could be carried out. Generally, they were convened at the request, and invariably with the concurrence, or subsequent approval, of the Popes—such approval being, from the earliest period, an essential condition of their validity.[2] "In ancient times," says Hincmar of Rheims, writing A.D. 850, "councils always were assembled by command of the Apostolic See, and the convocation of the Emperor."[3]

After the fall of the Empire, when Christian States were subject to many different rulers, Œcumenical

[1] National councils are sometimes called Plenary, especially when presided over by an Apostolic Delegate, as in the case of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, recently held.

[2] The Greek Emperors, who were restless and officious, in interfering in Ecclesiastical affairs, in some cases convoked councils, which the Popes deemed unnecessary. Any councils, so convoked, unless subsequently confirmed by the Supreme Pontiff, were null and void.

[3] Epistle 33. "Concilia, Apostolicæ sedis jussione, et Imperiali convocatione, semper olim fieri consuevisse." Hincmar, a learned monk of Saint Denys, was appointed Archbishop of Rheims, A.D. 845. He died in 882. His works fill three volumes folio.

Councils were necessarily convoked by the Successor of Saint Peter.

The decrees of all councils—provincial and national, as well as œcumenical—require the Pope's sanction, to become valid. That this was an established law of the Church, in the early part of the fourth century, will be seen further on.

When the Fathers of the great Western Council of Arles,[1] A.D. 314, transmitted their decrees to the Pope, for his approval and communication thereof to all the Churches, they inscribed their letter, "To the most beloved Pope Sylvester," saying, "We salute thee with all due reverence, most glorious Pope." Having alluded to all that they had suffered from the errors and excesses of the Donatists,[2] whom they had assembled to condemn,

[1] The Council of Arles was convoked by Constantine, A.D. 314, the first year of the Pontificate of Saint Sylvester. According to the letters of the Emperor to Chrestus Bishop of Syracuse, and to Ablavius Vicar of Africa, bishops were invited to attend from places most various and remote, and the governors of provinces were ordered to provide them with food and all requisites for their journey, out of the Imperial treasury. The number of bishops who assembled is uncertain: some say two hundred. Twenty-two canons were enacted. In the eighth, it was decreed, against the Donatists, that baptism conferred with due form and matter by heretics is valid, and is not to be repeated—viz. *baptismus ab hæreticis cum debita forma et materia non repetatur.*

[2] Donatism. This schism arose about the year 306. It was so called after Donatus of Casæ Nigræ, a Numidian bishop, and again after another Donatus, who intruded into the See of Carthage in the year 315. It originated in a party who were opposed to Mensurius, Bishop of Carthage, and his deacon and successor Cecilian, on account of their lenity towards those penitents who had been "Traditores," or betrayers—that is, who, through fear of death in times of persecution, had delivered up the Scriptures to the Pagan officers, by whom they were burned. The Donatists were supported by fanatical and violent mobs, who committed great excesses. With a view to justifying their proceedings dogmatically, they broached the doctrine, that their sect was the true Church, as the Catholics, by admitting Cecilian and others like him to communion, had thereby separated themselves from the Church; that, as the validity of the sacraments depended on the sanctity of the minister, all sacraments conferred by those outside their sect were invalid; and, consequently, that those joining them should be re-baptized. Constantine passed enactments against those disturbers of the peace of the Church, and convoked the Council of Arles,

they continued: "Would that you were present at this great spectacle, most beloved brother, for, we truly believe, a more severe sentence would have been pronounced, and, you sitting in judgment with us, our assembly would have exulted with greater joy. But, as you could by no means leave those parts in which the Apostles sit daily, and their blood attests the glory of God," we have taken counsel, etc. They then proceeded to lay their canons before him, in order that through him, "most specially, as holding the greater dioceses, they may be communicated to all."[1]

"In all these proceedings," remarks Cardinal Baronius, "it is most worthy of observation, that it was the ancient custom of the Catholic Church, that when Ecclesiastical laws were enacted, in a general assembly of the Fathers, they used to send them to the Roman Pontiff, in order that, approved by his authority, they might be promulgated by him to all the Churches."[2]

At the First Œcumenical Council, that of Nice, the capital of Bithynia in Asia Minor, held A.D. 325, we find the primacy of the Chair of Peter no less fully recognized. The object of that council, composed of 318 bishops, was, to condemn the heresy of Arius, who denied the divinity of Christ.[3] It was convened by the

by which they were condemned; and his successors also endeavoured to repress them. But their own divisions tended principally to effect their extinction. Among their ablest opponents, were Saint Optatus Bishop of Milevis, and Saint Augustine.

[1] "Sacrosancta Concilia," Labbei et Cossartii, i. 1425, Paris 1671. "Epistola Synodi Arelatensis ad Silvestrum Papam de rebus in eâ gestis, et canonibus in eâ constitutis."

[2] Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," iii. 140.

[3] Arius, a priest of Alexandria, published his heresy A.D. 319. He maintained that the Son of God, or the Divine Word, was a creature, drawn from nothing, whom God the Father had produced before all ages, and of whom He made use to create the world: consequently that the Son of God was of a nature and dignity very inferior to the Father, and, properly speaking, could not be called God. He further taught that the Son of God was not of the *same* essence as the Father (ὁμοούσιος, consubstantial), but only of *like* essence (ὁμοιούσιος). These errors were vigorously opposed and condemned by Saints Alexander

Emperor Constantine, at the request of Pope Sylvester, according to some authorities, but, according to the Acts of the Sixth General Council, being the third of Constantinople, by the Emperor and Saint Sylvester conjointly.[1] The Pope, being unable to travel, on account of his great age,[2] presided by his legates, Osius Bishop of Cordova in Spain, one of the most illustrious prelates of the West, high in the Emperor's favour, and Vitus, or Vito, and Vincentius, two priests of Rome.[3]

"The right of presiding was conceded without contradiction by all the general councils to the Pope, in

and Athanasius, successively Patriarchs of Alexandria, and by several councils, especially by the General Council of Nice. At this last council, the doctrine of the Church was set forth in the following words, which are embodied in the Nicene Creed: "And in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, born only-begotten of the Father, that is, of the substance of the Father; God of God, light of light, true God of true God, born not made, consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things were made, both those in heaven and those on earth." Arius, who persisted in his errors, died A.D. 336. Notwithstanding his condemnation by the Church, his heresy, favoured by some of the emperors, and several of the Gothic and Lombard kings, flourished for more than three hundred years after his death. On its being legislated against by Theodosius, A.D. 384, it greatly diminished in the Roman Empire; but it extensively prevailed in the East, and in France and Spain, being professed by the Goths, Visigoths, Lombards, Vandals, and Burgundians. But, like all heresies, it became "a house divided against itself." The principal divisions were the Arians and Semi-Arians. One of the chief supporters of Arius was Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, after whom the sect were sometimes called Eusebians. Arianism, as a distinct heresy, expired towards the end of the eighth century; but it may be said to exist in modern times, under the Unitarian, Socinian, and other forms of error. It is generally regarded as having been the most extensive and most powerful heresy, that ever afflicted the Church, except perhaps the great Protestant movement in the sixteenth century.

[1] "Concilia," vi. 1049. "Constantinus et Silvester magnam in Nicæa synodum congregabant" (Concil. Constantinop. Tertium, Act 18).

[2] Socrates, "Hist. Eccles.," i. 8; and Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles." i. 17.

[3] "Ipse etiam Osius ex Hispanis, nominis et famæ celebritate insignis, qui Silvestri Episcopi Maximæ Romæ locum obtinebat, una cum Romanis presbyteris Vitone et Vincentio, cum aliis multis, in consessu illo adfuit" (Gelasius of Cyzicus, "Concilii Nicæni Historia," lib. ii. c. 5).

the persons of his legates," says Dr. Döllinger. "That, at Nice, Osius Bishop of Cordova, and the priests Vitus and Vincentius, presided as the legates of the Pope, is clear from the order in which Socrates names those who were present, and from the testimony of Eusebius, cited by Gelasius."[1]

This leading principle, consecrated by usage from the earliest period, is clearly stated by Cardinal Bellarmin,[2] in his work on Councils, in the following words: "All Catholics teach, that it is the special office of the Sovereign Pontiff, that, by himself or by his legates, he should preside, and, as the supreme judge, govern all things."[3]

Besides the condemnation of Arianism, the Council of Nice finally decided the controversy about the keeping of Easter, in accordance with the previous ruling of the Popes, already referred to; namely, that thenceforward the celebration of Easter should be observed by the Universal Church on the Sunday immediately following the full moon that happens on, or next after, the day of the vernal equinox; and, as Alexandria then was

[1] Döllinger, "History of the Church," period ii. chap. v. sec. 3. See also Socrates, "Ecclesiastical History," i. 13.

[2] Robert Cardinal Bellarmin, alike distinguished by his learning and holiness, and one of the ablest controversialists of any time, was born at Monte Pulciano in 1542; became a Jesuit scholastic at eighteen; and professed theology at Louvain, where he excited so much interest by his sermons that Protestants came from Holland and England, to hear him. After seven years sojourn in the Low Countries, he returned to Italy, and was appointed by Gregory XIII. to give controversial lectures in the college recently founded by that pontiff in Rome. Clement VIII. created him Cardinal (a dignity which he received with reluctance), and named him Archbishop of Capua in 1602. As Paul V. wished to have him near himself in Rome, Bellarmin resigned his see, and devoted his labours to the affairs of the Roman curia, until his death in 1621. His principal works are, "Disputationes de Controversiis Christianæ Fidei;" "Institutiones Hebraicæ linguæ;" "Explanatio in Psalmos;" "De Romano Pontifice;" "De officiis Episcoporum;" "De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis;" and "Doctrina Christiana."

[3] Bellarmin, "De Conciliis," i. 19. See the heading of this chapter.

pre-eminently advanced in the cultivation of astronomical science, the Fathers ordered, that the bishop of that Church "should have the necessary calculations completed, each year, and should forward the same to the Bishop of Rome, in order that the Universal Church, throughout the world, should be informed, by the authority of the Apostolic See, of the definite day of Easter, all discrepancy being thus excluded."[1]

As to the formal *confirmation* of the Acts of the Council of Nice, by Saint Sylvester, the direct evidence thereof adduced in the ancient histories of councils,[2] is by many of the learned regarded as questionable, if not spurious; but the indirect evidence appears, in itself, quite conclusive. Let us examine the latter. First, the Papal legates, who presided at the council, signed the Acts before all the other Fathers, including the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, whose signatures came next. Secondly, in the pontificate of Saint Julius, which commenced only three years after the death of Sylvester, it was an *established law of the Church, νόμον ἱερατικὸν*, that the approval of the Pope is indispensable to the validity of the ordinances of councils.[3] Thirdly, the Council of Nice is cited and adhered to, as of authority, through the approval of the Apostolic See, by all the Fathers, all the councils, and all the Popes of its own and succeeding centuries. Finally, we have the following plain statement of the fact in the fourth epistle of Pope Felix III., who governed the Church, A.D. 483–492: "The Lord having said to Peter, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church,' the 318 holy fathers assembled at Nice, following this

[1] Saint Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, "Prologus Paschalis," written A.D. 437: also Saint Leo the Great, "Epistola ad Martianum Augustum."

[2] See Labbe, "Concilia," ii. 412, and the learned notes of Severinus Binius thereon.

[3] This historical fact and its proofs will be found, fully set forth in the next chapter.

voice, referred the confirmation and authority of their Acts to the holy Roman Church."

The Second General Council was that of Constantinople, convened by the Emperor Theodosius the Great, A.D. 381, to condemn the heresy of Macedonius, who denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost.[1] It was composed of 153 orthodox bishops, principally Orientals, besides whom there were present thirty-six bishops who held the doctrine of Macedonius. Besides condemning this heresy, it confirmed the decrees of the Council of Nice, elected Nectarius to the vacant See of Constantinople, and enacted several disciplinary canons. The Pope, Saint Damasus,[2] was not present at this council, nor was he represented at it by his legates. Nevertheless, by his subsequent approval of its *dogmatic* canons, and its consequent acceptation by the Church, it acquired the character of a general council. Damasus however refused to confirm the remainder of its canons, especially the third, which enacted, "that the Bishop of Constantinople should take rank next after the Bishop of Rome, because the former was the New Rome."[3]

The Fathers of Nice had simply used in their symbol the words, "We believe in the Holy Ghost." It now became necessary to define more fully the doctrine of the Church, and the following words were added: "the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceeds from the Father,

[1] Macedonius was elected by the Arian sect to the See of Constantinople, in opposition to the orthodox Patriarch Paul, in the year 341. This led to great tumults and bloodshed. Macedonius for a long time usurped the See, and violently persecuted the Catholics, several of whom were put to death. He refused to subscribe to the doctrine that God the Son was consubstantial to the Father, *ὁμοούσιος*, and he denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost. His followers were called *Pneumatomachi*, or "fighters against the Spirit," as well as Macedonians.

[2] Saint Damasus, a Spaniard, governed the Church, A.D. 366-384.

[3] The subject of the five great Patriarchal Churches will be fully treated in the chapter on "The Hierarchy," further on.

and together with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified, who spoke by the prophets." Later on, as we shall presently see, it was found necessary still further to define the faith of the Church; and the words FILIOQUE were added, declaring that the Holy Ghost proceeds "from the Father *and the Son*." Thus, from time to time, as controversies arose, or heresies were put forth, the doctrine of the Church was affirmed and explicitly defined, to meet the necessity of the occasion; and this was done, generally with the initiative, and invariably with the approval and confirmation, of the Pope, as the Supreme Guardian and Teacher of Faith.

It may be useful, here, to examine the Creed or Symbol[2] of the Council of Nice, side by side with that of Constantinople. The latter is the complement of the former. It does not contain the *Filioque*, which was afterwards inserted, in order still further to express the faith of the Church. It is the Creed now recited after the first Gospel in the Mass, with the *Filioque* inserted,[3] and a few verbal variations made, which do

[1] For further particulars, the reader is referred to chap. viii., on the Greek Schism.

[2] Symbol, from the Greek σὺν together, and βάλλω to throw, being a collection, or putting together, of the principal articles of faith. The four great Symbols, or Creeds of the Church, are, the Apostles' Creed, said to have been drawn up by the Apostles, immediately before their dispersion, A.D. 41–42; that of the Council of Nice, A.D. 325; that of the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, which is the complement of that of Nice; and that of Saint Athanasius. This last, although it bears the name and contains the doctrine of Saint Athanasius, is by many supposed not to have been written by him; and is ascribed to Saint Hilary, Archbishop of Arles, in the fifth century. There is also the Creed of Pope Pius IV., drawn up by the Council of Trent, in obedience to that Pontiff, which will be fully spoken of, in the chapter on the Council of Trent.

[3] The article on the Holy Ghost in the Creed of Constantinople ran as follows, in the Latin: "Credimus in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem, ex Patre procedentem, et cum Patre et Filio adorandum et glorificandum," etc. As now settled, it runs: "Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre *Filioque* procedit, qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur," etc.

not in the least degree affect the sense,[1] as settled by the Council of Trent.[2]

The Nicene Creed, A.D. 325.

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all things, visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, born only-begotten of the Father, that is, of the substance of the Father; God of God, light of light, true God of true God; born not made, consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things were made, both those in heaven and those on earth. Who for us men and for our salvation descended, and became incarnate, was made man, suffered, and rose again the third day, ascended into heaven, and will come to judge the living and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost.[3]

The Constantinopolitan Creed, A.D. 381.

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, born of the Father before all ages; God of God, light of light, true God of true God; born not made; consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things were made. Who for us men and for our salvation descended from heaven and became incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man. He was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, suffered, and was buried. And the third day He rose again according to the Scriptures, ascended into heaven; sits at the right hand of the Father, and He will come again with glory, to judge the living and the dead; of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, proceeding

[1] The verbal variations are: "Credimus," "we believe," is changed into "Credo," "I believe;" "natum non factum" into "genitum non factum," that is "begotten" is substituted for "born;" and "homoousion Patri, hoc est ejusdem cum Patre substantiæ," is altered from the Greek term to its Latin equivalent, "consubstantialem Patri."

[2] This Creed is styled in our prayer-books the Nicene Creed. Strictly speaking, it would be more accurate to call it the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, as settled by the Council of Trent.

[3] Thus far, the articles of faith are set forth. Then follows an anathema against those who hold the opinions of Arius, which are specifically stated.

from the Father,[1] and with the Father and the Son to be adored and glorified; who spoke by the prophets. And One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. We confess one baptism for the remission of sins. We expect the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

In the year 416, were held the African councils of Carthage and Milevis, to condemn the heresy of Pelagius[2] and his disciple Cœlestius, who denied the necessity of Divine grace, and the existence of original sin. The letters of these councils to the Pope, Saint Innocent I.,[3] laying before him their proceedings, and requesting his confirmation thereof, were drawn up by Saint Augustine. In their letter, the Fathers of Carthage say: "We have decreed, that Pelagius and Cœlestius, the authors of these opinions, should be anathematized." They do not proceed further, but leave the execution of the sentence, they suggest, to the Supreme See; continuing as follows: "Therefore, Lord brother, we have deemed that this affair should be made known to Your Blessedness, in order that the authority of the Apostolic See may be applied to our humble statutes, to secure the salvation of many, as well as to correct the perversity of some."[4]

[1] Here *Filioque*, "and from the Son," has since been added, when the true belief of the Church regarding this tenet was assailed by heretics.

[2] Pelagius, by birth a Briton, and a monk of Bangor in Wales, visited Italy at the close of the fourth century, and dwelt for a long time in Rome, where he gained a great reputation for sanctity. There, unfortunately, he met Rufinus, a disciple of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and imbibed his errors, the principal of which was, that Divine grace is not necessary to man. About the year 409, Pelagius travelled into Africa, where his heresy was vigorously opposed and refuted by Saint Augustine. He was condemned by several councils, especially by the General Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. He died about the year 432.

[3] Saint Innocent I., a native of Albano, presided over the Church, A.D. 402–417.

[4] Apud. Sanct. August., Epist. 90.

The letter of the Council of Milevis no less clearly sets forth the principle, then long established, that all grave causes should be referred to the Roman Pontiff. It proceeds thus: "Because the Lord, by the special gift of His grace, hath placed you in the Apostolic Chair, and hath given such a one to our times, that, were we to remain silent before Your Holiness, with respect to those things to be suggested for the Church, it would be rather the fault of our negligence than the result of your hearing them disdainfully or indifferently, we beg you will vouchsafe to apply your pastoral care to the grave perils of the weak members of Christ."[1]

In his reply, Saint Innocent commends the action taken by these Fathers, in which, he tells them, "you have followed the ancient rule which you know, with me, has been always observed by the whole world; namely, that all Ecclesiastical affairs throughout the world are, by Divine right, to be referred to the Apostolic See; that is, to Saint Peter, the author of its name and honour."[2]

It is with reference to the confirmation of the decrees of these two councils that Saint Augustine observes: "The decisions of the two councils have already been sent to the Apostolic See, whence, moreover, the rescripts have arrived. The cause is finished. Would that error at last were at an end."[3] The "rescript" or reply of the Pope, thus confirming the proceedings of councils, had then, and long before, all the force and effect of an edict or law of the Church.

The Third General Council, that of Ephesus, composed at first of one hundred and ninety-eight bishops, subsequently increased to two hundred and fifty, was held A.D. 431. Its object was, to condemn the heresy

[1] Apud. Sanct. August., Epist. 92; et Epist. Rom. Pontif. in loco.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Saint Augustine, Sermo 132, n. 10: "Jam enim de causa duo concilia missa sunt ad sedem apostolicam. Inde etiam rescripta venerunt. Causa finita est: utinam aliquando finiatur error."

of Nestorius,[1] who denied the Incarnation, and consequently asserted that Mary was not the Mother of God—*θεοτόκος*. It also renewed the condemnation of Pelagius.

The Pope, Saint Celestine,[2] deputed Saint Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria,[3] to preside in his stead, at this council, assigning to him the authority of his See, and his place and power, for the occasion.[4] In his letter to Cyril, he prescribes the sentence to be carried into effect against Nestorius, in the following words: "Wherefore, assuming the authority of our See, and, in our stead, using our place and power, you will carry out, not without the required severity, the following sentence; namely, that unless within the interval of ten days, to be numbered from this our admonition, he shall anathematize his nefarious doctrine, in written terms, and pledge himself ever afterwards to profess that faith, which the Roman Church and that of your holiness and the universal Christian religion preaches, immediately your holiness will cast him out of the Church. . . . We have written to this effect also to our brothers and fellow-bishops, John, Rufus, Juvenal, and Flavian, in order that our sentence—nay, the

[1] Nestorius, a monk and priest of Antioch, was made Patriarch of Constantinople in 428. Immediately on his elevation, he commenced persecuting the Arians, Macedonians, and other heretics with great severity: and at the same time preached a new heresy himself, as above set forth. On his condemnation by the General Council of Ephesus in 431, he was deposed and banished to Oasis in the desert of Upper Egypt, where he died impenitent.

[2] Saint Celestine, a Campanian, governed the Church, A.D. 423–432.

[3] Saint Cyril succeeded Theophilus in the patriarchal chair of Alexandria, A.D. 412. His writings are numerous and valuable. Of these, the principal are "the Treasure," and his treatises against Nestorius and Julian. In a homily on the Blessed Virgin Mary Mother of God, delivered in an assembly of bishops during the Council of Ephesus, he speaks of the Pope as "the most holy Celestine the Father and Chief Bishop of the whole world, and the Patriarch of the great city of Rome. Saint Cyril died A.D. 444.

[4] "Nostræ sedis auctoritate adscita, nostraque vice et loco cum potestate usus."

Divine sentence of Christ our Lord—concerning him, may be known to many."[1]

Celestine had previously addressed a feeling but peremptory letter to Nestorius himself, to the same purport. In it, he tells him that he has appointed Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, to act for him, and he adds: "Unless by a public and written confession you condemn your perfidious novelties, you will be cast forth from the communion of the Catholic Church."[2]

Celestine also sent from Rome two bishops and a priest, as his legates, with instructions that they should act with Cyril. He wrote a letter to the council, moreover, calling on the Fathers to adopt the sentence of condemnation, which, in a council convened in Rome, he had already pronounced against Nestorius. "Through our solicitude," says he, "we have appointed our holy brothers and fellow-priests, the suffragan bishops Arcadius and Projectus, and Philip our priest, well-proved men, and of one mind with us; in order that they may take part in the proceedings, carrying out that which has already been decreed by us, to which, we doubt not, assent will be given by your holy assembly, when that which is done may seem decreed for the security of the Universal Church."[3]

In these letters of Celestine, we have a conclusive proof of the supreme authority exercised by the Popes in the proceedings of councils, at this early period, confirmed, as it is, by the declaration of the assembled Fathers, in their judgment of Nestorius, that they condemn him, "constrained to do so by the sacred canons and the letter of our most holy father and fellow-priest Celestine, Bishop of the Church of Rome."[4]

Here it is deserving of note, that as far back as the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, "it was *customary* that a decree of the Apostolic See should precede the dog-

[1] "Concilia Generalia Ecclesiæ," i. 274; Rome, 1628. See also Baronius, "Annales," v. 555.
[2] Ibid., i. 274. [3] Ibid., 405. [4] Ibid., 366,

matical decisions of general councils, and this decree was the authority and guide of the council."[1]

It may perhaps be not uninteresting to the reader to peruse the following additional particulars of the proceedings, taken from the Acts of this council, held more than fourteen hundred years ago. When the Pope's letter, condemning, and passing sentence on, Nestorius, had been read, it was hailed by the acclamations of "all the most reverend bishops, who cried out, with one voice, 'This is a just judgment.'" They then rendered thanks, by acclaim, to "Celestine, the guardian of the faith, to Celestine in accord with the synod," as well as to Cyril, who presided in his name, adding: "There is one Celestine, there is one Cyril; the faith of the synod is one; the faith of the whole world is one."[2]

"Then Projectus, the most reverend bishop and legate, said, 'Consider, holy Fathers, the mandate of the letter of the holy and venerable Pope, Bishop Celestine, who, not as one teaching the ignorant, but rather as one admonishing the learned, exhorts your holy assembly, that you will, according to the rule of faith and the interests of the Catholic Church, order to be accomplished, in all particulars, those things which he has already beforehand deigned to define, and of which he now reminds you.'"[3]

"On this, Firmus, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, said, 'The Apostolic and holy See of the most holy Bishop Celestine, through the letters which he has sent to the most religious Bishops, Cyril of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and Rufus of Thessalonica, as well as to the holy Churches of Constantinople and Antioch, has already beforehand prescribed, concerning the present affair, the sentence and rule, which we also now follow; . . . and we have ordered that mandate

[1] Döllinger, "History of the Church," period ii. chap. v. sec. 3.
[2] "Concilia Generalia Ecclesiæ," i. 405.
[3] Ibid.

to be executed, thus carrying out the canonical and Apostolic judgment against him (Nestorius).'"[1]

The result of this council—the overthrow of the Nestorian and Pelagian heresies—is alluded to by Saint Prosper,[2] a cotemporary, as follows: "Through this man (Celestine) all the Eastern Churches were freed from this double plague, when he, with the Apostolic sword, aided Cyril the Bishop of Alexandria, the most glorious defender of the Catholic faith, to ban the Nestorian impiety; and by him also were the Pelagians (associated in kindred errors) a second time overthrown."[3]

It was on this occasion that the words, "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us," were added to the Angelical Salutation.[4]

The Fourth General Council, that of Chalcedon, composed of six hundred bishops, was held in the year 451, to condemn the heresy of Eutyches, who denied the existence of two distinct natures—the Divine and human—in Christ.[5] It was presided over by Saint

[1] "Concilia Generalia Ecclesiæ, i. 405.

[2] Saint Prosper of Aquitaine was born A.D. 403. He was a layman, distinguished alike for his virtues and his great talents and learning. His zeal and success in opposing the heresies of his time were remarkable. About the year 440, he wrote his admired poem "De Ingratis." He was also the author of many controversial works. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 455. Saint Leo the Great, on his election to the Papal throne, A.D. 440, invited Prosper to Rome, appointed him his secretary, and entrusted the most important affairs to his care. Saint Prosper died about the year 463.

[3] Prosper, "Contra Collatorem," prope finem.

[4] Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," v. 622.

[5] Eutyches was the abbot of a monastery of three hundred monks, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. He left his retreat to oppose Nestorius; but unfortunately he broached another heresy, as above set forth. His doctrine was, that, after the Incarnation, the human nature of Christ was altogether absorbed by the Divine. In the year 448, Eutyches was condemned by a Council at Constantinople presided over by Saint Flavian, Archbishop of that see. On this, he demanded a General Council, which was convened at Ephesus by the Emperor Theodosius II., and opened on the 8th of August, 449. This is known as "the false Synod of Ephesus," and also has been called the *Latrocinale*, or "assembly of robbers," on account of its violent proceedings.

Leo the Great,[1] through his legates, Paschasinus Bishop of Lilybæum, Lucentius Bishop of Ascoli, and Boniface and Basil, priests of Rome. In his letter, dated June 25, 451, the Pope commends to the Emperor Marcian the legates whom he is sending, and begs of him to protect and defend the Catholic faith. In a letter addressed to the Council, the following day, Leo states that he cannot be personally present, "which neither the necessity of the times nor any usage may permit,"[2] adding, "However, my brethren, you will consider that I preside over the synod in these brethren, Paschasinus and Lucentius, bishops, and Boniface and Basil, priests, who are appointed by the Apostolic See—my presence not being denied you, as I am with you in my vicars,

It was composed of 135 bishops or their deputies, from Egypt and the East. Ignoring the Papal legates, Dioscorus, a violent man, who had succeeded Saint Cyril as Patriarch of Alexandria, presided. Eutyches was present, accompanied by two of the imperial officers and a number of soldiers to support his cause. Necessarily, in this packed assembly, everything went in his favour. Saint Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople, and Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylæum, were deposed. The Pope's legates were not allowed to read his letter to the synod; and they protested against the whole proceedings. Saint Flavian, on the spot, appealed to the Pope, lodging his written appeal with the Papal Legates. On this, he was grossly insulted and maltreated, being actually beaten by the soldiers who had accompanied Dioscorus! The venerable man, a martyr of the faith, survived these outrages only a few days, dying at Hypepa in Lydia, to which place he had been exiled by the Emperor. At the General Council of Chalcedon, all honour was paid to the memory of Flavian, who was declared a saint and a martyr, Eusebius was restored to his see, and Dioscorus was deposed and excommunicated. The heresiarch Eutyches died shortly after his condemnation by the Council of Chalcedon, aged seventy-five. His followers were called Monophysites, from the Greek, *μόνος*, single, and *φύσις*, nature.

[1] In one of his letters to the Fathers of this council, Saint Leo says that "it was convened by the precept of the Christian Emperors, and with the consent of the Apostolic See." *Fidei causâ, propter quam ex præcepto Christianorum Principum, et ex consensu Apostolicæ Sedis placuit congregari* ("Concilia Generalia Ecclesiæ," ii. 41).

[2] It will be noted that, down to this time, the Popes presided *by their legates*, at General Councils, being unable to be present in person, as they "could not leave those parts in which the Apostles sit daily." Vide supra, page 89.

and have long been unrelaxing in the preaching of the Catholic faith; so that you cannot be ignorant of what we believe, or have any doubt as to what we desire."[1]

The Emperor received the legates with all honour, on their arrival at Constantinople, and addressed the following reply to the Pope:—

"To Leo, the Most Reverend Bishop of the most glorious Church of the city of Rome, Marcian.

"Let not Your Holiness doubt our zeal and conduct of affairs; since we wish the true religion and the firm Apostolic faith to abide, and to be observed with a pious mind by every nation. Indeed, we have no doubt that the safeguard of our power consists in the true religion, and the propitiation of our Saviour. Wherefore, we have willingly, as we ought, and with a grateful mind, received the most reverend men whom Your Holiness has recommended to our good graces. It remains that, should it please Your Blessedness to visit these parts and celebrate the Synod, you will vouchsafe to do so, out of love for religion. Then would Your Holiness gratify our desires, and decree those things which are useful to holy religion. But should it be onerous to you to visit these parts, Your Holiness will please make it known in your letters, so that our letters may be addressed to the whole East, and also to Thrace and Illyria, in order that all the most holy bishops may attend at a certain destined place, which will be agreeable to you, and there, of their own disposition, declare those things which are for the interests of the Christian religion and Catholic faith, as Your Holiness, according to Ecclesiastical rules, may define."[2]

This letter of the Emperor Marcian, written more than fourteen centuries ago, affords an interesting illustration of how the Successor of Saint Peter was venerated, and how thoroughly his supremacy in the definition of matters of faith was recognized, at that early period.

At the council was read the letter of Leo, written,

[1] Leonis I., Epistola 49; and "Concilia Generalia Ecclesiæ," ii. 41.

[2] "Concilia," tom. ii. Ante Concil. Chalced.; and Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," vi. 122. "Ut ad quemdam destinatum locum, ubi vobis placuerit, omnes sanctissimi Episcopi debeant convenire; et quæ Christianæ religioni et Catholicæ fidei prosint, sicut Sanctitas Tua secundum Ecclesiasticas regulas definierit, sua dispositione declarent."

two years before, to Saint Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople, but suppressed by Dioscorus at the false synod of Ephesus.[1] In that letter, which is inserted in the Acts of the General Council of Chalcedon, the Pope clearly explained the doctrine of the Incarnation, defending it against the false teaching of Eutyches and Nestorius. On its being read by his legates, the entire assembly hailed it, as dictated by the Holy Ghost, and declared it a rule for the Universal Church. "This," said they, "we all believe. It is the faith of the Apostles. Peter hath spoken by Leo."

On this occasion, Lucentius, one of the Papal legates, complaining of the proceedings of the false synod of Ephesus, declared, that it was highly criminal on the part of Dioscorus, "to presume to celebrate a synod without the authority of the Apostolic See, a thing that never had been, nor could be, legitimately done."[2]

The Fathers of the council, in their letter to Saint Leo, declare, that he has "presided over them, as a head over its members;" and, in sending their decrees for his approval and confirmation, they assure His Holiness of their dutiful submission in these words: "That you may know that we have done nothing for favour or through ill-will, but as guided by the Holy Spirit, we have made known to you the force of all that has been done, for your concurrence and for your confirmation and approval thereof."[3]

Saint Leo confirmed all the decrees of this council regarding matters of faith, but he refused compliance with the request of the Fathers, that he would confirm the twenty-eighth canon, giving the See of Constantinople precedence, as a Patriarchal Church, over Alexandria and Antioch, and placing it next after Rome. The Papal legates and some of the Oriental

[1] Vide supra, in this chapter.

[2] Concil. Chalced. Acta. "Synodum ausus est facere sine auctoritate Sedis Apostolicæ, quod rite nunquam factum est, nec fieri licuit."

[3] Ibid., Epist. Synod. ad Papam Leonem.

bishops had protested against this canon in the council.[1]

The formal approval of the proceedings of councils, and the confirmation of their decrees, were thus sought for from the Pope, even though he had presided by his legates. In fact, as already stated, all councils—national and provincial, as well as œcumenical—derive their authority from the confirmation of their canons by the Pope. Without that confirmation, they would be null and void.[2]

A strong case in point is the Fifth General Council, the second of Constantinople, convened by the Emperor Justinian, in the year 553, to deal with the affair of the Three Chapters.[3] This council commenced with 153 bishops, increased at its close to 165. Its convocation was certainly not fully approved of by Pope Vigilius,[4] who, although he gave his assent thereto

[1] Concil. Chalced. Acta. At the Second General Council, that of Constantinople, a canon, the third, to the same effect, was enacted; but the Pope, Saint Damasus, refused to confirm it, as we have seen.

[2] The great antiquity of this law of the Church will be seen in the next chapter.

[3] The "Three Chapters," Τρία Κεφάλαια, *Tria Capitula*, are the treatises of Theodore Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, the Epistle of Ibas Bishop of Edessa to Maris the Persian, and the Tracts of Theodoret Bishop of Cyrus against Saint Cyril, all which writings were more or less imbued with Nestorianism. Theodore was made bishop of Mopsuestia, A.D. 381. His works laid the foundations of the Nestorian and Pelagian heresies. His former friend, Saint John Chrysostom, wrote eloquent and touching treatises for his conversion. His name had been erased from the diptychs of his own church before the Fifth General Council. He died in the communion of the Church, in 428. Ibas and Theodoret attended the General Council of Chalcedon in 451, and, having there pronounced anathema against Nestorius and his doctrines, were declared orthodox. The *writings* of these three bishops, above referred to as the "Three Chapters," were not examined by this Council; but they were brought under the notice of, and carefully examined by, the Fifth General Council, and solemnly condemned by that assembly, in 553. Pope Vigilius confirmed their condemnation, but he spared the persons of Ibas and Theodoret, who had anathematized Nestorianism at the Council of Chalcedon. Theodore of Mopsuestia, as we have seen, had died many years before. For the life of Theodoret of Cyrus, see Index, Theodoret.

[4] Vigilius, a Roman, governed the Church, A.D. 538–555. The

in writing, refused to attend it; but his subsequent acceptance and confirmation of its dogmatic decrees gave it the character of a General Council.[1]

Empress Theodora, wife of Justinian, being a partisan of the Eutychian or Monophysite heretics, tried to induce Pope Saint Silverius to condemn the General Council of Chalcedon, and to receive the Eutychians into communion. This the Pope firmly refused to do; and, in consequence, he was arrested, deposed, and sent into exile, by the Imperial general Belisarius, in obedience to the Empress. It having been artfully stated that Silverius had abdicated, the Roman clergy were called upon to elect his successor. The Empress contrived that their choice should fall on Vigilius, an archdeacon of the Roman Church, then at Constantinople. Accordingly, Vigilius, who, unhappily urged by ambition, had entered into her views, and was a party to these unlawful proceedings, was elected on 22nd November, 538. Silverius, broken down by hardships, died in exile, in the island of Palmaria, on 20th June, 540. Then Vigilius resigned, was re-elected, and was universally acknowledged Pope. On this, he became a totally changed man, condemning the Eutychians, upholding the Council of Chalcedon, and in every respect opposing the machinations of the Empress against the Church. Visiting Constantinople, on the Emperor's invitation, he was arrested, by Theodora's orders, grossly maltreated, and cast into a dungeon. He died at Syracuse, on his journey back to Rome, on 10th January, 555. The history of Pope Vigilius forcibly reminds us of Christ's promise to Saint Peter, Luke xxii. 32. The observations of Dr. Döllinger thereon will be read with interest: "But God was still watching over his Church. After the death of Silverius, Vigilius, who was now lawful Pope, proved himself an altered man. He refused the Empress the decree which she required of him in favour of the Severians. He wrote to Justinian and to Mennas (Patriarch of Constantinople), professing his firm adherence to the four General Councils—to the doctrines of his predecessors, Leo and Agapitus; and he declared Anthimus and Severus excommunicated. When reproached by his former friends with his want of faith to his promises, he solemnly affirmed that he was willing to efface them with his blood." Vigilius has been accused of vacillating, under the pressure of persecution; "but his changings," observes the same learned writer, "had no reference to dogmas of faith. In these he was ever the same. . . . He varied only on the question of ecclesiastical economy, whether it were prudent to condemn writings which the Council of Chalcedon had spared, and to anathematize a man who had died in the communion of the Church" ("History of the Church," period ii. c. iv. sec. 5).

[1] Evagrius, "Ecclesiastical History," book iv. chap. 38. Evagrius was born at Epiphania in Syria, in the year 536. He was an advocate, and practised at Antioch. His Ecclesiastical History ranges from A.D. 431 to 594. The letter of Vigilius, to which he alludes, was long lost, but was discovered by Peter de Marca, who gave it to the public in his learned treatise, "De Vigilii decreto pro confirmatione Quinti

The Sixth General Council, the third of Constantinople,[1] assembled in that city, on the 7th November, 680. It was convoked by the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, with the assent of the Holy See. Pope Agatho[2] presided over it, through his legates, Theodore and George, priests, and John, a deacon, afterwards Pope, as John V. The numbers present were 286 bishops, besides the Papal legates.[3] The object of the council was, to condemn the Monothelite heresy.[4] This heresy had commenced about the year 616, its originators being Theodore, Bishop of Pharan in Arabia, and Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople. In some time, these were joined and actively supported by Cyrus, Bishop of Phasis, subsequently Patriarch of Alexandria, and Pyrrhus, a monk, who succeeded Sergius in the See of Constantinople, in 639.[5] They held the doctrine, that the union of the two natures in Christ—the Divine and human—produced but one will (the Divine will) and one operation, instead of two wills (the Divine and human) and two operations, in harmony, as is the faith of the Church. The Emperor Heraclius, and several prelates and other influential persons and their followers, were gained over to their doctrines—the more readily that their professed object was to bring about the desirable end of inducing the Eutychians, or Mono-

Synodi." Baronius questions the alleged assent of Vigilius to the convocation of this council.

[1] It is sometimes styled the First Trullan Council, after the Chapel of the imperial palace in which it was held, named Trullus, from its roof, which was shaped like a bowl or shell, in Latin *trulla*.

[2] Saint Agatho, a Greek, governed the Church, A.D. 678–682.

[3] This council was closed on 16th September, 681. We find only 196 bishops subscribing the Acts.

[4] Monothelites, from the Greek, *μόνος*, single, and *θέλησις*, will.

[5] Pyrrhus, however, in the year 645, went to Rome with Saint Maximus, and there abjured his errors, before Pope Theodore (Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," viii. 372, 710). His conversion was the result of Maximus's "Disputation with Pyrrhus," which will be found, in the Greek and Latin versions, at the end of volume viii. of the "Annals of Baronius."

physites (who had been condemned at the Council of Chalcedon) to re-enter the pale of the Church.

The Monothelite heresy, in reality a renewal of the errors of Eutyches, was strenuously opposed by Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, Maximus of Constantinople, Abbot, one of the ablest theologians of the day, and other Oriental prelates.[1] Sophronius wrote to Pope Honorius,[2] calling his attention to so great a danger; whereupon Sergius addressed a crafty letter to the Pontiff, representing to him, that it would be a sad discouragement to the Monophysites, if, by the condemnation of one phrase, as suggested by Sophronius, they were prevented re-entering the Church. Honorius's reply to Sergius was incautiously framed, so that he seemingly echoed the sentiments of the latter, and he so far met his views, as to order that no Ecclesiastical decision should be made on the subject, and that all discussion thereof should forthwith cease. Honorius died in 638: and the death of Sophronius took place the same year.

In 639, the Emperor Heraclius published a decree, drawn up by Sergius, and styled an Ecthesis or Exposition of faith.[3] In it, the Emperor ordered, that there should be no more controversy on the question;

[1] Saint Sophronius the Monk, an able and learned man, was a native of Damascus in Syria. In 634, he was appointed Patriarch of Jerusalem, and was one of the most zealous and powerful opponents of Monothelism in the East. He died in 638 (some say in 644). We have from his pen the "Life of Saint Mary of Egypt," and Sermons. Saint Maximus, Abbot, called by the Greeks "the Confessor," Μάρτυρ, was another leading opponent of the Monothelites. He was born, of an ancient and noble family, in Constantinople. He died, from his sufferings in prison, in 662. His works, chiefly Commentaries on Scripture, and Treatises against the Monothelites, were published in Paris, in two vols. folio, in 1675.

[2] Honorius, a native of Campania, governed the Church, A.D. 625–638.

[3] Ἔκθεσις τῆς πίστεως. In the year 640, in a council which he assembled at Rome, Pope John IV. condemned the Ecthesis, which the Emperor, thereupon, withdrew, explaining to the Pontiff, that it was at the earnest solicitation of Sergius he had signed and published it.

and, at the same time, he clearly expressed himself as favourable to the new doctrine. Thus supported by Heraclius, and Constans II., his immediate successor in the Empire, the heresy grew and flourished. Its leading opponent in the East, now that Sophronius was dead, was Abbot Maximus. It was moreover condemned by John IV., Martin I., and the other successors of Honorius in the Papal Chair, down to Saint Agatho, who accomplished its complete discomfiture and final solemn condemnation, in the Sixth General Council, above described.

At this council, the Monothelites were heard, in the first instance, through their leader, Macarius Patriarch of Antioch; and then the Papal legates defined the orthodox doctrine, as set forth in the Pope's Dogmatic Epistle, unanimously adopting which, in their letter addressed to the Emperor, in the final session, the Fathers affirmed, that "Peter had spoken by Agatho." [1]

At the close of the proceedings, the Fathers addressed a Synodical Report to the Pope, which, along with the Acts of the council, they transmitted to him by the legates, praying that he would confirm all, by the Apostolic authority. "We have," they wrote, "openly proclaimed, with you, the shining light of the orthodox faith, which we beg of Your Paternal Holiness to again confirm by your Rescript, worthy of all honour."

As regards the subscription of the Acts, the Papal legates signed first, as "holding the place of Pope Agatho;" secondly, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; then, the three

[1] "Sed per Agathonem Petrus loquebatur." "Address of acclamation" by the Fathers of the Sixth General Council to the Emperor, session seventeenth and last, on September 16, 681. Writing to the Council of Rome, afterwards, the Emperor commends the zeal with which, "together with the Universal Prince of Pastors," they had defended the Catholic faith, and he adds: "We prized the words of Agatho as the voice of Blessed Peter himself," "Tanquam ipsius divini Petri vocem, Agathonis relationem supermirati sumus" (Baronius, "Annales," viii. 559, 560).

Metropolitans of Thessalonica, Cyprus, and Ravenna; after these, the legates of the whole council of the Apostolic See of Rome;[1] and the other Fathers, in their proper rotation.

But before their letter and that of the Emperor and the Acts of the Council reached Rome, Agatho died; and consequently the formal approval and confirmation sought for were given by his successor Leo II.,[2] in a Rescript addressed to the Emperor, in the following words: "Wherefore We and, through our office, the Venerable Apostolic See, with unanimous accord, consent to confirm, by the authority of Blessed Peter, those things which have been defined by the holy, universal, and great Sixth Council—definitions acquiring firmness from our Lord, on, as it were, a solid rock, which is Christ. Accordingly, as We receive and firmly proclaim the five holy Universal Councils, Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and the Second of Constantinople, which the whole Church of Christ approves and follows; so that council also which, with the pious co-operation of Your Serenity, has lately been celebrated in the Royal city, We receive with equal veneration and authority, as following up and interpreting them; and We decree that it be deservedly numbered with them, as having assembled with one and the same grace of God; and We consider that the priests of the Church of Christ who faithfully met therein should be equally inscribed among the holy Fathers and Doctors."[3]

It is necessary to say a few words here on the case of Pope Honorius. In the Acts of the Sixth General Council, which we have just now been discussing, that Pontiff is condemned, as "in all things a follower of

[1] These attended, with the Pope's approval, as well as the Papal legates, at the special request of the Emperor, who was anxious to have a full representation of the West, at the General Council.

[2] Saint Leo II., a Sicilian, governed the Church, A.D. 682–683.

[3] Pagi, "Pontificum Romanorum Gesta," i. 358.

Sergius"[1]—a circumstance, which, taken in conjunction with his letter to the latter, has led to much controversy in later times; so that his orthodoxy has been disputed by non-Catholics, to this day. Evidently, Honorius was misled by the crafty Greeks. At the same time, it must be admitted that, by the tenor of his letter to Sergius, and by his forbidding any discussion of the question raised by the Monothelites, he laid himself open to the charge of favouring the new doctrine, which he ought at once to have authoritatively condemned. "From his inconsiderate letter," as observed by Doctor Döllinger, "matter was drawn in later times both for his condemnation and exculpation."[2] Pope Leo II., in his Epistle to the Bishops of Spain, on the Acts of the Sixth General Council, blames Honorius, "because he did not, as became the Apostolic authority, immediately extinguish the flame of heretical error; but by his negligence added fuel to the fire."[3] He was condemned, observes Pagi, "not as a heretic, but as a favourer of heretics."[4] "We are fully justified," says Doctor Döllinger, "in supposing that Honorius thought much more correctly than he expressed himself."[5] Indeed his cotemporary, Saint Maximus, asserts that he was "an opponent of the Monothelites:" and his own secretary, the Roman Abbot John, affirms that his letter to Sergius was falsified by the Greeks. "Who then is the more worthy of faith and authority as the interpreter of that letter," asks Saint Maximus, "he who wrote it on behalf of Honorius, and who is

[1] It is positively asserted by Baronius, that the Acts of this Council were, in this passage, falsified by the Greeks. "Annales," viii. 570, et seq.

[2] Döllinger, "Church History," period ii. chap. iv. sec. 7.

[3] Leonis, P.P. II. Epist. ad Episcopos Hispaniæ. "Flammam hæretici dogmatis, non, ut decuit Apostolicam auctoritatem, incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovit."

[4] Pagi, "Pontificum Romanorum Gesta," i. 350. "Damnatus est Honorius Papa, non quidem ut hæreticus, sed ut hæreticorum fautor."

[5] Döllinger, "History of the Church," period ii. chap. iv. sec. 7.

still alive, and who has enlightened all the West by his virtues and teaching of the true Christian faith, or they at Constantinople who spoke their own feelings?"[1]

Cardinal Baronius has written at great length, in his Annals, in vindication of Honorius; and besides him there are many able and learned apologists of that Pontiff, in the past, as well as in modern times. In our day, the controversy has been revived by the celebration of the Vatican Council; and the result is that, during the last fourteen years, considerable additions have been made to the literature of the question.

In reviewing the whole case, it is necessary to bear in mind the following facts, if we would arrive at a just conclusion: 1. When Honorius wrote to Sergius, no definition had ever been made by the Church, with respect to the doctrine which formed the subject of the correspondence. 2. Honorius in his letter, made no definition himself: nay, he expressly said that he did not mean to do so. 3. He forbade any further discussion of the doctrinal point submitted to his notice instead of immediately examining it, with the aid of his council, and deciding it with the Apostolic authority; and it is for this omission, or negligence, or temporizing policy, that he is most generally censured. 4. Anything that Honorius actually wrote, or might have written, to Sergius, could never be regarded as that to which alone Infallibility is believed by Catholics to attach; namely, a solemn *ex Cathedra* definition, addressed by the Supreme Pontiff to the Universal Church. This will be more clearly understood, when we have before us, further on, in the chapter on Papal Infallibility, the conditions, all of which are essential

[1] "Disputatio Sancti Maximi cum Pyrrho," apud Baronium, "Annales Ecclesiastici," viii. 699. "Maximus: 'Quis fuerit fide et auctoritate dignus epistolæ hujus interpres, qui eam ex persona Honorii scripsit, adhuc superstes, et qui totum Occidentem cum aliis virtutibus, tum dogmatibus fidei Christianæ, illustravit; an ii qui Constantinopoli quæ ex corde erant loquebantur?'"

to constitute an *ex Cathedra* pronouncement, as laid down by the Vatican Council.

"Centuries of controversy have established beyond all doubt," observes Cardinal Manning, "that the accusation against Honorius cannot be raised by his most ardent antagonists to more than a probability. And this probability, at its maximum, is less than that of his defence. I therefore affirm the question to be doubtful; which is abundantly sufficient against the private judgment of his accusers. The cumulus of evidence for the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff outweighs all such doubts." [1]

Here may be appositely quoted the following words of Pope Agatho, in his Dogmatic Epistle, addressed to the Emperor, on the occasion of the assembling of the Sixth General Council: "For this is the true rule of faith, which in prosperity and in adversity is firmly held and defended by this spiritual mother of your most serene Empire, the Apostolic Church of Christ, which, through the grace of Almighty God, will be proved never to have erred from the path of Apostolic tradition, and which has never succumbed, corrupted by heretical novelties: but as, from the beginning of Christian faith, she has learned from her founders, the princes of the Apostles of Christ, she remains undefiled to the end, according to the Divine promise of our Lord and Saviour Himself, which He spoke to the Prince of His Disciples in the Sacred Gospels, saying, 'Peter, Peter, behold Satan hath desired to have you that he may sift you as wheat. But I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not: and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren.' Wherefore let your Serene Clemency consider, that, since the Lord and Saviour of all, of whom faith is, and who promised that the faith of Peter should not fail, admonished him to confirm his brethren, the same, as all know, has ever been confidently done by the Apostolic Pontiffs, my predecessors

[1] Manning, "Petri Privilegium," iii. 223; London, 1870.

of whom my littleness, although unequal and the least, desires to be a humble follower, for the sake of the ministry assumed by me, through the Divine mercy; for it will be woe to me, if I shall neglect to preach the truth of my Lord, which they sincerely preached."

Surely, Saint Agatho would not have written thus, on such an occasion, and only forty-two years after the death of Honorius, if he believed that the latter, one of "the Apostolic Pontiffs, his predecessors," had swerved one iota from the faith of Peter. All this tends to strengthen the conclusion, that it was only for having favoured heretics by his negligence in restraining them that Honorius was condemned.

It is a matter to be especially noted, that the six general councils treated of in this chapter were mainly composed of Eastern bishops, were held in the East, and were under the influence of the Emperors of the East;[1] which circumstances go to prove still more conclusively, if possible, the complete supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, as visible Head and Teacher of the Universal Church, in the early ages of Christianity.

To adduce further evidence on this subject would be superfluous; for, as all readers of Ecclesiastical history are aware, the supreme authority of the successors of Saint Peter, in their relations with councils, as in all other respects, became more and more developed, in each successive age, with the growth and extension of the Church.

[1] The Western bishops were prevented from attending, in numbers, by the dangers and difficulties of the long journey, as well as by the circumstance of their presence being required at home, to mitigate the evils entailed on their flocks by wars, dissensions, and the Barbarian incursions.

CHAPTER VII.

APPELLATE JURISDICTION OF THE HOLY SEE.

"Ipsi sunt canones, qui appellationes totius Ecclesiæ ad hujus sedis examen voluere deferri; ab ipsa vero nusquam prorsus appellari debere sanxerunt; ac per hoc illam de tota Ecclesia judicare, ipsam ad nullius commeare judicium."—POPE GELASIUS I., A.D. 493.[1]

THE recognition of the supreme authority of the Holy See, from a very early period, is further evidenced by the appeals addressed to it from distant Churches, its intervention in the affairs of those Churches, its deposition of unworthy and schismatical bishops, its restoration to their sees of bishops unjustly deposed, its excommunication of heretics, and receiving back to communion those who had abjured their errors, as well as its firm and decisive condemnation of the proceedings of irregular synods, convened without its sanction, and lacking the stamp of its approval and confirmation.

The interposition of Saint Clement, fourth Bishop of Rome, in the affairs of the Church of Corinth, in the year of our Lord 96, has already been referred to.[2] Next, we have the excommunication of Cerdon, a Syrian heresiarch, by Pope Hyginus, A.D. 140, and the condemnation of the heresies of Valentine and Marcion by his successor, Saint Pius I., ten years later.

[1] Gelasii Papæ I., Epist. iv. "They are the canons which will, that appeals of the whole Church be brought to the examination of this See; and have decreed that no appeal be ever made from it; and that thus it judges of the whole Church, but itself goes to be judged by no one." Gelasius I., an African, governed the Church, A.D. 492–496.

[2] Vide supra, chap. v.

Again, in the year 196, we find the Pope, Saint Victor, excommunicating Theodotus the currier of Byzantium, who denied the Divinity of Christ[1]—a decision followed by all the East. Another case in point was the exercise of Victor's authority, with respect to the celebration of Easter by the Oriental Churches.[2]

Next, we read of the penitence of Natalius, who, having become a bishop of the heretical sect of Theodotus, was admonished in a vision, and, being touched by God's grace, covered himself with sackcloth and ashes, and, shedding many tears, cast himself at the feet of Pope Zephyrinus, and prayed to be received back into the communion of the Church—a petition most reluctantly complied with.[3] This occurred in the year 203. So active was the zeal of Zephyrinus in suppressing this heresy, that he was styled, by Theodotus and his followers, "the chief defender of Christ's divinity."

The excommunication of Privatus, an African heretic, by Saint Fabian, who governed the Church A.D. 236–250; the judgment of the cause of Origen by the same Pontiff; the appeals to Saint Cornelius by Cyprian and the schismatics of Carthage, who sought to depose him, A.D. 251; the sentence pronounced against Novatian and Novatus by the same Pope Cornelius; the condemnation of the heresy of Sabellius by Saint Dionysius, A.D. 268; and the excommunication of Paul of Samosata, the heretical bishop of Antioch, by the same Pope, and by his successor Saint Felix; are all so many instances to the same effect.

In the early part of the fourth century, the supreme authority of the Bishop of Rome had attained considerable development. Thus, in the years 335–345, those Eastern bishops who had adopted, or were inclined to favour, the Arian heresy, assembled in synod, on several occasions, and proceeded to extremes against Saint

[1] Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," v. 28.
[2] Vide supra, chap. v.
[3] Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," v. 28.

Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria,[1] and other prelates who firmly adhered to the Nicene definition of faith. By their specious statements and misrepresentations of facts, they gained over to their side, for the time being, the Emperors Constantine II. and Constantius;[2] and hence their decrees against the orthodox prelates were upheld and carried into effect by the strong arm of the civil power. The result was the deposition of Athanasius and other illustrious confessors of the faith.

The Arian bishops[3] formally addressed the Pope, Saint Julius,[4] sending three deputies to lay before him their accusation against Athanasius and the other prelates. Julius having communicated the heads of the accusation to Athanasius and his colleagues, they immediately dispatched representatives to Rome, to plead their cause; the result being the complete refutation of the charges made against them by the Arians. Their accusers, baffled by the decision arrived at, demanded a council, which the Pope consented to convene at Rome, A.D. 341.[5] This council was attended

[1] Saint Athanasius, Doctor of the Church, was born at Alexandria, about the year 296; was chosen Patriarch of Alexandria in 326; and died in 373. In the year 325, he accompanied Saint Alexander, his predecessor in the patriarchal chair, to the Council of Nice. He took a leading part in the debates of that venerable assembly, being a powerful and unrelaxing opponent of Arius and his abettors. Athanasius's zeal in the cause of Catholic truth drew down upon him many years of persecution and exile. His principal works are in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the divinity of the Holy Ghost. His Creed has been alluded to, in the last chapter.

[2] Constantine the Great died on the 15th May, 337, and was succeeded by his three sons, among whom he divided the Empire: leaving Gaul, Spain and Britain to his eldest son Constantine II., Asia, Syria and Egypt to his second son Constantius, and Illyricum, Italy and Africa to the youngest, Constans.

[3] These bishops were commonly called Eusebians, after their leader Eusebius, the Arian Bishop of Nicomedia, who is not to be confounded with the celebrated historian, Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine.

[4] Saint Julius I., a Roman, governed the Church, A.D. 337–352.

[5] "Sancti Julii Papæ Epistolæ," "Concilium indici postularunt, litterasque et ad Eusebianos et Athanasium Alexandriam quibus convo-

by Athanasius, Asclepas of Gaza, Paul of Constantinople, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Lucius of Adrianople, all Oriental bishops, who, having been expelled from their several Churches, on various charges, had arrived at the imperial city, and "laid their cases before Julius, Bishop of Rome."[1] Their adversaries did not appear, although it was at their request, in the first instance, that the council was convened. The Pope formally cited them to Rome once again; but they, instead of obeying the citation, held a council of their own at Antioch, electing Gregory, an Arian bishop, to Athanasius's See of Alexandria, and detaining the Papal legates beyond the day named for their appearance. At the same time, they attempted to excuse to Julius their not appearing at Rome, by the alleged difficulty of travelling, owing to the Persian war, and other obstacles.

The Pope then proceeded, in the Council of Rome, A.D. 341, to try the causes of St. Athanasius and the others; acquitted them of all the charges preferred by the Eusebians; and restored them to their sees. In the words of the historian of the period,[2] "the Roman Bishop, on learning the accusation against each, and finding that they all held the same opinions as himself, with reference to the doctrine of the Council of Nice, admitted them to communion; and, *as, by the dignity of his see, the care of all devolved on him, he restored to each his own Church.*"[3] "He wrote to the bishops of

carentur mitti; ut coram omnibus justo judicio de causa cognosci posset: tum enim se de Athanasio probaturos esse, quod jam nequirent."

[1] Socrates, "Ecclesiastical History," book ii. chap. 15.

[2] Sozomen: Hermias Sozomen was born at Bethelia, near Gaza in Palestine, about the beginning of the fifth century. He followed the profession of the law at Constantinople. He wrote a compendium of Ecclesiastical History in two books, from the Ascension of our Saviour to the year 323; but this work is not extant. The continuation of it, at greater length, in nine books, down to the year 439, has fortunately been preserved. Sozomen died about A.D. 450. His Ecclesiastical History, with those of Socrates and Eusebius, was published by Robert Stephanus in 1554, by Valesius, Paris, in 1668, and by Reading, Cambridge, in 1720; all in folio.

[3] Sozomen, "Ecclesiastical History," book iii. chap. 8. Edit. Vale-

the East, and rebuked them for having judged these prelates unjustly, and for having disturbed the peace of the Church, in not acquiescing in the Nicene doctrines. He summoned a few among them to appear before him on a day named, that they might account to him for the sentence they had passed; and he threatened them that he would not bear with them any longer, should they introduce further innovations. Thus Julius wrote. Athanasius and Paul received back each his own see, and forwarded the letters of Julius to the bishops of the East."[1]

On this, the Eusebian bishops again assembled at Antioch, and drew up a reply to the Pope, protesting against his decision. "They confessed, in their letters, that the Church of Rome was held in honour by all as having been, from the beginning, the school of the Apostles, and the metropolis of religion, although the teachers of Christian doctrine came there from the East."[2] They then complained, in strong language, of the restoration of Athanasius, and the abrogation of their decrees by the Pope. "After these complaints and representations of the injuries done them, they promised peace and communion with Julius, provided that he would approve of[3] the deposition of the bishops

sius, Paris, 1668. *Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Ῥώμαίων ἐπίσκοπος τὰ ἑκάστου ἐγκλήματα, ἐπειδὴ πάντας ὁμοοῦντας εὗρε περὶ τὸ δόγμα τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου, ὡς ὁμοδόξους αὐτοὺς εἰς κοινωνίαν προσήκατο· οἷα δὲ τῆς πάντων κηδεμονίας ἄντῳ προσηκούσης διὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ θρόνου, ἑκάστῳ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπέδωκε.*

[1] Sozomen, "Ecclesiastical History," book iii. chap. 8.

[2] Ibid., *Φέρειν μὲν γὰρ πᾶσι φιλοτιμίαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ὡμολόγουν, ὡς ἀποστόλων φροντιστήριον, καὶ εὐσεβείας μητρόπολιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγενημένην· εἰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἑω ἐπεδήμησαν αὐτῇ οἱ τοῦ δόγματος εἰσηγηταί.* I have now before me a popular English translation of Sozomen's history, in which the important words in this passage, *ὡς ἀποστόλων φροντιστήριον καὶ εὐσεβείας μητρόπολιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγενημένην*, are rendered, "because it had been founded by the Apostles, and had enjoyed the rank of a metropolitan Church from the first preaching of religion"! How different this from the literal translation above given, which is, *verbatim*, the same as that of the learned Doctor Barrow ("Theological Works," vol. vii. p. 343), viz. "as having been from the beginning the school of the Apostles and the metropolis of religion"!

[3] *δεχόμενῳ μὲν Ἰουλίῳ τὴν καθαίρησιν, κ.τ.λ.*

whom they had removed, and the appointment of those whom they had elected in their stead. But, in case of his resisting their decrees, they threatened opposition; for, they affirmed, the bishops who were their predecessors in the East had not opposed the deposition of Novatian by the Church of Rome.[1] In their letter they made no reply about their opposition to the doctrine of the Council of Nice, "but they declared that they had many imperative reasons to justify their conduct, and that they deemed it useless at present to make any defence, as they were accused of having acted wrong in every particular."[2]

Julius, in his reply, rebuked them for having clandestinely introduced innovations on the doctrine of the Council of Nice; and for having, contrary to the laws of the Church, omitted inviting him to their synod (at Antioch); "*for there is a sacerdotal law, that whatever is done against the sentiment of the Bishop of Rome should be declared invalid.*"[3] He further reproached them with the injustice of their proceedings against Athanasius; and, finally, he reprehended the arrogant style of their letter to himself.[4]

Exactly similar is the narrative of Socrates, another standard Ecclesiastical historian of the period.[5] Having given the names of the orthodox prelates, who had been deprived of their sees in the East, and had gone to Rome, to lay their causes before the Pope,[6] he thus

[1] Novatian. Vide supra, p. 30 *note*.

[2] Sozomen, "Ecclesiastical History," book iii. chap. 8. See also Socrates, "Ecclesiastical History," book ii. chap. 15. "Socratis et Sozomeni Historia Ecclesiastica," Henricus Valesius, Paris, 1668.

[3] Ibid., chap. 10. Εἶναι γὰρ νόμον ἱερατικὸν, ἄκυρα ἀποφαίνειν τὰ παρὰ γνώμην πραττόμενα τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου. In this passage and one of the same purport in Socrates, the word γνώμην is variously translated; viz. "sentiment," "opinion," "sentence," "judgment," and "will."

[4] Ibid.

[5] Socrates, an Ecclesiastical historian of the fifth century, was born at Constantinople, about the year 380. He pleaded at the bar, and was therefore called *Scholasticus*, or the Advocate. He wrote an Ecclesiastical History, from the year 309 down to 445.

[6] Vide supra, p. 118.

continues: "Accordingly, they made known their causes to the Bishop of Rome; but he, *in virtue of the prerogative of the Church of Rome*, fortified them with strongly worded letters, and sent them back to the East, restoring to each his own see, and censuring those by whom they had been rashly deposed."[1] Therefore these, departing from Rome, and relying on the letters of the Bishop Julius, resumed possession of their several Churches, forwarding the letters to those to whom they were addressed.[2]

Referring to a synod of these bishops, at Antioch, convened by Eusebius, the same historian informs us that "Maximus Bishop of Jerusalem, who had succeeded Macarius, was not present, for he bore in mind the fraudulent means by which he had been induced to subscribe the deposition of Athanasius. Neither was Julius the Bishop of Great Rome[3] there, nor did he send any one to take his place, although *the ecclesiastical canon forbids that the Churches should make ordinances against the sentiment of the Bishop of Rome.*"[4]

It is especially deserving of note, that in his letter to the Eusebian bishops, above alluded to—a letter written in the year 342, Pope Julius emphatically

[1] Socrates, "Ecclesiastical History," book ii. chap. 15. Γνωρίζουσιν οὖν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥώμης Ἰουλίῳ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς· ὁ δὲ ἅτε προνόμια τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησίας ἐχούσης, παρρησιαστικοῖς γράμμασιν ὠχύρωσεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἀποστέλλει, τὸν οἰκεῖον ἑκάστῳ τόπον ἀποδιδούς, καὶ καθαπτόμενος τῶν προπετῶς καθελόντων αὐτούς.

[2] Ibid.

[3] μεγίστης, Ῥώμης, "great or greatest Rome," so called in contradistinction to Constantinople, which was called "new Rome," and to which Constantine had transferred the seat of government.

[4] Socrates, "Ecclesiastical History," book ii. chap. viii. Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ Ἰούλιος παρῆν ὁ τῆς μεγίστης Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος. οὐδὲ μὴν εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτου ἀπεστάλκει τινά· καίτοι κανόνος ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κελεύοντος, μὴ δεῖν παρὰ τὴν γνωμὴν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης τὰς ἐκκλησίας κανονίζειν. In another chapter (book ii. chap. 17), Socrates repeats these important words, respecting the Ecclesiastical canon, so clearly establishing the Primacy of the Pope at that early period. He gives them, as quoted by Julius, in his letter to the Eastern bishops, in which that Pontiff complains of their having violated the canon in question, by omitting to invite him to their synod.

reminds them that it was in accordance with usage and the Canon law, that the causes of bishops should be referred, in the first instance, to the Roman Pontiff, and that judgment should be pronounced by him: "For if, as you say," he writes, "they were absolutely in fault, the cause should be judged not in this manner, but according to the canon. You ought to have written to us, that so what is just might be decreed by all. For they who suffered these things were bishops, and not of ordinary Churches, but of Churches which the Apostles themselves had by their labour instructed unto faith. Why therefore, and especially regarding the city of Alexandria, have you not written to us?[1] Are you ignorant that it is the custom, that in the first instance we should be written to, in order that hence should be defined what is just? But now, having acted entirely as you pleased, you ask us, whom you have not informed on the subject, to assent to a sentence of condemnation, in which we have had no part. These are not the ordinances of Paul; the Fathers have not taught thus: this is an arrogant and novel proceeding. I beg of you to hear me with prompt acquiescence. I write for the public weal. I declare to you those things which we have received from the blessed Apostle Peter, and which, as being already known to you, I should not have repeated, but that we are much troubled at what you have done."[2]

As the Oriental bishops continued obstinate, the Pope induced Constans, the Emperor of the West, to obtain the concurrence of his brother Constantius, who ruled the East, in convening a council at Sardica in

[1] Here, "us," *nobis*, clearly refers to the Pope and his council of bishops, which was almost invariably convoked by the Supreme Pontiff in the early ages, to aid him in his decisions on matters of importance. The standing congregations of Cardinals and the Consistories correspond with this council, and fulfil its functions, in modern times. See Chapter on Cardinals.

[2] Apud Sanct. Athanas., "Apologia contra Arianos," p. 141.

Illyricum, A.D. 347.[1] This almost ranks as a general council, being considered an appendix to the Council of Nice, of which it confirmed the decrees. Julius was represented by his legates at this council. In its canons, it was enacted, that any bishop deposed by a synod, in his province, had a right of appeal to the Bishop of Rome; and that the Pope might, thereupon, if he thought fit, depute bishops of a neighbouring province to judge the cause; and, further, if the deposed bishop still appealed to him from the second decision, that the Pope might depute priests from Rome, armed with his authority, to decide the matter with those bishops: but, should he consider the provincial bishops sufficient to terminate the business, he might do whatever in his wise judgment he deemed best.[2]

That this was no new law, but one firmly established at the time, is manifest from the fact of Saint Athanasius and the other orthodox Eastern prelates, who had been unjustly deposed, having appealed to Julius, and having been restored to their sees by him, *before* the Council of Sardica; not to speak of the appeals of Saint Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, and of the schismatics who sought his deposition, to Pope Cornelius, one hundred years before.[3]

In transmitting their canons to Pope Julius, the Fathers of Sardica write: "For this will be seen to be the best, and very much the most fitting course, that, from each of the several provinces, the priests of the Lord refer to the Head, that is, to the See of the Apostle Peter."[4]

[1] Hefele argues that the Council of Sardica was held either in 343 or 344. His evidence however does not appear to outweigh the precise testimony of Socrates ii. 20, and Sozomen iii. 12, both of whom fix the year as 347, being that of the consuls Rufinus and Eusebius, or about eleven years after the death of Constantine the Great.

[2] Concilium Sardicense, canons 3, 4, 5. [3] Vide supra, p. 31.

[4] Labbe, "Concilia," ii. 661. "Hoc enim optimum et valde congruentissimum esse videbitur, si ad caput, id est, ad Petri Apostoli sedem, de singulis quibusque provinciis Domini referant sacerdotes." Written A.D. 347.

Immediately after the Council of Sardica, we find some of the Arian prelates proceeding to Rome, and abjuring their errors before the Holy Father. "When these things became known to them," says Socrates, "Ursacius and Valens, who had been warm partisans of Arianism, condemning their former zeal, proceeded to Rome, and presented their written recantation to Julius the Bishop, and embraced the doctrine of consubstantiality. They then wrote to Athanasius, stating that they would in future preserve communion with him."[1]

I have gone rather fully into these important transactions, as they bear directly on our subject. The details of them given by Sozomen and Socrates, the two great Ecclesiastical historians of the period, and confirmed by other writers, prove, beyond all question, the following facts:—

First. The full assertion, in practice, of his Primacy

[1] Socrates, "Ecclesiastical History," book ii. chap. 24. Here it is necessary to refer to the case of Pope Liberius, who reigned A.D. 352-366. He is accused of having subscribed an Arian formula, and of having anathematized Saint Athanasius—a question which has been long and warmly discussed. In the year 355, Liberius was banished by the Emperor Constantius to Berœa in Thrace, for having refused to subscribe an Arian creed, and to condemn Athanasius; and it is alleged that, borne down by hardships and persecution in exile, and anxious to return to his see, held by the antipope Felix, he weakly yielded. Even among Catholic writers, opinions vary, as to what document he signed. The general opinion is, that it was the formula of the first council of Sirmium, drawn up in 351—a formula which many consider may bear an orthodox interpretation. Others think it was the second creed of Sirmium, varied or subdued to meet the views of the Pope; and others again, the third, which omitted the term ὁμοούσιος (consubstantial). Whichever of these documents it was, certainly Liberius was not free when he signed it, but was under coercion and threatened with death, should he refuse. On his liberation in 358, he immediately repented of his condescension, which he found had been much exaggerated and misrepresented; and he openly expressed himself to this effect. His having anathematized Athanasius, is positively contradicted. His sentiments towards that holy confessor of the faith, and his firm adhesion to the Nicene doctrine, are evident from his Conference with the Emperor Constantius, of which the full details are given by Theodoret, Hist. Eccles., lib. ii. cap. 16, *et seq.* See also Sozomen, Hist. Eccles., lib. iv. cap. 11, 15, and Socrates, lib. ii. cap. 37.

by the Pope, in the early part of the fourth century, and the practical recognition of that primacy, by the Eastern, as well as by the Western prelates—not only the orthodox, but even those who had fallen into schism and heresy. Thus, of the latter, we find even those who persevered in their errors, endeavouring to obtain the assent of the Holy Father to their irregular proceedings.

Secondly. The universal admission, at the time, of the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope, as sole judge, in all causes of appeal—restoring bishops to their sees, when unjustly deposed, and deposing those who had irregularly intruded therein, or who had fallen from the orthodox faith.

Thirdly. The existence of the doctrine, embodied in the canon law of the Church, at that early period, that the approval of the Pope is indispensable to the validity of the ordinances of councils—conformably with the "Ecclesiastical canon, which declares invalid, whatever is done (by councils) against the sentiment of the Bishop of Rome."[1]

When Saint John Chrysostom[2] was, by schismatical intrigue and violence, driven from his See of Constantinople, A.D. 404, he appealed to the Pope, Saint Innocent I., begging of him to declare null and void all that had been done in the matter of his expulsion. The Pope complied with his request, and invoked the aid of Honorius the Emperor of the West in his behalf; but was unable to accomplish his restoration, against the power of Arcadius the Eastern Emperor, and his wife Eudoxia.

In the same way, Saint Flavian, unjustly deposed from the same chair of Constantinople, as we have seen,[3] appealed, A.D. 449, to Saint Leo the Great, by

[1] Sozomen, "Ecclesiastical History," book iii. chap. 10; and Socrates, "Ecclesiastical History," book ii. chaps. 8 and 17.

[2] For Saint John Chrysostom, vide supra, p. 40 *note*.

[3] Vide supra, p. 101 *note*.

whom he was, in like manner, sustained, and his memory vindicated, after he had died in exile.

Commenting on these two cases, about a century later, Pope Vigilius writes, that they, Saints John Chrysostom and Flavian, "although they were violently excluded, were not looked upon as condemned, because the Roman Pontiffs always kept unbroken communion with them."[1]

Again, in the year 449, Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus in Syria, under somewhat similar circumstances, appealed to the same Pontiff in the following words: "I await the suffrage of your Apostolic See, and beseech and earnestly entreat Your Holiness to succour me, who appeal to your right and just jurisdiction."[2]

It was towards the close of the fourth century, that the Emperor Valentinian II. wrote to his colleague Theodosius, at the request of the Pope, asking him to consent to the assembling of a council, in order that, the clergy from all parts of the globe being congregated in Italy, the Holy Father, "setting aside all preconceived opinions, and making himself master of the whole case in question from its beginning, by careful evidence, may pronounce a decision, demanded by faith and the interests of true religion:"[3] and Valentinian urged this course, "seeing that the most blessed Bishop of the City of Rome, to whom antiquity hath given the principality of the priesthood over all, hath a place and power to judge of faith and priests."[4]

[1] Vigilius Papa, "In constit. Athan., etc." "Qui licet violenter exclusi sunt non tamen pro damnatis sunt habiti, eo quod semper inviolatam eorum communionem Romani pontifices servaverant."

[2] Theodoretus, "Epistola 113, Ad Papam Leonem," A.D. 449.

[3] "Concilia Generalia Ecclesiæ," ii. 30; Rome, 1628. "Ut prædictus sacerdos, congregatis ex omni orbe etiam reliquis sacerdotibus intra Italiam, omni præjudicio submoto, a principio omnem causam quæ vertitur solicita probatione cognoscens, sententiam ferat, quam fides et ratio veræ divinitatis expostulat."

[4] Ibid., ii. 30, 31. "Quatenus beatissimus Romanæ civitatis Episcopus, cui principatum sacerdotii super omnes antiquitas contulit, locum habeat ac facultatem de fide et sacerdotibus judicare."

Pope Gelasius I., in the first year of his pontificate, A.D. 492, wrote to the Bishops of Dardania, now Southern Servia, cautioning them against holding communion with the Eutychians—a letter which is not extant: but the reply of the bishops, which has been preserved, is to the following effect:—

To the Holy Apostolic Lord and Most Blessed Father of Fathers, Gelasius of the City of Rome, the humble Bishops of Dardania.

We have read with due devotion the most salutary precepts of your Apostolate, conveyed to us by the religious man, our son Trypho, and we render the greatest thanks to Almighty God, and to Your Blessedness, that you have deigned to visit us with pastoral admonition and Evangelical doctrine, Holy Apostolic Lord, and Most Blessed Father of Fathers. For it is our desire and our vow, to obey your orders in all things; and, as taught us by our Fathers, to keep inviolate the precepts of the Apostolic See, which is entrusted to your life and merits; and to guard with faithful and faultless devotion, as far as our rude intellects permit, the orthodox religion of which you are the preacher. For, before receiving your orders, we have avoided, as a pestiferous contagion, communion with Eutyches, or Peter and Acacius and all their followers; and much more now, after the admonition of the Apostolic See, is it necessary we should keep ourselves free from such pollution. . . . And should any (contrary to our expectation and desire) think of separating themselves from the Apostolic See, we promise to shun all communion with them; since, as we have said, observing in all things the precepts of the Fathers, and, following the inviolable institutes of the sacred canons, we strive to obey, with common faith and devotion, this your Apostolic and single See.[1]

Thus, we see how, in the fifth century, bishops, even in remote regions, venerated and obeyed the Successor of Saint Peter; and this devotion to the Apostolic See and obedience to its precepts was embodied, as a law of the Church, in the sacred canons, at that early period.

Two years later, the same Pontiff, again addressing the bishops of Dardania, writes: "For we do not remain silent about that which every Church through-

[1] Post secundam Gelasii epistolam. Epist. Decretal., tom. i.

out the world knows; that the See of the blessed Apostle Peter has the right of loosing whatever is bound by the sentences of any persons whatsoever, inasmuch as it has the right of judging concerning every Church, and it is unlawful for any one to judge its judgments. For, as, by the canons, appeals lie to it from any part of the world, so no one is permitted to appeal from its decisions."[1]

These words were written as far back as the year of our Lord 494. Even those who dissent from the doctrine which they involve must admit the value, in the argument, of the historical fact, that the Popes of the early ages, in their letters to the bishops of remote provinces, thus clearly and emphatically asserted their full Primatial authority and jurisdiction over the Universal Church.

It may be well to observe, that, from the latter part of the fourth century—indeed from an earlier period, the Popes were frequently consulted by bishops, priests, and even lay persons, in various countries, on questions of morals and discipline; and the collections of their replies, which mainly constitute the body of the Canon Law—*Corpus Juris Canonici*, are styled "Decretals," as possessing the weight and authority of solemn decrees or enactments of the Church. These will be fully treated of in another chapter.[2]

On the whole, then, it is clear, from the foregoing authentic evidence, that the Primacy of the Chair of Peter had so far developed itself in the fifth century, that the Pope was then universally regarded as the Centre of Christian Unity, the Supreme Ruler and

[1] Gelasii Papæ I., Epist. 13, Ad Episcopos Dardaniæ, A.D. 494. "Non reticemus autem, quod cuncta per mundum novit ecclesia: quoniam quorumlibet sententiis ligata, Sedes beati Petri Apostoli jus habet, resolvendi; utpote quod de omni ecclesiâ fas habeat judicandi, nec cuiquam de ejus liceat judicare judicio. Siquidem ad illam de qualibet mundi parte canones appellari voluerint, ab illa autem nemo sit appellare permissus."

[2] For Decretals, see Index.

Teacher of God's Church, the Prince of Bishops, the Final Arbiter of appeals in Ecclesiastical causes from all parts of the world, and the Judge and Moderator of General Councils, over which he presided by his legates, of which the proceedings were based on his preliminary dogmatic letters, and of which the decrees depended for their validity on his approval and confirmation.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GREEK SCHISM.

We have now to consider an important event—the great Greek Schism, of which the causes, although intermingling, may be classed under two distinct heads —religious and political. Of the former, the principal was the rejection by the Greeks of the doctrine of the Church, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *and the Son*. The first trace of this error is to be met with in Theodoret, in his censure of the ninth anathematism of Saint Cyril, uttered against Nestorius, of whom Theodoret was at that time a supporter. We do not find it again brought forward until it was professed by the Monothelites, at Constantinople, about the middle of the seventh century, from which period the heresy gradually extended, and, being upheld by those in high places, like the great Protestant secession in the sixteenth century, it assumed an enduring character, inflicting grievous injury on the Church.

The doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, not only from the Father, but also from the Son, as one principle with the Father, was not expressed by the word *Filioque* in the Symbols or Creeds of Nice and Constantinople, although it had ever been the faith of the Church, because that doctrine had not been assailed when those Creeds were drawn up. We find it set forth, however, in the Creed of Saint Athanasius.[1]

[1] The words in Saint Athanasius's Creed are, "The Holy Ghost is from the Father and the Son, not made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding;" in the Latin, "Spiritus Sanctus *a Patre et Filio*, non actus, nec creatus, nec genitus est, sed *procedens*."

From the beginning of the fourth century, the *Filioque* was inserted in the Symbol in several Churches of Spain, France, and Germany, and, as occasion or necessity arose, it was affirmed and explained by early councils. Of this we have proof in the Acts of the First Council of Toledo, which condemned the Priscillianist heresy in the year 400, and in those of the Third Council of Toledo, A.D. 589, in which an order was made, that the people should sing at Mass the Symbol, containing this tenet.[1] When, in the year 809, the delegates of the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, convened by Charlemagne, waited on Pope Leo III., to obtain the permission of His Holiness to insert the *Filioque*, and chant it in the Symbol, the Pontiff, although he had already affirmed the doctrine, as of faith, in his letter to the monks of Jerusalem, refused to make any order on the subject, as he objected, on principle, to any addition having been made to the Symbol or Creed without the authority of the Church. Not long after this, however, the formula was allowed to be inserted in Rome—some writers say, by the authority of Pope Nicholas I., who reigned A.D. 858–867.

By their pertinacious rejection of this article of faith, the Greeks, adding heresy to schism, eventually cut themselves off from the communion of the Apostolic See. Hence, although their secession is generally called "The Greek Schism," they are no less guilty of heresy.

It is certain, however, that political differences and jealousies, of long standing, much more largely conduced to the disastrous division; and there is every reason to believe that to these latter causes the persistence of the Greeks in their errors of faith may, to a great extent, be

[1] In the Acts of the First and Third Councils of Toledo, A.D. 400 and 589 respectively, we find the tenet, thus expressed: "Credimus et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificatorem, *ex Patre et Filio procedentem*, cum Patre et Filio adorandum et conglorificandum." The Spaniards, when questioned on the subject, alleged that they inserted the *Filioque*, in order to affirm more strongly the Divinity of the Son, against the Arians, who so long over-ran Spain.

attributed. Indeed most writers allege that the Greek Schism was mainly caused, or, to speak more accurately, that the complex circumstances which had long been tending to produce it were brought to a final crisis, by the refusal of Pope Nicholas I.[1] to condone the violent deposition of Saint Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and the intrusion into that see of the impious Photius by Bardas Cæsar, uncle of the Emperor Michael III., A.D. 857. Ignatius had fearlessly rebuked the gross immorality of the Cæsar,[2] and, moreover, he had, on several occasions, proved his loyal devotion to the Chair of Peter; whilst many of the Greeks, jealous of the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome, would, if they could accomplish it, secure complete independence for the Bishop of their great capital, "the New Rome," on the shores of the Bosphorus, and thus substitute, as their spiritual chief, their own "Œcumenical Patriarch" for the Divinely appointed head of the Universal Church.[3]

Ignatius was of illustrious birth; but more remarkable than his high lineage were his piety, orthodoxy, and exemplary patience and constancy under grievous sufferings and persecution. His father Michael I., surnamed Rangabè, had occupied the Imperial throne

[1] Nicholas I., surnamed the Great, a Roman, governed the Church, A.D. 858–867. He was distinguished by his zeal for religion, firmness, and charity. The difficulties which he had to encounter will be seen in the text. In 867, he wrote to the French bishops, assembled at Troyes, to place them on their guard against the dangerous doctrines and pretensions of Photius and his party. His letters, one hundred in number, on various points of morals and discipline, were published in Rome, in folio, in 1542.

[2] On the feast of the Epiphany 857, Bardas, who had repudiated his lawful wife, and was openly living in a state of sin, approached the altar in the church of Saint Sophia, to receive the holy communion, which Ignatius refused to administer to him.

[3] The attachment of Saint Ignatius to the Holy See, and his thorough recognition of the Papal Supremacy will be seen in his letters to Pope Nicholas, further on in this chapter. His seemingly inconsistent line of action in the affair of the Bulgarians, which will be presently examined, can be accounted for only by the extremely difficult and delicate circumstances in which he was placed.

of the East for nearly two years,[1] but had abdicated in favour of the all-powerful general, Leo the Armenian, in order to avert a civil war. His mother, Procopia, was daughter of the Emperor Nicephorus, his father's immediate predecessor. Ignatius, who had adopted a monastic life, and had attained the rank of Abbot over the monks of the islands of Terebinthus and Hiatres, was chosen Patriarch of Constantinople, in succession to Saint Methodius, in 846. He had filled this important post, eleven years, with the most edifying zeal and devotion, when Bardas decided that he should cease to rule, and banished him to the island of Terebinthus, having in vain endeavoured to extort from him the abdication of his dignity.[2]

Bardas next nominated Photius patriarch, dispensing with the usual election, prescribed by the canons. Photius, who was closely related to the Emperor and the Cæsar, was a man of great learning and extensive experience in public affairs, having filled the offices of Master of the Horse and Chief Secretary to the Emperor; but he was a layman, ignorant of ecclesiastical matters, and, moreover, of at least doubtful orthodoxy, being the intimate friend of Gregory Asbestas, Bishop of Syracuse, who had been condemned for schism by Methodius, and deposed by Ignatius.[3] Photius was consecrated by the schismatical Gregory in six days, being made a monk on the first, reader on the second, sub-deacon on the third, deacon on the fourth, priest

[1] Michael I. reigned from October 811 to June 813.

[2] November 23rd, 857.

[3] The deposition of Gregory, Bishop of Syracuse, in a synod held by Saint Ignatius in Constantinople, A.D. 854, and confirmed by Pope Benedict III., the following year, is by some writers regarded as the immediate cause of the Greek Schism; inasmuch as Gregory, in retaliation, plotted, and suggested to the too willing Bardas, the substitution of Photius for Ignatius in the patriarchal chair. At that time, the island of Sicily, although occupied by the Saracens, was under the rule of the Greek Emperors. Consequently, the Patriarch of Constantinople exercised jurisdiction over it, subject to the supreme jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome.

on the fifth, and bishop and patriarch on the sixth, Christmas day 857.

Immediately on his elevation, the new patriarch commenced a fierce persecution of all the bishops and the other clergy who adhered to Ignatius; and, at his instigation, that venerable prelate was treated with much cruelty and indignity in his island-prison by the Imperial officers. The majority of the bishops took part with Photius, but the legitimate patriarch whose place he had usurped had still many adherents, clerical and lay; and these sent delegates to Rome, to complain of the persecution which they endured, and to beseech the Pope that he would restore Ignatius.

The Emperor, on the other hand, sent an embassy to the Holy Father, (A.D. 860), praying him to recognize Photius and thus to restore peace to the Imperial city. Photius moreover dispatched four metropolitans to uphold his cause in Rome, and to present his letter to His Holiness, in which he falsely alleged, that, in occupying the Patriarchal chair, he had acted on the compulsion of the Emperor, and that Ignatius had voluntarily resigned, on account of his age and infirmities. Finally, both the Emperor and the new Patriarch requested that the Pope would send his legates to Constantinople, to represent him, in a council to be held in that city, regarding this affair and the re-opened controversy about holy images.

Nicholas, in compliance with this request, sent Rhodoaldus Bishop of Porto and Zacharias Bishop of Anagni to the Eastern capital, with the following instructions: first, that they were to decide in the affair of holy images in accordance with the definitions of the Seventh General Council; and, secondly, that, in the case of Ignatius and Photius, they should confine themselves to collecting evidence, to be laid before him, for the final decision of the Apostolic See. He further charged them not to communicate with Photius save as a laic.

In his letter to the Emperor,[1] the Pope bitterly complained of the deposition of Ignatius, and the intrusion of a layman in his place, which was done, "against the tradition of the Fathers, without the consent of the Roman Pontiff"; to inquire into which things, and to define the question regarding holy images, he now sent his legates. He further protested against the usurpation of the rights of the Roman See by the Orientals; namely, that, "at the instance of schismatical patriarchs, the Emperors had withdrawn, from the immediate jurisdiction of the Roman Church, the two Epirus's, Ancient and New, Illyricum, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, the two Dacias, Mysia, Dardania, and Prævalitan Dalmatia, all which districts the Roman Pontiffs used to govern by their vicars; and, further, that the said Emperors had seized on the patrimonies of the Church in Sicily and Calabria." Long before that period, namely in the year 731, the Emperor Leo the Isaurian had initiated the alienation, from the Holy See, of those several provinces, more or less adjacent to Constantinople, which had so long acknowledged the immediate jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, as more than once illustrated in these pages.[2]

On their arrival in Constantinople, the Papal legates were lodged in the Imperial palace, in a condition of honourable captivity, which consigned them to the care of the party of Photius, and prevented their holding any communication with the adherents of Ignatius. They were also plied by court influence, tempted by bribes and promises, and, further, they were threatened with imprisonment and starvation, in case of non-compliance. The result was, that they yielded at the end of three months, and, proving false to their trust, at a council held at Constantinople and composed of 316 bishops, A.D. 861, they joined in a sentence of deposition against Ignatius, and recognized Photius as Patriarch.

[1] September 24th, 860.

[2] See chapter xi. and Index, "Greeks, Interference of the."

At this council, Ignatius, who was present by compulsion, was treated with gross indignity and violence; after which he was cast into prison, and was subjected to a course of privation and cruelty, of which the details are too revolting to bear repetition. With the constancy of a martyr, he resisted the importunities of his jailers that he should execute a resignation of his see. Finally, his hand was seized and made to sign a cross on a blank sheet of paper, over which Photius ordered that an act of renunciation should be written, and he laid this document before the Emperor. The holy prelate, thereupon, was liberated, and immediately drew up and forwarded an appeal to Nicholas, "as the Judge and Patriarch of all sees, the Successor of the Prince of the Apostles, and the Universal Pope." This document, supported by the signatures of ten Metropolitans, fifteen Bishops, and a large number of abbots, priests, and monks, was entrusted to the care of Theognostus, formerly Exarch, afterwards monk, and then an exile for the faith, who bore it to Rome, and presented it to the Holy Father.

Nicholas, now being in full possession of all the circumstances, disowned and annulled the action of his legates, whom he severely censured and deposed. He also wrote to the Emperor[1] and Photius, addressing the latter as a layman,[2] severely condemning the deposition of Ignatius; and, finally he addressed letters to the entire East, enjoining, by his "Apostolical authority," on the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and the metropolitans and bishops, that they should hold the same sentiments as he held regarding Ignatius and Photius, and that they should publish his letter in their respective dioceses, in order that it might be known to all men.[3]

All these decisions were solemnly confirmed by

[1] Nic. I. Papæ Epist. v.
[2] Ibid. vi. "Prudentissimo viro Photio."
[3] Ibid. iv. "Ad omnes fideles;" mens. Martii, 862.

Nicholas in a council which he held in Rome, the following year.[1] On that occasion, he deprived Photius and Gregory of all sacerdotal honour, and declared invalid the ordinations conferred by the former.

The Emperor Michael next sent an embassy to Rome, bearing his letters to the Pope, whom he begged to re-consider his decision. The reply was unfavourable; and, in the course of time, a second embassy was dispatched, with the same object, and with a no less adverse result. Then, with the Emperor's concurrence, Photius convoked a council of his own adherents at Constantinople, A.D., 867, in which he proceeded to extremities against the Pope. In this council, there were urged against the Roman Church its prohibition of the marriage of the clergy; the abridgment of Lent; the rejection of confirmation administered by priests; the falsification of the confessions of faith approved of by general councils by adding to them; and the teaching the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son. On this last point, the greatest stress was laid by Photius, as all the others were of comparatively little importance. Finally, the schismatical assembly pronounced anathema against the Pope, which was the end and aim of Photius's machinations. This revolt from the Papal authority is regarded by many as the actual commencement of the Greek Schism, which however did not attain its full development until close on two hundred years later.

Basil the Macedonian, having obtained the throne of the entire Empire by the murder of his colleague, Michael III., A.D. 867, immediately deposed Photius, and restored Ignatius, with all honour, to his see.[2] The

[1] A.D. 864.

[2] Basil the Macedonian, a soldier of fortune, of humble birth, was raised to the summit of human greatness, solely by his military genius. He was an able and enlightened ruler, and, during a reign of nineteen years, he laboured successfully in promoting the welfare of his subjects. The main blot on his character was his procuring, or at least conniving

letter which, on his restoration, Ignatius addressed to Pope Nicholas is an interesting example of the admission, by the Greeks themselves, before the schism, of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiffs over the Universal Church. In it, he recites the words of Christ addressed to Peter, as in Matthew xvi., verses 17–19, and he continues:—

> For, by a certain special appointment, the God and Saviour of all assigned blessed words such as these not alone to the Prince of the Apostles, but through him to all the Pontiffs of the Roman See that should succeed him. Hence always in the past, when heresies and crimes cropped up, those noxious weeds and tares were extirpated by your predecessors in the Apostolic See; and now Your Holiness, worthily wielding the power received from Christ, has routed the enemies of truth, and with the healing hand of your Apostolic authority you have cut off from the general body of the Church him who crept up, as a robber, into the fold of Christ; and, as a most loving brother, you have rightly pronounced us innocent, whom he had wickedly oppressed; and by your letters you have restored us to our church.[1]

The Fathers of the Eighth General Council, held in Constantinople two years later, declared this Epistle of Ignatius to be "canonically written and replete with justice";[2] and they inserted it in the third Act of the council.

The Emperor and the restored Patriarch immediately dispatched delegates to Rome, praying the Pope that a General Council might be convoked, in order to re-establish peace and union in the Church. On the arrival of the delegates, they found that Nicholas was dead, and that Adrian II. had succeeded him. Adrian gladly complied with the request. In the first instance, according to usage, he held a council at Rome, in which

at, the assassination of his colleague; but, at the time, it is alleged, Michael was plotting his death. Basil died A.D. 886, by an accident in the chase.

[1] These words are equally applicable to the action of Pope Julius I., A.D. 341–345, in restoring Athanasius and other Oriental prelates to their sees, as detailed in chapter vii.

[2] "Canonice scriptam et plenam justitiæ."

he condemned and anathematized Photius, ordered the Acts of his schismatical synod to be burned, and promised pardon to any of his adherents who would renounce their errors and return to the communion of Ignatius. He then convoked the Eighth General Council, which assembled in the church of Saint Sophia, Constantinople, on the 5th of October 869.

This council was presided over by the three Papal legates, Donatus Bishop of Ostia, Stephen Bishop of Nepi, and Marinus, one of the seven deacons of Rome, afterwards Pope. After these, sat Ignatius and the other Oriental patriarchs. A formula of union of the Greeks and Latins was produced by the Papal legates, which every Bishop was required to sign before he could take part in the proceedings. This formula was adopted, and the Primacy of the Roman See was acknowledged by the unanimous voice of the council. Those prelates who repented and abjured their errors were pardoned, and received back into communion, whilst Photius, who was present on compulsion, Gregory of Syracuse, and other recusants were condemned and excommunicated. The Monothelite and Iconoclast heresies were condemned anew, and the Acts of the preceding seven General Councils were confirmed. In a word, the decrees of the Pope in his council of Rome were adopted. Finally, two synodal letters were drawn up—one addressed to the faithful generally, and one to the Pope, requesting that he would confirm the proceedings, and communicate them to the entire West.

Immediately after the close of the Eighth General Council, the question of the jurisdiction over the Bulgarians was entered on in Constantinople. It will be remembered that, about nine years before, Pope Nicholas I. strongly remonstrated with the Emperor Michael III., on the withdrawal, by the Orientals, of several provinces, adjacent to Constantinople, from the immediate jurisdiction of the Roman See.[1] Among these was

[1] Vide supra, page 135.

Mysia (*Mœsia Inferior*), which, with portions of some other provinces named in the Papal letter, corresponds with the modern Bulgaria. This district derives its name from the Bulgarii, a Slavonic tribe, who, in the sixth century, abandoning their settlements on the banks of the Volga, took possession of the extensive tract which lies between the Danube and the Balkan mountains, and is bounded by the Black Sea on the East, and by Servia[1] on the West. In vain, through several centuries, the Greek Emperors attempted to dislodge or to subdue them; and it was only in the year 1017 that they were reduced to a province by Basil II. One consequence of their long series of wars with the Greeks was their gradually acquiring, through captives, a knowledge of the Christian religion. On the occasion of a great famine and pestilence, about the year 848, they addressed themselves to the God of the Christians, and were miraculously relieved. The result was the conversion of their King, Bogoris, and of great numbers of his subjects, to Christianity. In the first instance, A.D. 848, the Bulgarians applied to the Greek Emperor, Michael III., and his mother Theodora, to send priests to instruct them; and Saint Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople, at the Empress's request, appointed Saint Cyril to the mission. Cyril was soon afterwards joined by his brother, Methodius, the monk. These two saints are honoured by the Church as the Apostles of the Bulgarians.[2] Some years later, A.D. 865, Bogoris, who had changed his name to Michael, in honour of the

[1] Servia (*Mœsia Superior* with a part of *Illyricum*) was the country of that section of the Bulgarii, who, on their settlement in the sixth century, became subjects of the Greek Emperors, and were consequently called *Servii*, in contradistinction to their compatriots who preserved their independence.

[2] Among the interesting discoveries in the very ancient underground church of San Clemente in Rome, is a well-preserved picture of Saints Cyril and Methodius, standing one on each side of Pope Nicholas I., which is considered, by Count de Rossi and other authorities, a further proof of the communion of the Apostles of the Bulgarians with the Holy See.

Emperor, sent an embassy, composed of his son and several nobles, to Pope Nicholas I., to request that missionaries might come from Rome, to instruct his subjects; and Nicholas, then afflicted by the schismatical proceedings of Photius and his adherents, dispatched two bishops, Paul and Formosus, afterwards Pope, with several priests, for this important object. Meanwhile, the Greek party at Constantinople, backed by all the power of the State, urged the Bulgarian monarch to withdraw his people from the immediate spiritual jurisdiction of the Roman See, and to place them under that of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The King, availing himself of the presence of the Papal legates in the Eastern capital, appointed delegates to confer with them, Ignatius, and the other Greek Patriarchs, on the subject.

The Eighth General Council having just closed its labours, the Papal legates who had presided at that council, the Oriental patriarchs, including Ignatius, and the Bulgarian delegates met in the Imperial palace, to discuss this weighty question. The Orientals asserted that, whereas the kingdom formerly belonged to the Greek Empire, and the Bulgarians, when they took possession of it, some two centuries before, found there Greek and not Latin priests, they certainly ought to be under the immediate jurisdiction of the Greek Patriarch. The Papal legates strongly maintained the opposite view, on the grounds that the country was, in ancient times, under the immediate jurisdiction of the Roman See, from which it was withdrawn by the hostility of the Emperor Leo the Isaurian; that the King had recently applied to Rome for missionaries, and had placed his subjects under the Pope, and that, for the last three years, they had been ministered to by bishops and priests sent to them by His Holiness; but, above all things, that the Roman Church was the Universal Church, circumscribed by no geographical limits, and superior to all Churches. Ignatius, when appealed to

by the legates to support their cause, replied in rather vague and indefinite terms, as if he would have the discussion postponed. No doubt, his position was one of no small difficulty and delicacy; and even, were he willing to carry out the Pope's views, he would be powerless to do so; inasmuch as the question concerned not alone the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, but also the political interests of the Greek Emperor. On the whole, the conference, instead of settling the difficulty, appears to have had the opposite effect. Ignatius, soon afterwards, assumed the ecclesiastical government of Bulgaria, as belonging to his Patriarchal jurisdiction, and sent Theophylactus to that country, as its first metropolitan. Pope John VIII., Adrian's successor, gravely censured Ignatius for his action in the matter, and expostulated with the Emperor Basil thereon; but in vain. Ere long, unfortunately, the Bulgarians, pressed by their resolute neighbours in Constantinople, lapsed into the Greek schism; and, in the course of time, their name was given to a distinct sect of heretics, numbering other nations besides their own. This episode aptly illustrates the jealousy entertained, at so early a period, by a large proportion of the Greeks, regarding the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome, which had been universally acknowledged throughout the East in previous centuries.

Some nine years later, the Patriarchal chair of Constantinople became vacant by the death of Ignatius;[1] and Photius, who had contrived to ingratiate himself with the Emperor Basil, was appointed by the latter to the dignity. The Emperor and Photius sent deputies to Rome, to solicit the approval of John VIII., who then filled the Papal throne. Under the circumstances, as represented to him, and in order to preserve peace and union, John consented to ratify the appointment,

[1] Saint Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople, died October 23rd, 878, aged eighty.

and to receive Photius into communion, subject however to the conditions; that the latter should openly express his regret for his past crimes, in a council to be held at Constantinople, presided over by the Papal legates; that the patriarchal jurisdiction of Rome over the Bulgarians should be acknowledged; that thenceforward no layman should be appointed bishop; and that those whom Ignatius had ordained should not be disturbed. The council was duly assembled; but at it these conditions were all disregarded; and, further, the Pope's letters to the Emperor and to Photius were read in a falsified and interpolated form; so that the passages, lauding Ignatius and calling on Photius to penitently acknowledge his misdeeds, were suppressed, and replaced by words condemnatory of the former and highly eulogistic of the latter. On this being reported to John, he censured and deposed his legates, who appear to have been placed at great disadvantage by their imperfect knowledge of the Greek language; he excommunicated Photius, condemned the council,[1] and sent Marinus to Constantinople, with full legatine powers, to uphold the decrees of his predecessor, Pope Nicholas, and the Eighth General Council. John's successors, the above-named Marinus, Adrian III., and Stephen VI.,[2] each in his turn, renewed the condemnation of Photius, who, on the arrival of Pope Stephen's letter, was finally deposed and exiled by the Emperor, Leo the Wise, Basil's son and successor, A.D. 886. Photius, thereupon, retired into a monastery in Armenia, where he sank into obscurity, and died in 891.

For eighty years after the final deposition of Photius, the union of the Greek and Latin Churches continued to subsist, although their mutual relations were far

[1] The Greek Schismatics substituted this false synod for the Eighth General Council.

[2] John VIII., a Roman, governed the Church, A.D. 872–882; Marinus, a native of Gallese in Central Italy, 882–884; Adrian III., a Roman, 884, 885; and Stephen VI., a Roman, 885–891.

from cordial. Then, in the year 968, when Luitprand Bishop of Cremona was at Constantinople, as ambassador of the Emperor Otho, the legates of Pope John XIII. arrived at that capital, bearing letters from His Holiness, in which Otho was named "Emperor of the Romans" and "Augustus," and Nicephorus Phocas, the Eastern Emperor, was simply styled "Emperor of the Greeks." This circumstance was a cause of grave offence to the Orientals, and alienated them still further from the Holy See; so much so, that, even when hard pressed by the Saracens, and sorely needing the aid of the Western nations, they persistently rejected the advances of the Popes, who were most anxious for reconciliation and union.

Even yet, there was no complete rupture, and the same state of affairs continued until the year 1053, when Michael Cerularius, a worldly and ambitious man, who ten years before had been raised to the Patriarchal chair of Constantinople, completed the work of schism and heresy, by irreparably widening the breach between the Greeks and the Roman See. Cerularius, conjointly with Leo of Acrida, Metropolitan of Bulgaria, drew up a circular letter, in which he condemned certain ritualistic and disciplinary usages and laws of the Roman Church, and, later on, he laid to her charge, that she had falsified the Symbol by the insertion of the *Filioque*. In a word, he revived the accusations which had been made by Photius one hundred and ninety years before. In vain was he remonstrated with by Pope Leo IX. and the Emperor, Michael Strationicus. Supported by a vast body of adherents, he resolutely persisted in his opposition to the spiritual and the civil power; and, accusing Michael of plotting with the Pope against the Empire, he succeeded in accomplishing his deposition, and in replacing him by Isaac Comnenus on the Imperial throne.[1] Isaac, immediately on becoming Emperor, removed

[1] A.D. 1057.

Cerularius from the Patriarchal chair, and banished him to the island of Proconesus in the Sea of Marmora, where, having been also excommunicated by the Pope, he died two years later. The mischief which had been done by Cerularius, however, survived him; the seed which he had sown in the soil prepared by Photius and his adherents now bore abundant fruit; and to this period, A.D. 1053–1057, may be ascribed the complete separation of the Greeks from the Catholic Church.

Anxious as the Popes were to repair these evils, and to induce the Eastern populations to be reconciled to the Church, of which for over eight centuries they had been such dutiful children, all their exertions for the next two hundred years, to promote so desirable an object, proved of no avail. In the Twelfth General Council, the Fourth Lateran, under Innocent III., A.D. 1215, a scheme for the reunion of the Churches was introduced and discussed; but without result. Negotiations in the reigns of Urban IV., A.D. 1261–1265, and Clement IV., 1265–1268, had progressed favourably; but were cut short by the death of those pontiffs. At length, the Emperor Michael Palæologus, mainly through political motives, lent a willing ear to the overtures of Gregory X., who governed the Church, A.D. 1272–1276; and, through the loyal co-operation of both parties, the affair was brought, at least temporarily, to a successful issue. Gregory was willing to meet the views of the Orientals in matters of discipline, rites, and usages; but he could not yield one iota with regard to the great tenets which they had rejected—the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father *and the Son*, and the Spiritual Supremacy of the Pope.

Michael had recently recovered his capital from the Latins, who had held it fifty-seven years;[1] and he

[1] Constantinople was formerly called Byzantium, after Byzas the Megarean, by whom it was founded in the year 656 Before Christ. It was destroyed by Septimius Severus, A.D. 196; and in 328 it was rebuilt by Constantine the Great, who gave it his own name, removed

hoped, by conciliating the Holy Father, not only to insure their making no further attempt to reconquer it, but to obtain the aid of the Western nations against the Saracens, then meditating the conquest of his empire. The views of the Emperor were shared by several of the Oriental bishops and by his ministers and officers of State; but a great many other bishops, the monks, and a large proportion of the laity, were averse to a restoration of the union of the Churches. Joseph, the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, was perhaps the most determined, as certainly he was the most influential, opponent of any reconciliation with Rome; and he emphatically refused to accede to the Emperor's wishes. Nevertheless, Michael was determined to maintain his own course. With his cordial approval, the Pope convoked the Fourteenth General Council, the second of Lyons, which opened in that city on the 7th of May 1274, and, having held six sessions, closed on the 17th of July the same year. Gregory presided in person at the Council, which was composed of five hundred bishops,[1] seventy mitred abbots, and about one thousand minor dignitaries. James II., King of Aragon,[2] was present; as were the ambassadors of France, Germany, England, Sicily, and other kingdoms, and the Grand Masters of the Hospitallers and Templars. The Greek Emperor's

his court to it from Rome, and made it the capital of the empire. In 1204, it was taken by the Crusaders, and retained by them until 1261, when it was recovered by the Greek Emperor, Michael Palæologus. The Greeks continued to hold it until 1453, when it was conquered by the Turks, under Mahomet II., and the Greek Empire ceased to exist. Since then, Constantinople has been the capital of the Turkish Empire. Its Turkish name, Estamboul or Stamboul, is said to be a corruption of the Greek words, ἐς τὰν πόλιν, "into the city," an expression used by the Greeks, when speaking of the capital of their empire.

[1] The Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch of the Latin rite were present, but those of the Greek rite, persisting in their schism, remained away.

[2] The King of Aragon left on the close of the second session. The reason thereof is not clear.

representatives were Germanus, formerly Patriarch of Constantinople, which dignity he had resigned, Theophanes Metropolitan of Nice, and two laics, high officers of the Imperial court. The Greeks, having been detained by adverse winds, did not arrive until the 24th of June, when the Latin prelates went out to meet them, and conducted them into the presence of the Pope—His Holiness standing up to receive them, and imparting to them the kiss of peace.

The objects of the Council, as set forth by Gregory in the opening session, were, the relief of the Christians in the Holy Land, the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches, the general reformation of morals and discipline, and the expediting of Papal elections.[1] The proceedings with reference to the reunion of the Churches were of deep interest. In the fourth session, the Pope, celebrating High Mass on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul, sang the Creed in Latin, twice repeating the *Filioque*. The Creed was then sung, in the same manner, and with the same addition, by Germanus, in Greek. The Pope's Supremacy was also fully admitted. The letter of the Greek Emperor, presented by his representatives to His Holiness, on the occasion, was addressed as follows: "To the most holy and most blessed First and Chief Pontiff of the Apostolic See, the venerable Pope and common Father of all Christians, and the venerable Father of our Empire." In this letter, the Emperor fully professed the faith of the Holy Roman Church, including the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father *and the Son*, and the Supreme Primacy and Princedom of the Roman See over the Universal Church. Letters were also presented to the Pope, to the same effect, from the

[1] Further on, we shall see how, before the election of Gregory X. himself, there was an interregnum of three years, owing to the non-agreement of the Cardinals; and we shall have an opportunity of examining, in detail, his wise decrees on Papal elections, enacted at this council.

Eastern prelates, including twenty-six metropolitans. The action of the Emperor however did not meet with that general acceptance in the East, which would insure a permanent union; and, on his death in 1283, his son and successor Andronicus and his subjects relapsed into schism.

The next, and indeed the last, attempt to reunite the Greek and Latin Churches was entered on in the year 1431, when the Greek Emperor, John Palæologus II., apprehensive of the designs of the Turks against his empire, concluded an arrangement with Pope Eugenius IV., to have a general Council held in the West, to accomplish the reunion. The Council of Basle which had been convoked by Martin V., for this object and for the reformation of morals, and had been opened on the 23rd of May 1431, under his immediate successor Eugenius, was then sitting. Its early proceedings were approved of by Eugenius, but ere long he issued an order that it should remove to Ferrara, as being more convenient to the Greeks. This order was strongly resisted by a large proportion of the Fathers at Basle, who refused to obey, and continued their sessions; and there ensued a series of excited and irregular proceedings, which were a cause of grave scandal to Christendom. The Pope's difficulties were vastly increased by the support at first given by some of the secular princes to the schismatics at Basle; but he exercised commendable patience and discretion, hoping that, in time, the party which factiously disobeyed him would be brought to a sense of duty. At length, however, finding that his hopes were vain, on the 11th of September 1437, he issued a Bull removing the Council from Basle to Ferrara. On this, the few now remaining at Basle, persisting in schism, declared the Pope contumacious, and decreed his deposition.[1] They next elected Ama-

[1] June 26th, 1439. The sovereign princes, who had previously supported the party of Basle, loudly condemned these ill-advised proceedings.

deus, Duke of Savoy, antipope, who took the name of Felix V.[1] This schismatical synod, or conventicle, at the time of its election of an antipope, November 17th, 1439, numbered only thirty-four members, viz., D'Allemand Cardinal of Arles, twelve bishops, seven abbots, five doctors of theology, and nine canonists. Several of the prelates that had composed it, and its president, Cardinal Julian Cesarini, were now with the Pope at Ferrara. Its protracted existence ceased only in May 1443, when Amadeus withdrew into retirement at Lausanne. "The Council of Basle," observes Cardinal Bellarmin, "was in the beginning legitimate; for the Legate of the Roman Pontiff was present and many bishops; but, from the time that it deposed Eugenius and elected Felix, it was not an ecclesiastical council but a schismatical conventicle, seditious and absolutely of no authority."[2]

Meanwhile, in obedience to the summons of Eugenius, the Council had assembled at Ferrara on the 8th of January 1438. At the second session, on the 15th of February, Eugenius presided in person, and the Fathers at Basle were, under grave penalties, ordered to attend. The real business of the Council was postponed four months, in order to give sufficient time for the arrival of all those who were entitled to take part in it. Hence the first general session was not held until the 8th of October. The Greek Emperor was present, as were Joseph the venerable Patriarch of Constantinople,[3] the representatives of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, twenty metropolitans, and a large number of inferior dignitaries, from the East. The total number of Greek and Latin bishops composing

[1] In accordance with the usage of the time, Amadeus was deposed by Eugenius's successor, Nicholas V., and all his possessions were declared confiscated, A.D. 1447.

[2] Bellarmin, "De Ecclesia Militante," c. 16.

[3] He is not to be confounded with his predecessor, the Patriarch Joseph, who so strenuously opposed the union of the Churches, at the General Council of Lyons, A.D. 1274.

the Council were one hundred and forty, besides abbots and other members of the clergy. The main points of difference between the two Churches, set forth, by mutual agreement, for discussion, were: 1. the Procession of the Holy Ghost; 2. the insertion of the *Filioque* in the Symbol, which the Latins maintained was not "a change" nor "an addition," but an *explanatory clause*, for which there were precedents in the Symbols of Nice and Constantinople; 3. Purgatory; and 4. the Primacy.

During the sixteenth session, owing to an outbreak of pestilence in Ferrara, the Council was, with the full consent of the Greeks, transferred by Eugenius to Florence, in which city its first session, being the seventeenth in all, was opened on the 26th of February 1439. Hence it is called the Council of Florence, being the Seventeenth General Council.

In the discussion of the various important questions to be decided, the mode of procedure at Ferrara and Florence was this: Six divines on either side were appointed to uphold the opinions of their own party, and to combat those of the opposite side. Of the Greeks, the principal were, Marcus Eugenicus Archbishop of Ephesus, an uncompromising opponent of the union of the Churches, Antonius Archbishop of Heraclea, and Bessarion Archbishop of Nice. Of the Latins, the chief were, Cardinal Julian Cesarini, Andrew Bishop of Rhodes, and John of Ragusa, Provincial of the Dominicans in Lombardy. The disputants sat opposite each other in the centre of the church. As point after point was thoroughly discussed, the great majority of the Greeks gave in their adhesion to the Roman doctrine of each, in succession. At length, in the twenty-fifth session, July 5th and 6th 1439, the union of the Churches was accomplished. The Act of Union was inscribed in the Diptychs, on the right-hand side in Latin, to be signed by the Latins, with the Pope's bull or seal appended, and on the left-hand side

in Greek, to be signed by the Greeks, with the golden bull or seal of the Emperor affixed. On Monday the 6th of July, all being assembled in the church of Sancta Maria Liberata, and high mass having been celebrated by Eugenius, and the litanies chanted, the Definition was read out in Latin by Cardinal Julian, and in Greek by Bessarion, as follows:—

Eugenius Bishop, servant of the servants of God, in perpetual remembrance hereof, with the consent hereunto of our dearest son in Christ, John Palæologus, the illustrious Emperor of the Romans, and of the delegates of our venerable brethren, the Patriarchs, and the other representatives of the Oriental Church:—

Let the heavens rejoice and the earth break forth in songs of gladness. The wall of separation has fallen; the East and the West are not now, as in the past, two Churches, but one; Christ has reunited them, and they are now bound together by the strong bonds of charity and peace, &c.

In the name therefore of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, this sacred General Council of Florence approving, We define that this truth of faith be believed and received by all Christians, and so that all profess, that the Holy Ghost eternally proceeds from the Father and the Son, as from one principle, and by one simple spiration.[1]

We moreover define, that the explanatory words *Filioque* were lawfully and rationally inserted in the Symbol, for the sake of declaring the truth, and because a necessity therefor was then pressing.

After this, the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory is defined; namely:—

That, as regards those who truly penitent depart in the charity of God, before they have satisfied for their sins of commission and omission by worthy fruits of penance, their souls are made clean by purgatorial pains after death; and that for their relief from such pains the suffrages of the faithful living are of avail, such as the sacrifice of the Mass, prayers, alms-deeds, and other works of piety, which the faithful are accustomed to perform for others of the faithful, according to the institutes of the Church.

Finally, the doctrine of the Primacy is set forth as follows:—

[1] In the Definition, this article of faith is set forth at much greater length, being to the above effect.

Likewise, We define that the Holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff hold the Primacy over the whole world, and that the same Roman Pontiff is the successor of Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and that he is the true Vicar of Christ, and Head of the whole Church, and Father and Teacher of all Christians; and that to him, in Blessed Peter, the full power of feeding, ruling, and governing the Universal Church was given by our Lord Jesus Christ; as is also contained in the Acts of General Councils, and in the Sacred Canons: renewing moreover the order of the other venerable Patriarchs, handed down in the Canons; that the Patriarch of Constantinople should be second after the most holy Roman Pontiff, the Patriarch of Alexandria third, of Antioch fourth, and of Jerusalem fifth; that is to say, saving all their privileges and rights.

Given at Florence, in the public Synodal session solemnly celebrated in the Greater church on the 6th of July in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1439, of our Pontificate the ninth year.[1]

This decree was signed first by the Pope and eighteen Cardinals, next by the Greek Emperor. Then followed the signatures of the bishops and other dignitaries—the total numbers being, Latins, inclusive of Cardinals, 114, and Greeks 32.

Marcus, Metropolitan of Ephesus, however, positively refused to sign, to the great disappointment of the Pope. Very different was the action of Joseph the aged Patriarch of Constantinople. This venerable prelate strongly urged his suffragans and the other Greek bishops to expedite the proceedings and accomplish the union of the two Churches with the least possible delay—a devoutly hoped for consummation he was not destined to witness. On the 9th of June, being about four weeks before the Definition, he retired to his room after the evening meal; and on the next morning he was found dead in his chair, with the following profession of faith, written by his own hand, on the table beside him:—

Joseph, by the Divine mercy Archbishop of Constantinople, the New Rome, and Œcumenical Patriarch.[2] As I have now

[1] In the Greek version, was added the year of the world, according to the Greek computation, namely 6947.

[2] This assumption of the title, "Œcumenical Patriarch," appears to

arrived at the end of my life, and am about to pay the common debt, by the grace of God, I write and subscribe my sentiments openly for the universal body of my children. All things, therefore, which are believed and taught by the Catholic and Apostolic Church of senior Rome, I also believe, and I give and declare myself acquiescing therein. I profess also that the Pope of ancient Rome is the most blessed Father of Fathers, and the Supreme Pontiff, and the Vicar of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the sure faith of all. I profess also the Purgatory of souls. Subscribed in the faith of these things, the ninth day of the month of June 1439.

The Council's labours being concluded, as far as the union of the Churches was concerned, the Emperor and the Oriental prelates, on their return home, found that its decrees were ignored by the majority of the clergy and the people of the East; and that they themselves were received with coldness and even hostile demonstrations; whilst Marcus of Ephesus, who had strongly opposed the union and still loudly denounced it, became the object of enthusiastic popular favour.[1] The new Patriarch of Constantinople, Metrophanes of Cyzicus, steadily followed in the footsteps of his predecessor Joseph, as did his successors in their turn; and the Emperor loyally threw all his influence into the scale of orthodoxy. On the other hand, the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, pronounced against the Council and its decrees, although subscribed by their delegates, and, amidst a general revolt of the people, the union of the Churches was declared at an end for ever.[2]

The bitter disappointment of Eugenius was in some degree mitigated by the circumstance of his having received into the bosom of the Church the Maronites, the Armenians, and other Oriental schismatics, who, in

have been not through arrogance but simple custom, on the part of Joseph, and to have been tolerated by Eugenius through prudential motives, in the existing delicate crisis.

[1] The Greeks left the Council, to return home, on the 26th of August 1439.

[2] A.D. 1442–43.

obedience to his invitation, had appeared, by their representatives, at the Council, A.D. 1439–42. On the 26th of April in the latter year, for the convenience of all parties, he transferred the Council to the Lateran Church in Rome, where its protracted sessions were finally closed in 1445.

Just ten years after the Greeks had finally severed their connection with Rome, they endured that fate which some dispassionate writers regard as the retribution of their obstinacy in schism. Eugenius's successor, Pope Nicholas V.,[1] had in vain addressed to them feeling letters of remonstrance, and had warned them, with prophetic truth, of the impending catastrophe. He even attempted to organize a great crusade for their succour. But, ere this could be accomplished, Constantinople fell before the powerful land and sea forces of Mahomet II., and the Eastern Empire, after a rule of 1123 years, closed its existence.[2]

The long separation of the Greeks from the See of Peter has led them into many abuses and objectionable usages; and it is an undeniable fact, often remarked upon, that their Church has not, since its secession, produced any great doctor or ecclesiastic, nor held one council deserving of mention; for, once that it was cut off from the centre of unity, once that it was taken from under the protecting influence of the Papacy, it became the helpless slave of the civil power, merely

[1] Nicholas V., a native of Sarzana in Northern Italy, governed the Church, A.D. 1447 to 1455.

[2] May 29th, 1453 The last of the Emperors, Constantine Palæologus, a devoted son of the Church, strenuously laboured to promote the union; but he was powerless against the determined opposition of the great majority of his subjects. In his gallant defence of his capital, with greatly disproportionate numbers against the desperate assaults of the besiegers, he performed prodigies of valour, and fell fighting in the front, after his troops had been repulsed, on the day above mentioned. Constantine's death sealed the fate of the Empire. Mahomet immediately converted the beautiful church of Saint Sophia into a mosque; but he extended toleration to the Greek Christians, whom he permitted to remain in the city, freely practising their own religious observances, but not communicating with the Roman See.

a portion of the great State-machine, occupying with regard to the Emperor or Czar that dependent and fettered position, to which the First Napoleon, in the zenith of his power, vainly endeavoured to reduce the Catholic Church.

The members of the separated, or as they call themselves, the "Orthodox" Greek Church, are now estimated at about 76,000,000. Of these 64,000,000 are in Russia, and 12,000,000 in Turkey and other countries.

Among the latter, it is gratifying to observe that there exists a strong and steadily increasing feeling in favour of reunion with the Catholic Church. In Greece, in Turkey, in the Balkan provinces—in a word, everywhere outside the Russian Empire—the same sentiment prevails, to a considerable extent, amongst the "Orthodox Greeks;" and it is to be hoped that, through the wise and enlightened policy of Leo XIII., much will be accomplished towards the restoration of those important Christian populations to communion with the Holy See.

CHAPTER IX.

ORIGIN OF THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE POPES.

"The successor of Saint Peter administered his patrimony with the temper of a vigilant and moderate landlord. . . . In the use of wealth he acted like a faithful steward of the Church and the poor, and liberally applied to their wants the inexhaustible resources of abstinence and order."—GIBBON.

IT appears to be generally agreed upon, that the temporal power of the Popes, as independent sovereigns, dates from the donation of Pepin to Pope Stephen III., in the middle of the eighth century. But it is certain, that, long before that acquisition, the Bishops of Rome possessed patrimonies, and revenues, and enjoyed political influence, under the suzerainty of the Emperors, which practically made them all but independent rulers, and laid the foundation of that benign sway which, for eleven centuries, conferred such great and lasting benefits, not only on their own immediate subjects, but on the commonwealth of Christian nations, of which the general consent so long constituted them the heads and umpires.

During the first three centuries of her existence, the Church passed through a series of sanguinary persecutions under the Pagan Emperors. Notwithstanding this—and here we have a striking proof of her Divine origin—she had so grown and flourished, even in the middle of the second century, that, as we are informed by a cotemporary writer, the worshippers of Christ crucified were then to be found in all parts of the habitable globe. "There does not exist," says Saint

Justin, Martyr,[1] "a people, whether Greek or Barbarian, by whatever name they are called, whether the Hamaxobrii who live in wagons, or Nomads who have no houses, or Scinitæ who, tending their cattle, dwell in tents; there is, I say, no race of the kind, among whom prayers and thanksgiving are not offered up in the name of a Crucified Jesus to the Father and Creator of all things."[2]

Tertullian, writing some fifty years later, states that the number of the faithful was then so great, in every region, that the kingdom of Christ had far overflowed the boundaries of the Roman Empire, and exceeded the territories of the most powerful rulers ever known.[3] "What," he writes, "shall I say of the Romans, who guard their empire by the garrisons of their legions, and cannot extend the power of their rule beyond those nations? But the kingdom of Christ extends everywhere, is believed in everywhere, is revered by all the nations above enumerated, reigneth everywhere, is everywhere honoured, receiveth tribute everywhere, equally from all."[4] According to the same writer, the

[1] Saint Justin, Martyr, was born, about the year of our Lord 100, at Neapolis, now Nâbulus, the ancient Shechem, thirty miles north of Jerusalem. He was educated a Pagan; but, in his thirtieth year, was converted to Christianity by the example of the virtues of the Christians, and the heroism displayed by many of them, whom he saw martyred for the faith. After his conversion, he repaired to Rome, where he remained for a long time. Some writers state, that he was ordained a priest; but this is uncertain. He wrote several controversial works. Of these, the principal are, his two "Apologies for the Christians;" the first addressed to the Emperor Antoninus, and the second, to Marcus Aurelius: and his "Dialogue with Trypho," a learned Jew. Saint Justin died a martyr, in Rome, about the year 167. His works were first published by Robert Stephanus, Paris, 1551-1571. The best edition is that of Dom. Maran, of the Congregation of St. Maur, Paris 1742, and Venice 1747.

[2] "Dialogue with Trypho."

[3] Tertullian, "Adversus Judæos," cap. vii., Paris, Rigault, 1664. In the same chapter, he speaks of the country of the Northern Britons as a region inaccessible to the Romans, but subject to Christ: "Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita."

[4] Ibid.

Christians, at that time, A.D. 198, constituted a most important element in the population of the Roman Empire. "We are but of yesterday," says he, "and we have filled all your possessions—islands, fortresses, towns, assemblies, your very camps, wards, decurial courts, the palace, the senate, the forum. The temples only have we left you."[1] He further observes: "Unarmed and without rebellion, were we at enmity with you, we could have fought you, simply by divorcing ourselves from you. For if, being so great a multitude of men, we had withdrawn from you to any remote corner of the earth, the loss of so many and such citizens would verily have disgraced your rule, and punished you by simple desertion. Doubtless, you would have been terrified at your solitude, at the silence of everything, at the stupor as of a world of the dead. You would have looked for subjects to rule over; more enemies than citizens would have remained to you; but now you have fewer enemies, on account of the multitude of Christians."[2]

This was the state of affairs at the close of the second century. About one hundred years later, so numerous and influential had the Christians become in Rome, that, according to Eusebius, Maxentius, a cruel tyrant, sunk in the worst vices of Paganism, on his accession to the throne of the Empire, pretended to be a Christian, in order to conciliate the Roman people.[3]

[1] Tertullian, "Apologet.," c. 37; written A.D. 198.

[2] Ibid. As is justly observed by Mr. Gibbon ("Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," c. xv.), it is difficult to estimate accurately the proportion borne by the Christians to the whole population of the Empire before the conversion of Constantine. He sets it down as probably one-twentieth; observing, that, in all likelihood, the number of the proselytes of Christianity was "excessively magnified by fear on the one side and by devotion on the other." It may perhaps be safe to take a medium between the two extremes—the alleged exaggeration of the cotemporary Apologists, and the caution of the modern historian. We have seen, that, even as early as A.D. 65, Tacitus describes the Christians martyred by Nero at Rome as "a huge multitude"—*ingens multitudo* ("Annales," xv. 44).

[3] Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," viii. 14.

Moreover, besides the fact of their being so large a proportion of the population, the exemplary lives of the Christians, so strongly contrasting with the vices of their Pagan neighbours, the fidelity with which they discharged the duties of "the family" and citizenship, and their consequent value, as a constituent of the body politic, but, above all, the still more exemplary lives of the clergy, and the still greater services these latter rendered to the community, combined with the beauty and purity of their doctrine, all largely contributed to extend the kingdom of Christ, as well as to prepare the Empire for the fundamental changes to be effected by the first Christian Emperors.

The bishops especially were, in many an instance, revered even by the Pagans, in their respective districts. Their exalted virtues, their paternal care of their flocks, their boundless charity to the poor and suffering, their inculcation of peace and good will amongst men, their loyalty to the Emperor, and their devotion, even unto martyrdom, to the God whom they served, were everywhere remarkable, and bore fruit a thousandfold, in the influence of their example and teaching on their numerous spiritual children; so that the Christians, notwithstanding the monstrous calumnies to their prejudice circulated by Pagan writers, were in the course of time regarded and valued by those in high place, as the best subjects of the State.

Unquestionably, the Empire, which was tending to disruption before the accession of Constantine, was in no small degree indebted for its preservation to the cohesion of its numerous Christian subjects in every country, all professing the same tenets which bound them in one common brotherhood, and all turning to their one spiritual Father, the Bishop of Rome. For this reason, we may well understand how, even while yet a Pagan, Constantine was most favourably disposed towards the Christians, and, by his edicts and general policy, effected much towards remedying the evils in-

flicted upon them by the cruelty of his predecessors, and raising them to the political level of their Pagan fellow-subjects. Naturally, after his conversion, the Christians found still greater favour with the Emperor.[1]

Immediately on his accession, A.D. 312, Constantine happily inaugurated this novel system of paternal rule. He declared all religions lawful; and strictly forbade any molestation or persecution of the Christians.[2] In an edict which, in conjunction with Licinius, his colleague in the Empire, he promulgated at Milan, the following year, full liberty of religious worship was extended to Christians everywhere, and immediate restitution was ordered, of the churches, and other public property, of which they had been deprived; the Imperial treasury being charged with the indemnity of those who had paid for such property.[3] By another edict, the clergy were exempted from all political service, in order that, without molestation or distraction, they might devote themselves exclusively to their sacred functions.[4] Next, in every city, large sums of money, and supplies of corn, were annually granted by the Emperor to the bishops, for the support of widows, orphans, and the ministers of religion.[5]

After the fall of Licinius, A.D. 323, the whole Empire being united under Constantine, the Emperor showed still greater favour to his Christian subjects. He published an edict, "commanding all the people of the

[1] There is much doubt, and considerable controversy, as to the exact date of the conversion of Constantine. One fact is undeniable—that, from the very commencement of his reign, his sentiments and prepossessions were entirely Christian.

[2] By a law of Constantine of ten years later, A.D. 322, it was enacted that those using violence against Christians, to compel them to change their religion, should, if slaves, be publicly scourged, or should, if of a higher degree, be amerced in heavy fines ("Cod. Theodos.," l. xvi. tit. ii. n. 5).

[3] Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," x. 5.

[4] Ibid., x. 7. Letter to Anulinus, Proconsul of Africa. In a future chapter, I shall have occasion to refer more fully to this subject.

[5] Ibid., x. 6. Theodoret, "Eccles. Hist.," iv. 4.

East to honour the Christian religion, to worship the Divine Being, and to recognize as God alone, the one true God, whose power endureth for ever." He revoked all the laws and judgments that had been passed against the Christians. He ordered restitution of all their possessions, and enacted, that those who had held high appointments in the army or the civil service, might resume the same, giving them however the option of remaining in a private station, should they prefer it. The result was, that ere long a large proportion of the important posts of the Roman Government were filled by Christians; the worship of false gods was universally interdicted;[1] and the arts of divination, the dedication of statues, and the celebration of Grecian festivals were prohibited. The combats of gladiators, and other objectionable customs were, at the same time, abolished. Then, at the cost of the Imperial treasury, sumptuous churches were erected in Rome, Jerusalem, Antioch, Nicomedia in Bithynia, and other places; church ornaments and sacred vessels were provided; and large sums were placed at the disposal of the bishops, for Ecclesiastical and charitable purposes.[2]

The faith and fervour of Constantine were further illustrated in his promotion of the General Council of Nice, and other councils. In his deference to the assembled Fathers, on those occasions, and especially to the Bishop of Rome, he set his subjects, and his successors in the Empire, an example calculated to prove

[1] That the worship of false gods was universally interdicted by Constantine, towards the end of his reign, we learn from Eusebius, "Life of Constantine," lib. ii., cap. 44, and l. iv., c. 23, 25; Sozomen, "Hist.," l. i., c. 8, and l. iii., c. 17; and Theodoret, "Hist.," l. v., c. 21. Neither Constantine, nor his sons indeed, were able to enforce this edict universally, as so great a change could not be effected on the instant. Hence his general interdiction of idolatry has been questioned by Libanius and other writers.

[2] Sozomen, "Ecclesiastical History," i. 8; Eusebius, "Hist. Eccles.," x. 6; Eusebius, "Life of Constantine," *passim*. Anastasius, "Vita Sancti Silvestri."

highly beneficial to the Church, of which he had the welfare so warmly at heart.

Naturally, the Christian bishops, and especially the patriarchs, were the chief objects of Imperial favour; and this, under the circumstances of the times, would clearly be no less a dictate of sound policy than of zeal for the religion of Christ. Hence, under the first Christian Emperor, we find bishops advanced to positions of high trust, and invested with a large share of authority in their respective districts. About the year 321, a law was enacted, empowering litigants to bring their causes before bishops rather than the secular courts; and it was declared that the decisions of the bishops should be valid, and as much superior to those of the civil judges, as if pronounced by the Emperor himself; and it was ordered that all governors and subordinate military officers should see to the execution of those decisions, which, in every case, were to be irreversible.[1]

That the bishops, even under the Pagan Emperors, enjoyed large revenues, which were used for the purposes of the Churches over which they presided, and that those revenues accrued not only from the money offerings of the faithful, first-fruits and tithes, but from lands and houses, is evident, from the following passage in the Imperial enactment for the restoration of the property of the Church, in all parts of the Empire: "Therefore, all things which justly seem to have belonged to the Churches, whether houses, or lands, or gardens, or anything else whatsoever, we order to be restored; no right belonging to the ownership being diminished, but all remaining safe and unimpaired."[2] From the day which witnessed the retributive judg-

[1] Sozomen, "Ecclesiastical History," i. 9. This policy of Constantine was quite in accordance with that of his Pagan predecessors; as high honours and privileges had always been conferred on the ministers of religion in the Roman and other ancient empires.

[2] Eusebius, "Life of Constantine," ii. 39.

ment executed on Ananias and Sapphira, now for three centuries, large offerings had been continuously made by individual piety to the treasury of the Church. Besides, by the legislation of Constantine, bequests of all kinds of property for Church purposes were declared valid.[1] To the Emperor's munificent benefactions, and annual subsidies, to the Churches, in many parts of the Empire, allusion has already been made.

But of all the Churches, that of Rome was, from a very early period, the most richly endowed, and enjoyed the largest share of political influence. This might well have been expected; for not only was Rome the capital of the Empire, but the Bishop of Rome, as we have seen, was "the bishop of bishops,"[2] occupying "the place of Peter," "the Chair of Peter," "the Apostolic See," "the principal Church, the source of sacerdotal unity."[3] With that Church "the faithful everywhere were bound to agree;"[4] those only "in communion with that bishop were in communion with the Catholic Church."[5]

Thus we meet with frequent allusions, in early Ecclesiastical history, to the large resources and comprehensive charity of the Christians in Rome, devoted to relieving the necessities of their brethren in the faith, in various countries, under the paternal direction of the Popes.

As far back as the year 175, we find Saint Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, in his epistle to the Romans, ad-

[1] This law was promulgated at Rome, A.D. 321, according to some authorities; but, according to others, eight years later. The clause in question runs as follows: "Habeat unusquisque licentiam sanctissimo Catholicæ (*Ecclesiæ*) venerabilique concilio, decedens, bonorum quod optaverit relinquere; et non sint cassa judicia ejus" ("Cod. Theodos.," lib. xvi. tit. 2, n. 4).

[2] Tertullian, "Liber de Pudicitiâ," cap. 1.

[3] For references of these quotations from the early Fathers, see chap. iii.

[4] Irenæus, "Adversus Hæreses," lib. iii. cap. 3.

[5] St. Cyprian, Epistola 52. Ad. Antonianum de Cornelii Papæ ordinatione.

dressed to Pope Soter, making allusion, as follows, to a practice, which was then of long standing, and which, Eusebius observes, continued down to his day—one hundred and fifty years later:[1]—

For this practice (he writes) has prevailed among you, from the very beginning, to do good to all the brethren in every way, and to send contributions to many Churches in every city; thus refreshing the needy in their want, and furnishing to the brethren condemned to the mines all that is necessary. By these contributions, which you have been accustomed to make, from the beginning, you maintain, as Romans, the practices of your ancestors the Romans, which have not only been observed, but extended, by your holy bishop Soter; inasmuch as he has not only furnished great supplies to the saints, but has moreover encouraged the brethren that come from abroad, as a loving father his children, with blessed words.[2]

If the Church of Rome was able to dispense continuously such large contributions to the faithful "in every city," in the ages of persecution, we may well imagine how great must have been its resources in the days of peace and prosperity under the first Christian Emperors. Year after year, its income was swelled, not only by large money offerings from princes and people, but by deeds of gift, and bequests of houses and lands, in various parts of Italy and the remote provinces, as well as in the capital. Indeed, as we learn from Saint Jerome, the wealth and influence of the Popes were reputed to be so great in the time of Pope Damasus, A.D. 366–384, that Prætextatus the Senator, who died on being designated Consul, used to say jestingly to the Holy Father: "Make me Bishop of Rome, and I will at once become a Christian."[3]

It was for a long time supposed that Constantine, on

[1] Eusebius, "Eccles. Hist.," iv. 23.

[2] Epistle of Saint Dionysius of Corinth; apud Euseb., "Hist. Eccles.," iv. 23.

[3] Sancti Hieron., Epist. 38, alias 61, ad Pammachium. "Miserabilis Prætextatus, qui designatus consul est mortuus, homo sacrilegus, idolorum cultor, solebat ludens beato Papæ Damaso dicere: 'Facite me Romanæ urbis episcopum, et ero protinus Christianus.'"

removing his capital to Byzantium, had made a donation of "the city of Rome, with Italy and all the provinces of the Empire of the West," to Pope Sylvester, for the benefit of the Holy See. This opinion was based on a deed of donation found among the spurious Decretals in the Vatican; but this deed has now long been deemed apocryphal. The false Decretals, which are commonly attributed to Isidorus Mercator, were first published about the middle of the ninth century, soon after the death of Charlemagne. That the authenticity of "the donation" found general acceptance at the time, may be accounted for by the fact of the Popes being then actually the sovereigns of Rome and of a considerable part of Italy, in virtue of the grants of the French monarchs.

But even though Constantine did not execute a formal deed of donation to Sylvester, he practically gave over to that Pontiff and his successors in the Chair of Peter, the temporal rule of Rome and the Italian provinces, when he removed his capital to the "new Rome," which he founded on the Bosphorus. Unconscious alike of the fact, both Pope and Emperor were but instruments in the hands of Him, who, in fulfilment of His all-wise designs, created that temporal dynasty, which, for eleven centuries down to our time, was to subserve the interests of His Church, by rendering it independent of earthly sovereigns, and safe from political revolutions, as well as by affording it the means of extending and maintaining its humanizing influence, and holy ministrations, in all parts of the globe. As the early history of the Church itself is a history of development, so is the early history of the temporal power of the Popes.

From the reign of Constantine, the Popes possessed several estates, continually increasing in number and extent, which they carefully administered for the benefit of the Church. These possessions were called *patrimonia*—the patrimonies of Saint Peter, or of the Apostolic See. So extensive had they become at the

close of the sixth century, that, in the reign of Saint Gregory the Great, A.D. 590–604, the Church owned large tracts in Sicily, Calabria, Apulia, Campania, Ravenna, Sabina, Dalmatia, Illyricum, Sardinia, Corsica, Liguria, the Cottian Alps, and a small estate in Gaul; not to speak of more remote provinces.[1] Some of these were estates, and some were principalities, in which the Papal deputies exercised ample civil and criminal jurisdiction. In the principalities were comprised several cities and bishoprics. Thus, the Cottian Alps, above mentioned, included Genoa, and the whole sea-coast from that city to the Alpine boundary of Gaul.[2] Of this extensive territory we are informed by a cotemporary historian,[3] that it was "restored" to Pope John VI., in the year 704, by Aripertus the Lombard King, as "having *formerly* belonged to the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See."[4] Aripertus, who is described as "a pious man devoted to almsdeeds, and a lover of justice,"

[1] "Letters of Saint Gregory the Great," *passim*. See also Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," viii. 27, A.D. 591, when "the Roman Church had the richest patrimonies in all parts of the globe, not only in Italy and Sicily, but in Asia, in Gaul, and in Africa."

[2] Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," viii. 669, quoting from the letter of Olradus, Bishop of Milan, to Charlemagne: "Primo regni sui anno, donationem, quam beato Petro Aripertus Rex donaverat, confirmavit, scilicet Alpes Cottias, in quibus Janua est, et quidquid ab ea Alpes usque ad Galliarum fines continebant."

[3] Paulus Warnefridus, better known as *Paulus Diaconus*, or Paul the Deacon, was born at Forum Julii, the modern Cividale, in Northern Italy, A.D. 740. His education was completed at the court of Rachis, King of the Lombards. He was ordained deacon at Aquileia, and subsequently was appointed secretary to Desiderius, the last of the Lombard kings. He was a man of great learning, and was highly esteemed by all classes. His principal work is the history of the Lombards, above quoted. He wrote also a "Life of Saint Gregory the Great," "Gesta Episcoporum Metensium," and hymns, poems, and homilies for Sundays and holidays. He died at the monastery of Monte Cassino, A.D. 799.

[4] Paulus Diaconus, "De Gestis Longobardorum," lib. vi. cap. 43. "Hoc tempore, Aripertus, rex Longobardorum, donationem patrimonii Alpium Cottiarum, *quæ quondam ad jus pertinuerant Apostolicæ Sedis*, sed a Longobardis multo tempore fuerant ablata, *restituit*." See also Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," viii. 651.

in order still further to testify his veneration for the Successor of Saint Peter, caused the deed of gift, or restitution, to be written in letters of gold." [1]

The paternal manner in which these territories were governed by the Popes, through their deputies, may be gathered from the letters of Saint Gregory the Great, who, on several occasions, expresses his desire, that his tenants and vassals should get full time and indulgence, and be treated with all leniency—the needy in some instances being accommodated with loans, to be gradually repaid. The corn and other produce of the lands were shipped from adjoining seaports to Rome, to be there stored and distributed, for the supply of the public necessities. The poor, widows, and orphans, were supported; pilgrims received hospitality; and, in remote cities and provinces, suffering from war and its attendant evils, the clergy and the destitute members of their flocks were relieved with wise discrimination and economy.

The same system was uniformly carried out by Gregory's successors; and it is generally admitted that, at this period, the revenues of the Church were most carefully and ably administered. At the same time the Pontiffs instructed their agents or deputies, in every instance, to pursue that even course of just and beneficent rule which befitted the representatives of the Father of the Faithful.

[1] Paul the Deacon, "De Gestis Longobardorum," lib. vi. c. 43: "et hanc donationem aureis exaratam litteris Romam direxit."

CHAPTER X.

THE GROWTH OF THE TEMPORAL POWER.

"Il n'y a pas en Europe de souveraineté plus justifiable, s'il est permis de s'exprimer ainsi, que celle des Souverains Pontifes. Elle est comme la loi divine, *justificata in semetipsâ*. Mais ce qu'il y a de véritablement étonnant, c'est de voir les Papes devenir souverains sans s'en apercevoir, et même, à parler exactement, malgré eux."—DE MAISTRE.

THE development of the political influence of the Popes appears to have steadily kept pace with the increase of their territorial possessions. This may be traced, as a necessary consequence, to two main causes; first, the incapacity, or the absence, of the Emperors, who, whether at Ravenna, or in their remote Eastern capital, were unable, or unwilling, to consult the welfare of the Empire of the West; and, secondly, the sacred character of the Vicars of Christ, their disinterested zeal, and their exalted virtues, which enlisted the sympathies and confidence of all classes, and, in more than one familiar instance, challenged the homage of the rude Northern invader, and arrested his impetuous career of bloodshed and rapine. The sufferings of the people, overtaxed and oppressed by the Emperors, and their exarchs, the abuses and treachery of the military commanders, the barbarian incursions, and the many other evils arising from the general decline of the Empire, all naturally induced the Italian populations to turn to those who alone could aid and protect them in the hour of danger. Coerced by circumstances over which they had no control, entirely against their tastes and inclina-

tions, the Popes were actually forced into the position of temporal rulers.

As early as the year 452, when Attila, "the scourge of God," with his savage Huns, having stormed and sacked Aquileia and other Northern cities, meditated the conquest of Rome, the saintly Leo, justly styled the Great, fearlessly went forth, a long journey, to visit the invader's camp, and turn aside the danger, even at the risk of his own life. His venerable aspect, the fame of his heroic virtues, his heaven-inspired eloquence prevailed; the rugged nature of the barbarian, flushed with victory, was subdued; the city was saved; the army was withdrawn; and peace was concluded with the Empire, on the condition of an annual tribute. From this arose the time-honoured legend, that, in his interview with Leo, Attila beheld the Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, holding drawn swords over his head, and menacing him with instant death, if he rejected the prayer of the Pontiff.[1]

Two years later, the mediation of the Holy Father was again exerted on behalf of the afflicted capital, the prey of the fierce Genseric and his Vandal host. The city, completely at the mercy of its conquerors, was about to be given up to fire and sword, when the Pontiff, attended by his clergy in procession, issued forth to deprecate the meditated vengeance of the Vandal King. Moved by his touching appeal, Genseric so far relented,

[1] Pagi, "Pontificum Romanorum Gesta," tom. i. p. 154, Venetiis, 1730; and Platina, "Historia de vitis Pontificum Romanorum," p. 63, Coloniæ, 1600. Mr. Gibbon pronounces this to be "one of the noblest legends of Ecclesiastical tradition" ("Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," chap. xxxv.). According to Paul the Deacon and other writers, the apparition was said to have been of Saint Peter alone, "whom, while Leo was speaking, Attila beheld, clad in sacerdotal robes and of Divine aspect, threatening him with death unless he obeyed the orders of Pope Leo" (Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," vi. 183, A.D. 452). This embassy to Attila was undertaken at the desire of the Emperor Valentinian III. In it, were associated with Leo, Avienus (or Albienus) a Roman of Consular rank, and Trigetius, who had been Prætorian Prefect of Italy.

as to order the buildings to be spared from fire, and the unresisting inhabitants from slaughter. Thus, although immense booty and thousands of prisoners were carried off, including the Empress Eudoxia and her two daughters, the city was spared, through the intercession of Leo, from the horrors of conflagration and indiscriminate bloodshed, to which it had been destined.[1]

Next followed the irruption of the Heruli, those savage hordes, which, issuing from the dark forests of Germany and Poland, and the inhospitable shores of the Sea of Azov, swarmed over the Alps, A.D. 476, and desolated the plains of Northern and Central Italy. In rapid succession, Pavia, Ravenna, and Rome, succumbed to their assaults; and Odoacer, their leader, proclaimed himself King of Italy, thus terminating the existence of the Western Empire.[2] At this time, the Byzantine Emperors still ruled over Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Greece, Thrace, and a part of Illyria; but Gaul was in the hands of the Franks; the Anglo-Saxons held Britain; the Visigoths, Spain; the Vandals, North Africa; and the Heruli, Italy.

In the year 493, Odoacer was, in his turn, overthrown by Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths,[3] who founded a kingdom extending beyond the Italian Peninsula, including Rhætia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia. This monarch, who fixed his residence at Ravenna, appears to have ruled with firmness and prudence; and, under his government, Italy enjoyed peace for several years. Unfortunately, however, the dissensions between the orthodox Christians and the Arians, whom he favoured, caused much disturbance in the latter part of his reign.

Theodoric died at Ravenna, A.D. 526, leaving his

[1] Pagi, "Pontificum Romanorum Gesta," tom. i. p. 155; Prosper, in Chronico; and Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," vi. 211; A.D. 455.

[2] August 23, 476.

[3] The Eastern Goths were called, by ancient writers, Austrogothi or Ostrogothe; and the Western were called Vesigothi or Visigothe.

Italian kingdom to his grandson Athalaric, then only twelve years old. This prince having died at the early age of sixteen, Italy became the prey of intrigues and disputes. The Eastern Emperor, Justinian, resolved to take advantage of this state of affairs, and dispatched large forces to reconquer the country. After a protracted series of battles and sieges, victory declared for the Imperial armies, under the able conduct of Belisarius and Narses; and the Gothic rule terminated A.D. 553. On this, Central Italy once again became a province of the Empire and was administered by the Imperial exarch, who fixed his seat of Government at Ravenna.[1]

Unhappily, the country enjoyed but a brief period of repose; for, in the year 568, the Lombards and their allies under the standard of Alboin, crossed the Julian Alps, and overran those fertile plains, to which their long possession has given the name of Lombardy.[2]

[1] The Exarchs (from the Greek ἐξ, outside, and ἄρχος, governor) were viceroys of provinces under the Byzantine Emperors; such as the Exarch of Italy, or of Sicily, or of Africa. They were invested with all but supreme power, civil and military, within their respective provinces, terminable only by their recall. The principal of these was the exarch of central Italy, who was generally called "the Exarch of Ravenna." This ancient and interesting city was the capital of Italy, during the last days of the Western Empire, and was the seat of government, successively, of the Emperors Honorius and Valentinian, of Odoacer, Theodoric, and his successors, and of the Imperial exarchs. The first Exarch of Ravenna was Longinus, appointed by Justinus II., A.D. 568, and the last was Eutychius, whose term of office closed in 752, when the territory passed to the Popes. These civil officers are not to be confounded with the Ecclesiastical exarchs, who anciently held high rank in the Church, corresponding to patriarchs or primates.

[2] The Lombards, or Longobards, were so called from their long beards. Paul the Deacon, himself a Lombard, in his history of the nation, written in the eighth century, says, "It is certain, that they, first known as Winili, were afterwards called Langobards, on account of the length of their beards, untouched by iron; for in their language *lang* signifies long, and *beart* beard" ("De Gestis Longobardorum," i. 9). This long beard appears to have been the universal distinctive appendage of the race; for, on the occasion of the inhabitants of the Duchy of Spoleto, Reati, and other places renouncing the Lombard rule, and placing themselves under the dominion of the Popes, we

The affrighted inhabitants helplessly fled before them; the exarch was powerless to resist; and Alboin, borne onward by the tide of victory, menaced the capitals of Rome and Ravenna. The only serious opposition offered to the invaders, was that of the Gothic defenders of Pavia. After a three years' siege and gallant defence, that city fell, and became, for many generations, the capital of the new kingdom of Lombardy.

For about two centuries from this time, the Northern portion of Italy was ruled by the Lombard monarchs, and the remainder by the exarch of the Byzantine Emperor. The Lombard kingdom included those provinces now known as Piedmont, Lombardy, the Tyrol, Continental Venice,[1] Parma, Modena, Genoa, Tuscany, and a small portion of Umbria and the Marches. The Imperial dominions comprised the Exarchate of Ravenna, reduced to the Provinces of Ravenna, Ferrara, and Bologna; the Romagna; the Pentapolis,[2] or five seaport cities of Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Senegaglia, and Ancona, with their surrounding territories; a considerable portion of the seaboard of Southern Italy, and the island of Sicily. The province of Naples was governed by a Lombard prince, the Duke[3] of Beneventum, who

read, that they all shaved off their beards in the Roman fashion—*more Romanorum tonsurati sunt* ("Anastasius de vitis Pontificum Romanorum," pp. 153, 154. Moguntiæ, 1602).

[1] The Republic of Venice, so called from the Veneti, a people who inhabited all the adjoining coasts, was formed by numbers of these people and others from the interior of Italy, who had taken refuge from the Northern invaders in the islands of the Adriatic, early in the fifth century. They elected their first duke, or doge, A.D. 697. In 1797, Venice surrendered to France; and shortly afterwards was transferred to Austria, by the treaty of Campo Formio. In 1866, through the intervention of Napoleon III., it was relinquished by Austria, and annexed to the kingdom of Italy.

[2] Pentapolis; from the Greek, πέντε, five, and πόλεις, cities.

[3] Duke. This is the highest title of nobility next to Prince. The word is derived from the Latin *dux*, a leader, or *duco*, to lead, and was first applied to the generals-in-chief of the Romans, called *duces exercituum*, or leaders of armies. The title continued in times of peace; the *duces*, or dukes, being appointed governors of provinces. These dukes, at first, exercised an all but supreme jurisdiction in their several

was all but an independent sovereign; and Rome was ruled, nominally only, by a Patrician,[1] appointed by the Emperor. But, in reality, through the force of circumstances, the Popes became the supreme lords of the city.

The close of the sixth century is described by historians as the darkest and most disastrous period in the annals of Italy. War, famine, and pestilence, had, for a long series of years, wrought their baneful effects on the country. The sufferings of the people may well be imagined—their industry paralyzed, their lives in constant danger, their homes and possessions subject at any moment to spoliation and destruction.

One man alone appears to have been equal to the crisis. This was the holy Pope, Saint Gregory the Great.[2] Combining rare practical ability with devoted

districts, subordinate however to the Emperor or his exarch. Several of them were confirmed by Charlemagne, who made the title hereditary, subject of course to his suzerainty. In France, there were a number of duchies and counties, these latter being governed by counts, *comtes*, or in Latin *comites*, literally *companions* of the sovereign. The counts were of two kinds—governors of provinces, and governors of cities. In the latter originated our counties of cities.

[1] Patrician. The word is derived from the *Patres Conscripti*, the "conscript fathers," or senators of Rome, as opposed to *plebs*, the common people; whence "plebeian." The office of Patrician was first created by Constantine the Great. There were two kinds of patricians, one honorary, the other official. The latter were officers appointed to defend or govern a province, in the name of the Emperor. Thus, the governors of Africa, Sicily, and Italy were sometimes styled the patricians of those provinces. This title was always attached to the exarchate of Ravenna, *i.e.*, the province of Italy. Indeed, by several writers, the titles "patrician" and "exarch" are regarded as identical, when applied to governors of provinces of the Roman Empire. The dignity of Patrician conferred on Pepin and Charlemagne by the Popes, as we shall presently see, was one of great power and of the highest honour. It is thus described by Peter de Marca: "The name of patrician embraced two things: both the jurisdiction which the kings, by the consent of the pontiff and the Roman people, possessed in the city, and the protection or defence which they had promised the Roman Church." *Patricii nomen duo quædam complectebatur; et jurisdictionem, qua Reges in Urbe ex consensu Pontificis et Populi Romani potiebantur, et protectionem seu defensionem quam Romanæ Ecclesiæ polliciti erant.*

[2] "The power as well as the virtue of the Apostles resided with living energy in the breasts of their successors," says Mr. Gibbon;

zeal and heroic charity, he supplied in his own person for the neglect, or the powerlessness, of the nominal rulers of the country. On him devolved the providing corn for the capital and other cities, as well as the watchful protection of the inhabitants against the attacks of the enemy, on the one hand, and the treachery and oppressions of the Imperial governors and generals, on the other.[1] Here we find him dispatching Leontius, as governor to Nepi in Etruria, enjoining on the inhabitants that they should obey him as they would himself.[2] Here, again, he appoints Constantius to the important post of governor of Naples.[3] Next, he writes to the bishops about the defence and provisioning of their respective cities;[4] issues orders to the military commanders;[5] appeals again and again for aid and protection to the Emperor and his exarch; negotiates treaties of peace with the enemy; in a word, he becomes the actual ruler and protector of Italy; so that he is fully justified in declaring, "Whoever fills my place, as pastor, is gravely occupied by external cares, so that it frequently becomes uncertain whether he discharges the functions of a pastor, or of a temporal prince."[6]

A considerable portion of the wealth of the Church was judiciously employed by Gregory in propitiating the enemy, and protecting his flock from those evils from which the waning power of their temporal sovereign was unable to shield them.[7] In the letters of this great

"and the Chair of Saint Peter was filled, under the reign of Maurice, by the first and the greatest of the name of Gregory" ("Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" chap. xlv.). For particulars of his life, see Index, "Gregory the Great."

[1] "Sancti Gregorii Epistolæ," lib. v. epist. 42.

[2] Ibid., lib. ii. epist. 11 (alias 8).

[3] Ibid., lib. ii. epist. 31 (alias 24).

[4] Ibid., lib. viii. epist. 18 (alias 20), lib. ix. epist. 4 et 6 (alias 2 et 5).

[5] Ibid., lib. ii. epist. 3 et 29.

[6] Ibid., lib. i. epist. 25 (alias 24). "Hoc in loco quisquis pastor dicitur, curis exterioribus graviter occupatur, ita ut sæpe incertum sit, utrum pastoris officium, an terreni proceris agat."

[7] Ibid., lib. v. epist. 21; alias lib. iv. epist. 34.

Pontiff, we may best understand the difficult circumstances in which he was placed, and appreciate the services which he rendered to religion and the State. Yet those services appear to have been but badly requited by the Emperor, to whose falling fortunes he practised, and preached, unswerving fidelity. Against his will he had ascended the pontifical throne; altogether against his inclination he became immersed in public affairs; he would, if possible, have shrunk from the greatness thrust upon him; but an overruling Providence ordained, that, in those difficult times, he should preside over the Church; and alleviate the sufferings, and prolong the existence, of the Western Empire. Nor did he consider the enemy excluded from his pastoral care. In due time, he had the gratification of seeing their King, Agilulph, and numbers of his subjects abjure the Arian heresy. Lombard and Roman alike would he save from the evils of war, and unite in the bonds of Christian charity.

CHAPTER XI.

COLLAPSE OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

"Sedes Roma Petri, quæ pastoralis honoris
Facta caput mundo, quicquid non possidet armis
Religione tenet." [1]

ST. PROSPER OF AQUITAINE (A.D. 431).

THE onerous duties of a temporal ruler which thus devolved on Saint Gregory the Great, in addition to the cares of his spiritual office, no less devolved on his successors, who all displayed the same prudence and charity, and, up to the final scene, the same loyalty to the Emperors, as their saintly predecessor. In several instances, the Emperors appear to have worthily appreciated the well-regulated zeal of the Popes, and to have viewed without reluctance or apprehension the steady growth of their political influence. Not unfrequently, however, they adopted and favoured the heresies which were but too rife among the Eastern Christians, and opposed and thwarted the Pontiffs, on whose good offices the existence of their rule in the West now mainly depended. Notwithstanding this, the Popes, all through, even where the Emperors persecuted the Church, inculcated loyalty on the people, exhorting them to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's"—a course which they pursued, as may be seen in all cotemporary histories, until the Empire completely collapsed.

[1] "Rome, the See of Peter, which to the whole world has become the head of the pastoral dignity, holds by religion that which she possesses not by arms."

But, owing to the fatuity of those for whose benefit it was intended, this well-meant interposition was of no avail. Towards the close of the seventh century, the alternate incapacity and tyranny of the Byzantine government had completely alienated the masses of the Italian population. The state of affairs however became still worse, when an attempt was made to seize the Sovereign Pontiff, and carry him off a prisoner to Constantinople. This outrage was planned by the Emperor Justinian II., with a view to extorting the signature of Pope Sergius[1] to the Acts of the Council of Quinisext, of which the Holy See had positively refused its approval.[2] On this occasion, the people and the army of Italy interposed, to protect the sacred person of the Vicar of Christ; and, but for the interference of the Pontiff, would have put to death the Imperial officer charged with his abduction.[3]

The year *726* initiated the final crisis. The Emperor Leo the Isaurian then filled the Byzantine throne. This prince appears to have been actuated by a frenzied hostility against the Church. His zeal assumed the form of an attack on all holy images, which he seized and destroyed, in Constantinople and other cities of the East; ordering his subjects everywhere to do the same, and, in several instances, punishing their disobedience with death or mutilation. He wrote, more-

[1] Sergius I., a Sicilian, governed the Church, A.D. 687–701.

[2] This council was convoked by the Emperor Justinian II., in 692, in order to supplement the Acts of the Fifth and Sixth General Councils—the former held to consider the "Three Chapters," A.D. 553, and the latter convened to condemn the Monothelites, A.D. 680. Hence it is called "Quinisext" by the Latins, and Σύνοδος Πενθέκτη by the Greeks. It was also named "In Trullo," from its meeting in the large hall or chapel, called Trullus, in the palace of Constantinople. Pope Sergius had no part in the convening of this council, which was composed of 211 Greek bishops; nor was he represented in it by his legates; and he persistently refused to comply with the Emperor's pressing demands, that he should confirm its Acts.

[3] Anastasius, "Life of Sergius," and Platina, "De Vitis Pontificum Romanorum," p. 103.

over, commanding Pope Gregory II.[1] to follow his example, promising him his favour, as the reward of compliance, but menacing him with deposition, should he persist in disobeying. Gregory replied, remonstrating with the Emperor on his sacrilegious conduct, and pointing out to him the danger of exasperating his Italian subjects, who were so devotedly attached to the Church.

You would terrify us (he wrote), and you say, "I will send to Rome and break the image of Saint Peter, and I will have Pope Gregory carried off in chains, as Constans carried off Pope Martin."[2] But you ought to know and feel assured that the Popes for the time being presiding at Rome are the mediators and arbiters of peace between the East and the West. . . . Our predecessor Martin sat at Rome, exhorting to peace. The wicked Constans, entertaining false opinions concerning the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, and adhering to the proscribed heretical prelates, Sergius, Paul, and Pyrrhus, caused the Holy Father to be arrested, and with tyrannical violence carried off to Constantinople, and there, having inflicted upon him gross insults and injuries, consigned him to exile. But Constans was slain, and perished in his sins; while the blessed Martin is now venerated by the city of Cherson, to which he was banished, and by all the Northern nations, who flock to his tomb, and obtain there the cure of their maladies. Would to God, it were our lot to tread in the path of Martin; although for the welfare of the people we desire to live and survive, inasmuch as the eyes of the whole West are turned towards our humble person, and, although we are not such as he was, the nations confide in us, and they revere the blessed Peter, whose image you threaten to overturn and destroy.[3]

In his second epistle to Leo, the Pope reminds him

[1] Saint Gregory II., a Roman, governed the Church, A.D. 715–731.

[2] Saint Martin, a native of Tuscany, governed the Church, A.D. 649–655. He condemned the Monothelite heresy, which was supported by the Emperor Constans II., who published an edict in its favour. In order to procure the Pope's signature to this edict, Constans caused him to be seized and conducted a prisoner to Constantinople. The refusal of the Holy Father to comply with the Emperor's wishes entailed on him grievous indignities and hardships. After about two years' imprisonment and exile, he died in the Tauric Chersonesus, on September 16, 655.

[3] Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," vol. ix. pp. 71, 72, A.D. 726.

of the difference between Ecclesiastical and temporal affairs—the distinct duties and functions of Pontiffs and Emperors. "Give ear to our humility, Emperor," he writes: "cease; and follow the holy Church, as you have found it, and have received it. These are not the dogmas of Emperors, but of Pontiffs; as we speak the wisdom of God."[1]

So far was the Emperor from profiting by these wise counsels, that he caused six closely consecutive attempts to be made against the life of the Pontiff; but those attempts were baffled by the vigilant care of the Romans and the Lombards, who, although otherwise divided, united for the common purpose of protecting the Pope against the machinations of his enemies.[2] Gregory, on his part, in the words of his biographer,[3] "redoubled his alms, and prayers, and fasts, relying more on the protection of God than of man; and, to testify his gratitude to the people for their devotion to him, he tenderly entreated them to serve God in good works, and to be steadfast in faith; but at the same time he admonished them to persevere in attach-

[1] Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 75, A.D. 726. Vide 1 Corinthians, ii. 7.

[2] The full particulars of these attempts to assassinate the Pontiff, will be found in the "Life of Gregory II.," by Anastasius the Librarian. They are also given, less in detail, by Paul the Deacon, in his "History of the Lombards." See, further, Baronius, "Annales," ix. 77, et seq.

[3] Anastasius Bibliothecarius, or the Librarian. He was a Roman abbot, who flourished in the ninth century, and was librarian of the Roman Church, and one of the most learned men of the age. He wrote the Lives of the Popes, from St. Peter to Nicholas I., who reigned A.D. 858–867. Anastasius was present at the Eighth General Council, held at Constantinople in 869, and presided over by the legates of Pope Adrian II. He translated the Acts of this council from Greek into Latin. He was a painstaking and reliable writer. Cardinal Baronius ("Annales," ix. 212) pronounces his style to be rude, but most truthful, and observes, "it is better to drink pure water out of an earthenware cup than impure water quaffed from a golden goblet." "Sed audiamus patienter Anastasium, hæc omnia rudi stylo sed veraci prosequentem. Satius est enim puram in scutella testea aquam bibere, quam impuram vase aureo propinatam." The edition of Anastasius here quoted is that of Mentz, 1602.

ment and loyalty to the Roman Empire. Thus he softened the hearts of all, and alleviated their continuous afflictions."[1]

Indifferent to his own safety, in the sacred cause of duty, Gregory did not confine himself to remonstrating with the Emperor; but emphatically condemned the Iconoclast[2] heresy, and addressed letters to the faithful everywhere, cautioning them against so great an impiety. Thereupon, the inhabitants of the Pentapolis, and the Venetian army, refused to obey the Imperial mandate; and declared that they never would consent to the death of the Pontiff, but would forcibly resist any attempt upon his life. Then the people in all parts of Italy, despising the authority of the Exarch, elected dukes or leaders for themselves; as thus only could they consult their own and the Pope's safety. Soon afterwards, on the Emperor's wicked designs becoming generally known, all Italy resolved to elect another Emperor, and establish him on the Byzantine throne; but Gregory, "still hoping for the conversion of the prince, restrained such counsels."[3]

Some writers date the commencement of the temporal sovereignty of the Popes from this period, A.D. 726, or eight and twenty years before the donation of Pepin.

[1] Anastasius, "Life of Gregory II.," and Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 78, A.D. 726.

[2] Iconoclast, image-breaking; from the Greek *εἰκὼν*, image, and *κλάστης*, breaker.

[3] Anastasius, "Life of Gregory II." To the same effect is the narrative of Paul the Deacon, "De Gestis Longobardorum," lib. vi. cap. 49: "Omnis quoque Ravennæ exercitus vel Venetiarum talibus jussis unanimiter restiterunt; et nisi eos prohibuisset pontifex, imperatorem super se constituere fuissent aggressi." According to Anastasius, Gregory, at this time, "armed himself against the Emperor as against an enemy;" *jam contra imperatorem quasi contra hostem se armavit.* The precaution was but natural, as Leo had made several attempts upon his life. Under the circumstances, the Pope's inculcation on the people of loyalty to the Empire is remarkable; and shows how Gregory postponed all personal considerations to his sense of public duty. However, it soon afterwards became evident to him, that Leo's cause was utterly hopeless.

For a considerable time previously, the Pontiffs exercised supreme power over a large portion of Italy; but, all through, they appear to have considered themselves as under the suzerainty of the Emperors, whose waning authority they endeavoured to preserve. Even this, as we have just seen, was, for some time, the policy of Gregory II. But, now that the yoke of the successor of Constantine the Great had been thrown off in what had remained to him of his Italian dominions, namely, the Exarchate, the Pentapolis, and the Duchy of Rome, the people everywhere in those provinces elected local leaders; and all—chiefs and followers—rallied round the Pope, to whom they looked up, as their only reliable ruler and protector.

The action of Gregory himself, in the crisis, still further justifies this view. Evidently regarding the re-establishment of the Imperial cause as hopeless, and seeing the continued hostility of the Emperor, and his unceasing endeavours, by bribes and gifts, to induce the Lombards to invade Rome, the Holy Father sent an embassy to Charles Martel, Mayor of the Palace of the Frankish King, soliciting his aid. The envoys of the Pope bore the keys of the Tomb of the Apostles, and several holy relics, as presents to that prince, and offered him the dignity of Consul, or Patrician, of Rome. Charles received the embassy with all honour, accepted the proffered dignity, and concluded a treaty with the Pope, undertaking to march with an army into Italy, when necessary, to defend the Holy See against all enemies.[1]

[1] Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 80, A.D. 726. The Greek writers attribute this revolution mainly to Gregory. Cedreno says, "Gregory, the Apostolic man, and the coadjutor of Peter, the chief of the Apostles, fell off from Leo on account of his impiety, and, having concluded a treaty with the French, refused tribute to the Emperor." To the same effect are the testimonies of Theophanes and Zonaras. The Latins do not go so far. But clearly the Pope, who was universally trusted and revered by the Italians, must have had a large share in determining the ultimate resolution.

Meanwhile, the Imperial envoy Eutychius was actively engaged in negotiations with Luitprand the Lombard King; and at length succeeded in inducing that monarch to unite with the Exarch against the Pontiff. Ere long, Luitprand, with a large force, menaced Rome. Gregory, attended by his clergy in procession, went forth to meet him. To confront the invading army, he had but his sacred character, the authority of his office, his holy cause. The result of the interview was, that the powerful monarch, the master of many legions, cast himself at the feet of the venerable priest, paying homage to him as the Vicar of Christ, and promising him "that he would injure no man." Luitprand then entered the city along with the Pontiff, divested himself of his armour, and deposited his mantle, his bracelets, his belt and gilt sword, before the tomb of Saint Peter, together with a golden crown and silver cross. Having prayed before the sacred shrine, he begged of the Holy Father to admit the Exarch also to peace, which was readily accorded; whereupon the king retired with his army, and wholly abandoned the wicked designs which he had concerted with the Exarch.[1]

Pope Gregory II., having died in 731, his successor, the third Gregory,[2] the first year of his election, wrote three successive strong letters of remonstrance to the Emperors, Leo and his son Constantine Copronymus, on their promotion of the Iconoclast heresy, and their grievous persecution of the Church. Although the Papal messengers were intercepted and imprisoned in Sicily, some of the letters reached. Leo's reply was, to dispatch a powerful military and naval armament against Italy, charging the officer in command to bring back the Pope in chains to Constantinople. However, he could not command the winds and the waves; his

[1] Anastasius, "Life of Gregory II.," and Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 95, A.D. 729.

[2] Pope Gregory III., a Syrian, governed the Church, A.D. 731–741.

fleet was scattered by a violent storm in the Adriatic; several ships were sunk, and the expedition proved abortive. About the same time, Gregory convened a council at Rome, attended by ninety-three bishops, in which it was decreed that all those who condemned the veneration of holy images should be cut off from the communion of the Church.[1]

The Emperor, doubly incensed by the loss of his fleet and the action of the Pope and council, seized on the patrimonies of Saint Peter in Sicily and Calabria; transferred Greece and Illyricum from the Roman to the Byzantine patriarchate;[2] decreed new and most onerous taxes, to be levied in Italy; and threatened the Holy Father anew with his vengeance.

Meanwhile, Rome was again besieged by the Lombards, under Luitprand, who had forgotten all his good resolutions and promises to the late Pontiff. The Greek Emperors, who ought to have been the defenders of the beleaguered city, were now its determined, though impotent, foes. To the inhabitants, therefore, and indeed to the whole Central and Southern Italian populations, and their trusted chief and protector, the Pope, no course remained but to seek foreign aid. Under these circumstances, Gregory, following the example of his immediate predecessor, opened negotiations with Charles Martel, whose aid he solicited in several urgent letters.

These overtures not having had the desired effect, Gregory dispatched an embassy, with presents of sacred relics, to Charles, A.D. 741. The Papal envoys, Anastasius a bishop, and Sergius a priest, were graciously received by the French prince, to whom, on behalf of the Pope, and the people and nobles of Rome, they offered the dignity of Consul, or Patrician, praying him, at the same time, to extend to them his powerful

[1] Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 101, et seq. Pagi, "Pont. Rom. Gesta," i. 415, 416. Anastasius, Vit. Greg. III.

[2] Vide supra, p. 135.

protection. Charles readily promised to march with an army into Italy, to defend the Church and the city, with its territory, against all enemies: but, at the end of October that year, in the midst of his preparations, his career was cut short by death. Gregory died a few days later; and the life of the Greek Emperor, Leo the Isaurian, terminated about the same time.[1]

The new Pope, Zachary,[2] successfully exerted himself to restore peace to Italy. Immediately, on his accession, attended by his clergy, he visited Luitprand, in his camp at Terni in Perugia, and prevailed on that prince to suspend his warlike operations, and, further, to make restitution of the four cities of the Duchy of Rome which he had seized, and of several cities and provinces which he had taken from the Exarchate, thirty years before.[3]

That the feeble grasp of the Greek Emperors on their Italian possessions had altogether relaxed at this period, A.D. 742, is evident from the fact of the Lombards having held a considerable portion of the territory of the Exarchate fully thirty years, and of the question of its restitution now being, not to the Emperor Constantine Copronymus, but "to Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles," "to the holy man," Zachary, and "to the Republic."[4]

[1] "Annals of Metz," anno 741; and Baronius, "Annales," ix. 133 et seq. It is stated by some, that Gregory III. actually crossed the Alps this year, and visited Charles Martel, who received the Pope with due honour, but was unable to comply with his request. The evidence of existing records however supports the above account; namely, that Gregory rather sent an embassy, and was promised aid by Charles.

[2] Saint Zacharias, or Zachary, a Greek, governed the Church, A.D. 741–752. He was revered and loved equally by Greeks, Lombards, and Romans.

[3] Anastasius, "Life of Zachary," and Baronius, "Annales," ix. 153 et seq., A.D. 742. The four cities here mentioned were Orta, Bomarzo, Blera, and Amelia. See Orsi, "Del Dominio Temporale de' Papi," p. 34. Rome, 1789.

[4] Anastasius, "Life of Zachary." "Prædictas quatuor civitates eidem sancto cum habitatoribus redonavit viro. . . . Numanatense et

In the works of the historians and other writers of this period, we meet with frequent mention of the Roman Republic—*Respublica Romana*. On the complete extinction of the Byzantine rule in Italy, this form of government was created by the circumstances of the times, and was constituted of the nobles or senate, and the people of Rome, with the Pope as their universally acknowledged and firmly established head and ruler.[1]

The year 750 ushered in new troubles to Italy. Rachis, now King of the Lombards, totally regardless of a twenty years' treaty of peace, which he had concluded with Zachary, invaded the province of the Pentapolis with fire and sword, and laid siege to the walled city of Perugia. Zachary, on hearing of these proceedings, which were strangely at variance with the previous exemplary and pacific disposition of that monarch, set forth immediately for Perugia, attended by several of the dignitaries of his clergy, and induced the King to raise the siege. After some days' sojourn of the Holy Father, the sentiments of Rachis were completely changed. Not only did he decide to close his warlike operations; but he determined to abdicate his royal dignity, and to withdraw from the world, which, even in his exalted station and with his all but boundless power, could not satisfy the yearning of his heart. Accordingly, he divested himself of the distinctive appendages of state, and, accompanied by his wife and daughter, made a visit to Saint Peter's Church in Rome. He then begged of the Pope to admit him among the clergy, and took the habit, as a Benedictine

vallem, quæ vocatur magna, sitam in territorio Sutrino, per donationis titulum ipsi Beato Petro Apostolorum Principi reconcessit. . . . Duas partes territorii Cæsenæ castri ad partem reipublicæ restituit."

[1] Referring to this period of the history of the Popes, Mr. Gibbon says, "Their temporal dominion is now confirmed by the reverence of a thousand years; and their noblest title is the free choice of a people, whom they had redeemed from slavery" ("Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," chap. xlix.).

monk, in the abbey of Monte Cassino.[1] At the same time, his wife, Thesia, and his daughter, Ratruda, with the Pontiff's permission, entered the nunnery of Plombariola,[2] in the neighbourhood of the abbey, and there received the veil, and spent the remainder of their lives in prayer and contemplation.[3] Here we are reminded of a similar act, springing from a like motive, some eight centuries later—the voluntary abdication, and retirement into a monastery, of the Emperor Charles V.

Zachary might well have been styled the father of his adopted country. Not content with averting the evils of war, and otherwise alleviating the sufferings of the people, he seems to have endeavoured, as far as possible, to keep alive the lingering embers of the Byzantine rule in Ravenna and the Pentapolis, probably entertaining a faint hope, that he and his successors might thus be relieved of the heavy burden devolving on them as temporal rulers.

That Constantine Copronymus acquiesced in the actual position of affairs, appears not unlikely, if we may judge from his friendly relations with Pope Zachary, whose good services, evidently, he fully realized. Thus, we read of his making a donation, in perpetuity, "to the most holy and most blessed Pope of the holy Roman Church," of two estates, of considerable extent, in the small portion of Italy still subject to the Empire.[4]

[1] Saint Benedict founded his first monastery at Monte Cassino, in the province of Caserta, fifty miles north-west of Naples, A.D. 529.

[2] Saint Scholastica, sister of Saint Benedict, founded the nunnery of Plombariola, about five miles south of Monte Cassino, and governed it under her brother's rule and direction. This house was richly endowed by Queen Thesia.

[3] Anastasius, "Life of Zachary." Leo Ostiensis, "Chron. Cassin." cap. 8. Baronius, "Annales Eccles.," ix. 197, A.D. 750.

[4] Anastasius, "Life of Zachary." Those estates were called Nymphas and Normias. Their locality is not mentioned by the historian.

CHAPTER XII.

DONATIONS OF PEPIN AND CHARLEMAGNE.

"Et ipsas claves, tam Ravennatium Urbis, quamque diversarum civitatum ipsius Ravennatium exarchatus, una cum suprascripta donatione de eis a suo rege (Pipino) emissa, in confessione Beati Petri ponens, eidem Apostolo et ejus Vicario Sanctissimo Papæ (Stephano) atque omnibus ejus Successoribus Pontificibus perenniter possidendas atque disponendas tradidit."—ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS.

POPE ZACHARY having died on the 15th of March 752, his successor Stephen II. was elected on the 27th of that month, but was carried off by a sudden illness, four days after his election. He was succeeded by Stephen III.,[1] who was no sooner seated in Saint Peter's chair than he found himself face to face with a cruel and relentless foe. This was Astolphus, the brother and successor of Rachis on the Lombard throne. To this prince, waging war against Rome and its dependent cities and territories, Stephen, in the third month of his pontificate, sent an embassy, offering costly presents, and praying for peace. Astolphus was induced to conclude a forty years' treaty of peace with the Pontiff; but treacherously resumed hostilities within four months. In doing so, he openly avowed that his object was, to seize the whole province, retaining it under his juris-

[1] Pope Stephen III., a Roman by birth, governed the Church, A.D. 752–757. His immediate predecessor, who reigned only four days, is omitted by some writers from the list of Popes, because only elected, and not consecrated Pope. Consequently they call this Pontiff Stephen II. See Baronius, "Annales Eccles.," IX. 208, A.D. 725. In such cases, I follow the enumeration of "La Gerarchia Cattolica."

diction, and levying an annual tribute of a golden *solidus* per head on the inhabitants of the city of Rome.[1]

Having sent two more embassies to Astolphus, without avail, Stephen next dispatched envoys to Constantinople, representing to the Emperor that Rome was besieged, and that the Imperial provinces were in the hands of a devastating enemy—the Exarch having fled, utterly powerless to oppose the invasion.[2] The Emperor was alike unable and unwilling to afford aid. In the words of the annalist, "he was much more inclined to wage war against the Church than to attack the Lombards."

In the midst of these difficulties and dangers, the eyes of the entire Roman people were now turned towards the Apostolic Father.[3] He alone appeared calm and undismayed. In him all hopes were centred. On an appointed day, with an implacable enemy surging against the city walls, he assembled the terrified inhabitants, and feelingly exhorted them to turn with their whole hearts to God, who alone could aid them in their darkest hour of affliction. "I beg of you, my dearest children," said he, "let us implore the clemency of the Lord for our grievous sins; and He will be our helper and our deliverer from the hands of the persecutors." By his orders, public prayers were continuously offered up; litanies were recited; and there filed through the desolate streets, to the Church of the Blessed Mother of God, named "Ad Præsepe," a solemn procession, in which the Pope walked barefoot, attended

[1] Anastasius, "Life of Stephen III." The golden *solidus*, or sou, was worth 16 francs, or 13*s.* 4*d.* of our money.

[2] This was Eutychius, the last of the exarchs. By his flight, the Exarchate of Ravenna was closed, after an existence of 184 years.

[3] In the early ages the Pope was generally so called. Even Tertullian, writing in a hostile spirit, about A.D. 211, addresses Pope Zephyrinus as "Apostolic man." We sometimes find Bishops so styled, down to the ninth century. From that period, the designation has been confined to the occupant of the Apostolic See.

by his clergy in their sacred vestments, and followed by thousands of the population.[1]

Once again, now for the fourth time, an urgent appeal was made to the better feelings of the Lombard King; but, finding that prince still deaf to his prayers, and seeing that no aid could be looked for from the Byzantine court, Stephen, imitating the example of his predecessors, sent a message to Pepin, the son and successor of Charles Martel, stating that he was desirous of visiting him, in order to claim his powerful assistance for the Church and her oppressed children. Pepin forthwith dispatched to Rome the Bishop Rodigandus, and the Duke Authcarius, to tender his respects to the Holy Father, and, with a sufficient escort, to conduct him, with all honour, into France. On his way, the Pontiff, ever anxious to avert bloodshed and rapine, paid a visit to Astolphus in his capital, Pavia, and there endeavoured to effect a pacific arrangement; but, this final effort having proved of no avail, he continued his journey across the Alps. On his arrival at the monastery of Saint Mauritz, the Pope was further waited on by Fulradus, Abbot of Saint Denys, the trusty councillor of Pepin, and the Duke Rhotaldus, who presented him with their royal master's felicitations upon his arrival on French soil.[2]

The reception of Stephen, and his progress through France, were indeed well worthy of those ages of faith. Hearing of the approach of his venerable visitor, Pepin sent forward his son Charles (afterwards the celebrated Charlemagne), and several nobles, a distance of one hundred miles, to bid him welcome, and to impart additional dignity to his escort; while he himself awaited the Pontiff's arrival at his palace of Quierzy-sur-Oise,

[1] Anastasius, "Life of Stephen III.," and Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 211, A.D. 753. This church was called "Ad Præsepe," because in it was preserved the holy manger of Bethlehem. It is now Saint Mary Major's.

[2] A.D. 754. Anastasius, "Life of Stephen III.;" and Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 213.

near Noyon.[1] Three miles from the palace, Stephen was met by the monarch, his wife, his sons, and nobles, who all prostrated themselves, to do homage to the Vicar of Christ. Then, rising up, Pepin, with a loud voice, returned thanks to God for the visit with which his kingdom had been honoured; and, to further testify his veneration for the Pontiff, the King walked at his bridle-rein the whole way back to the palace. Arrived there, in the chapel royal, he solemnly promised Stephen, binding himself by oath, that he would, with all his power, espouse the cause of Saint Peter and the Roman Republic, and accomplish the restoration to them of the Exarchate of Ravenna, and of the other possessions, usurped by the Lombards.[2] Pepin and his sons then executed a deed of donation, in writing, to the Pope, of all the territories in question; clearly regarding him as the actual legitimate sovereign of the Italian provinces, formerly ruled by the Emperors.[3]

Stephen was conducted by the King to the Abbey of Saint Denys, where suitable preparations had been made for his accommodation. Here, in the course of a few days, he anointed Pepin and his sons, Charles and Carloman, Kings of France, conferring on them at the same time the dignity of Patricians of Rome, a title by which, in his letters, he ever afterwards addressed them, and which they always assumed, until it merged in the superior dignity of Emperor, in the person of Charlemagne.[4]

The question arises here: Was the Pope justified

[1] A favourite palace of the Carlovingian kings. Charles Martel died here.

[2] Anastasius, "Life of Stephen III." Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 213, 214, A.D. 754. Platina, "De vitis Pontificum Romanorum," p. 114.

[3] Anastasius mentions this written deed of donation, as read to and confirmed by Charlemagne, in his "Life of Adrian I.," but does not clearly allude to it in his "Life of Stephen." It is also fully described by Leo Ostiensis, the chronicler of Monte Cassino, as we shall presently see.

[4] Patricians of Rome. Vide supra, p. 173, *note*.

in thus confirming the deposition of Childeric, the titular King?[1] *A fortiori*, it may be asked: Was Pope Zachary justified in approving of and authorizing that deposition, two years before? To answer these questions, we must carefully regard the actual position of affairs. Charles Martel died, A.D. 741, and was succeeded by his sons Carloman and Pepin in the *de facto* sovereignty of France. Carloman received Austrasia, and Pepin Neustria and Burgundy; each still bearing their father's title of Mayor. Carloman, anxious to withdraw from the cares of state, retired into a monastery which he had founded on Mount Soracte, and there received the Benedictine habit, from the hands of Pope Zachary, in the year 746. He was succeeded in his all but royal dignity by his brother, Pepin le Bref, now sole master of France. The Merovingian race of kings being *rois fainéans*, leading lives of indolence and pleasure, and only rulers in name, all the power of the kingdom was in the hands of the Mayor of the Palace, who, of his own free motion, concluded treaties, declared war, and, in every other respect, exercised sovereign power. In the year 751, the whole nation determined to put an end to this anomalous state of affairs, and unanimously declared Pepin King. A difficulty however arose. The nobles, including Pepin himself, were bound by their oath of allegiance to Childeric. They applied to Pope Zachary, who, carefully considering all the circumstances of the case, and consulting alike the unanimous wishes and the welfare of the nation, granted them a dispensation from their oath.[2] Accord-

[1] Childeric III., surnamed the Stupid, was titular King of France, A.D. 743–752. He died in the monastery of Saint Bertin, in 755. With him closed the Merovingian, and with Pepin commenced the Carlovingian, line of kings.

[2] Eginhard, "Annales," vol. iii. p. 4; also Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 204, A.D. 752. The decision of Pope Zachary is given by the annalist, as expressed in the following words: "Melius esse illum vocari regem, apud quem summa potestas consisteret." "It is better he should be styled King, in whom is vested the supreme power."

ingly, Pepin was solemnly crowned King of France, at Soissons, in an assembly of the bishops and notables of the kingdom; Saint Boniface, Primate and Apostle of Germany, officiating on the occasion, in obedience to the orders of the Pope.[1] The unction by Pope Stephen, two years afterwards, appears to have been intended as a confirmation of this ceremony; and, further, it included the two young princes with their father, as anointed sovereigns of France.

Pepin's first act, in fulfilment of his promise to Stephen, was to send an embassy to Astolphus, calling on him to conclude a treaty of peace with the Pope and the Roman Republic, and to make restitution of the territories of which he had deprived them. Astolphus refused; on which, the French King immediately set his army in motion. Even then, in order to prevent the effusion of blood, Stephen wrote an urgent letter, a final appeal, to the Lombard King. This pacific overture, however, was spurned, with threats of vengeance against the Pontiff, the French monarch, and the whole French nation. Attacked in the passes of the Alps, Pepin swept the enemy from his path, and pursued them, broken and dismayed, up to the walls of their capital, the strong city of Pavia. Here, Astolphus had no alternative. A treaty was concluded between the Romans, the French, and the Lombards; Pepin receiving hostages, and Astolphus binding himself, by oath, to restore Ravenna and the various other

[1] Eginhard, "Annales," vol. iii. p. 4. Saint Boniface, named in baptism Winfrid, was born at Crediton, in Devonshire, A.D. 680. He was educated partly in the monastery of Exeter, and partly at that of Nutcell near Winchester. Having preached Christianity for some time in Friesland, he visited Rome in the year 719, where he received from Pope Gregory II. a commission to preach the faith in Germany. So gratified was the Pope at the success of his labours, that he recalled him to Rome, and ordained him bishop for the same mission, A.D. 723. On his accession in 732, Pope Gregory III. sent Boniface the pallium, and appointed him Archbishop and Primate of all Germany. He stood equally high in the favour of Popes Zachary and Stephen. Boniface suffered martyrdom, at the hands of the infidels of East Friesland, A.D. 755.

cities and provinces which he had usurped. On this, the French King recrossed the Alps, with his victorious army; and the Pope returned to Rome, where, in the Church of Saint Peter, a general thanksgiving was offered up for the favourable termination of the struggle.[1]

But ere long the political horizon became as dark as ever. The Lombards, forgetting the stern lesson they had been taught, and wholly regardless of their treaty obligations, once more levied war against the Romans, and besieged the city, devastating the surrounding provinces with fire and sword. Stephen again appealed to Pepin and his sons for aid, now addressing them as Patricians of Rome.[2] In a letter written to them on the fifty-fifth day of the siege, he gives a lamentable description of the devastations and outrages perpetrated by the enemy, "worse than were ever perpetrated by Pagans." In another letter, he speaks in the person of Saint Peter, and adjures them to aid and defend the Church, so that he may, in turn, protect them in the day of judgment, and prepare places for them in heaven.[3]

Pepin's second armed intervention in Italy was far more complete and effective than the first. Astolphus, hearing of his approach, raised the siege of Rome, which had now lasted more than three months, and fell back, with his army, on Pavia. Here, the Lombard was so hard pressed that he was compelled to yield at discretion, and, for his own sake, to act in perfect good faith. At the dictation of his conqueror, he restored to the

[1] A.D. 754. Anastasius, "Life of Stephen III.," and Baronius, "Annales," ix. 220.

[2] "Dominis excellentissimis Pipino, Carolo, et Carlomanno, tribus regibus, et nostris Romanis Patriciis."

[3] This letter, written under the pressure of a terrible emergency, has been censured by the enemies of the Popes; "yet," observes Mr. Gibbon, "they surely meant to persuade rather than deceive. This introduction of the dead, or of immortals, was familiar to the ancient orators, though it is executed on this occasion in the rude fashion of the age" ("Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," chap. xlix.).

Pope, by a written deed, all the cities and territories of which he had so lately promised to make restitution, now adding Comacchio, as the penalty of his perfidious breach of promise. To take possession of these cities, Pepin deputed his councillor, Fulradus, Abbot of Saint Denys, who went round with the deputies of Astolphus, receiving the keys of each city, and taking with him, as hostages, some of the principal inhabitants. With these, he proceeded to Rome, and there, on behalf of his royal master, he laid the keys and the deed of donation of the cities and territories on the Confession of Saint Peter,[1] "delivering them up to the same Apostle, and to his vicar, the most holy Pope, and to all his successors, pontiffs, to be possessed and governed by them for ever."[2]

The cities restored by Astolphus to the Holy See, as enumerated by Anastasius,[3] comprised, with their

[1] Immediately under the high altar of the basilica of St. Peter at Rome, is a subterranean church, called "the Confession of Saint Peter" and also *Limina Apostolorum*, or "the threshold of the Apostles." Here are entombed one-half of the bodies of Saints Peter and Paul; the other half being enshrined in the basilica of Saint Paul without the walls. In ancient times, churches dedicated to the memory of martyrs were called by the Latins "Confessio," and by the Greeks "martyrium," from the Greek μάρτυρ, a witness, which word, as well as the Latin *Confessor*, is employed by the Church, to designate one who has suffered death, to bear witness to Jesus Christ and the truth of His Gospel. In the fourth century, Saint John Chrysostom speaks of the Church of Saint Peter at Rome, as the *martyrium*, or confession, of the Apostles, referring to the underground Church. Anciently, as observed by Panvinius, double churches were very general; especially in Italy—the lower, or underground church, commonly called the crypt, from the Greek κρύπτα, "hidden," being immediately under the high altar and sanctuary of the upper church.

[2] Anastasius Bibliothecarius, "De Vitis Pontificum Romanorum," p. 126. The original is quoted in the heading of this chapter. Here, it will be noted, the expression used is "donation," viz. *donatione de eis a suo rege (Pipino) emissâ*. Anastasius says that this written deed of donation was preserved in the archives of the church in his day—A.D. 860.

[3] These cities, twenty in number, were Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesena, Sinigaglia, Jesi, Forumpopuli, Forli, with the fortress of Sussubium, Castrocaro, Montefeltri, Acerragio, Monte Luco, Serra, the Castle of San Marino, Bobbio, Urbino, Cagli, Lucoli, and Gubbio.

circumjacent territory, the Exarchate of Ravenna, then reduced to the provinces of Ravenna, Ferrara, and Bologna; and the Pentapolis, extending along the Adriatic from Rimini to Ancona—the whole measuring about one hundred and twenty geographical miles from the Po to Ancona, by an average of between forty and fifty from the Adriatic to the Apennines. As regards the Duchy of Rome, which extended from Viterbo to Terracina, and from Narni to the mouth of the Tiber, the Popes had, for a long period, been the rulers *de facto* of this district, under the suzerainty of the Greek Emperors, and they were latterly its independent sovereigns—the province having been abandoned by its original possessors. It was formally confirmed, or guaranteed, by the donation of Pepin, along with the cities and territories which had been usurped by the Lombards, and which he now compelled them to restore.

There is some difference of opinion among ancient writers as to the actual extent of Pepin's donation. Anastasius, in his Life of Stephen, appears to define it as above given; whilst, on the other hand, Leo Ostiensis, the chronicler of Monte Cassino, widely extends its limits, taking the Exarchate of Ravenna as it was at the period of its greatest prosperity, and not as it was in its latter day, when shorn of much of its ancient possessions. Accordingly, he includes the island of Corsica, Parma, Reggio, Mantua, Continental Venice, and even Istria.[1] Again, in his Life of Adrian

To these were added Comacchio, above referred to, and Narni, "which city had, in times gone by, been taken from the Romans by the Duchy of Spoleto." Anastasius, "De Vitis Pontificum Romanorum," p. 126. Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 234, A.D. 755.

[1] Leo Ostiensis, "Historia Cassin," lib. i. c. 7. "Fecit autem idem inclytus Rex una cum filiis concessionem beato Petro ejusque Vicario de civitatibus Italiæ et territoriis per designatos fines, a Lunis cum insula Corsica, inde Suranum, inde in montem Bardonem Vercetum, Parmam, Regium, Mantuam, et Montem-silicis, simulque universum Exarchatum Ravennæ, sicut antiquitus fuit, cum provinciis Venetiarum et Istriæ, cunctumque Ducatum Spoletinum et Beneventanum."

I., Anastasius himself adopts these extended limits, in describing the donation of Charlemagne, confirming that of Pepin.[1] The writers however who question the extent of this alleged more ample donation, argue, that neither Pepin, nor even Charlemagne, had conquered the island of Corsica and certain other territories mentioned in the deed, and consequently could not make a grant or donation of them: but this is met by the not altogether unreasonable supposition, that the inhabitants of those territories had, with a view to their own safety, in the troubled state of the country, previously placed themselves under the sovereignty of the Popes; as certainly was afterwards done by the inhabitants of the duchies of Spoleto and Reati, when they transferred their allegiance from the King of the Lombards to Pope Adrian I.[2]

The more extended limits of Pepin's donation, as set forth by Leo Ostiensis, are adopted in the confirmatory Diplomas of the Emperors, Louis le Débonnaire, Otho, and Saint Henry, to which it will presently be necessary more fully to refer. At this remote period, the question is one of much uncertainty. On the whole, the smaller limits, as above stated, appear the more probable of the two.[3]

Leo Ostiensis wrote towards the end of the eleventh century. A monk of Monte Cassino, and subsequently Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, he was distinguished for his learning. His chronicle of Monte Cassino comes down to A.D. 1086.

[1] Anastasius Bibliothecarius, "Historia de Vitis Pontificum Romanorum," p. 156. Moguntiæ, 1602. "Aliam donationis promissionem *ad instar anterioris*, . . . Carolus Francorum rex ascribi jussit, . . . ubi concessit *easdem* civitates et territoria beato Petro easque præfato Pontifici contradi spospondit per designatum confinium, sicut in eadem donatione contineri monstratur:" Here follows the designation of territories precisely as in the preceding note.

[2] A.D. 773. Anastasius, "Life of Adrian I.;" and Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 326. Charlemagne and his successors, notwithstanding, expressly reserved one of these duchies under their supreme jurisdiction, as we shall presently see. This appears to have been so arranged between Charlemagne and Pope Adrian I.

[3] Vide supra, p. 194.

It was on the occasion of his second expedition into Italy, that Pepin was waited on by the envoys of the Greek Emperor, offering him a large amount of treasure, in consideration of his delivering up the city of Ravenna and the other cities and territories of the Exarchate to their Imperial master. But the French King peremptorily "refused to suffer the alienation of those cities and territories from the power of Saint Peter, and the jurisdiction of the Roman Church, or of the Pontiff of the Apostolic See; affirming, with an oath, that he had entered on the war, not through favour to any man, but through love of Saint Peter, and for the forgiveness of his sins, and that no amount of treasure could induce him to take away that which he had once given to the blessed Apostle."[1]

Stephen III. was succeeded in the Pontifical Chair by his brother, Paul I., A.D. 757. This Pontiff, during a reign of ten years, was constantly harassed by his restless neighbours the Lombards; as was his successor Pope Stephen IV., who presided over the Church A.D. 768–771. After him came Adrian I.,[2] who, immediately

[1] Anastasius, "Life of Stephen III.;" and Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 234; A.D. 755. There has been considerable controversy among writers, on the question, whether the grants of Pepin and his successors to the Popes were a restitution, or simply donations or concessions. The facts appear to speak plainly for themselves. Certain cities and territories had been taken by the Lombards and other invaders from the Popes, or from the Greek Emperors, whose place in Italy the Popes occupied by common consent since the fall of the Western Empire. These cities and territories were conquered by the French monarchs, not for themselves, but to be handed over immediately to the Holy See. Clearly, the action of the Lombard Kings, who were compelled, at the point of the sword, to restore them, can be regarded only as restitution; whilst, with reference to the part of Pepin, Charlemagne, and other devoted sons and defenders of the Church, the term "donation," or "concession" may appropriately be employed; especially as, humanly speaking, it appears most unlikely, that, without their aid, those possessions would have been recovered by the Popes.

[2] Pope Adrian I., a Roman of noble birth, governed the Church nearly twenty-four years, A.D. 772–795. He presided, by his legates, at the Seventh General Council, the second of Nice, in 787.

on his accession, found himself so severely pressed by their incursions, under King Desiderius, that he urgently applied to Charlemagne for aid. The French monarch, having tried negotiations in vain, marched over the Alps, captured Verona and other Lombard cities, and laid siege to the strong fortress of Pavia, their capital.[1]

When the siege had lasted six months, Charlemagne, being desirous to visit the Pope, and to venerate the Tomb of the Apostles, set out with a large retinue of bishops, abbots and nobles, and a numerous military escort; and proceeded through Tuscany to Rome. His journey was so timed, that he arrived in the city on the eve of the great Easter festival. Adrian, hearing of his approach, and wishing to receive him with due honour, sent forward, a distance of thirty miles, all the judges, with a suitable escort, and the state banners, to meet him; and when the King arrived within one mile of the city gates, all the classes, or *scholæ*, of the Roman youth were there marshalled, with their officers, under arms;[2] while younger boys bore palm and olive branches, and chanted a hymn of welcome; and the holy crosses were displayed, with which it was customary to receive the Exarchs and Patricians of Rome. On beholding the sacred emblems of our Redemption, Charlemagne dismounted, and with his suite proceeded on foot to the Church of Saint Peter. Here, the Pope, attended by his clergy and a vast concourse of the Roman people, awaited the arrival of his august visitor. On reaching the Church, the King, as he ascended, kissed each of the steps;[3] and, on his attaining the porch, he and the Pontiff cordially exchanged embraces; and, the King taking the Pope's right hand, they reverently advanced up the centre of the basilica; whilst the clergy and religious communities rendered thanks to God, chanting

[1] A.D. 773.

[2] "Universas scholas militiæ una cum patronis" (Anastasius, p. 155).

[3] Anastasius, "De Vitis Pont. Rom.," page 155. "Omnes gradus sigillatim ejusdem sacratissimæ beati Petri Ecclesiæ deosculatus est."

the appropriate verse, "Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini." Then the Pope and the most Christian King,[1] and all the bishops, abbots, nobles, and others composing his suite, approached the Confession of Saint Peter, where, for some time, they remained prostrate in prayer, thanking God for the victory they had gained over the enemies of the Church, through the suffrages of the Prince of the Apostles. His thanksgiving being concluded, the King asked permission of His Holiness to enter the city, and to perform his devotions in the various other churches.[2]

Early on Easter Sunday morning, Adrian sent all his judges, and his entire military force, to escort the French monarch to the church of the Blessed Mother of God, "Ad Præsepe;" and, after the celebration of Mass, the Pontiff and the King proceeded to the Lateran Palace, where Adrian entertained his royal guest. Next day, the Pope celebrated a Mass of thanksgiving in the Church of Saint Peter, after which he returned thanks to "the most excellent King of the French and Patrician of Rome," there present; and, on the following day, he officiated in the Church of Saint Paul, according to custom.[3]

On the fourth day, Adrian repaired in state to the Church of Saint Peter, there to confer with Charlemagne, whom he besought to fulfil, in all particulars, the promises made to Saint Peter and his vicar Stephen, of blessed memory, by his honoured father Pepin, himself, and his brother Carloman, that they would restore

[1] "The most Christian King," *Christianissimus Rex.* The great antiquity of this title of the French monarchs is proved by its being thus applied to Charlemagne by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, writing in the ninth century. It was probably conferred on Charlemagne, or on his father Pepin, by the Pope.

[2] Anastasius, "Life of Adrian I.;" and Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 328, A.D. 774. At this time, Saint Peter's was outside the city walls.

[3] Ibid. These stations are noted for the days above mentioned respectively, in ancient Roman Missals. See Index, "Stations."

the cities and territories of the province of Italy to the Popes "to be possessed by them for ever."[1]

The King, having caused the deed of promise, which had been executed in France, to be read to him, was pleased to confirm its contents; and, of his own free will, he ordered another deed of donation, "to the effect of the former," to be drawn up by Etherius, his chaplain and notary, in which deed he granted "the same cities and territories" to Saint Peter and his successors, and guaranteed to them the boundaries set forth therein.[2] This deed he confirmed by his signature, and further he caused it to be signed by the bishops, abbots, and councillors in his train, and his secretaries. He then laid it on the altar of St. Peter; and finally deposited it within the Confession of the Apostle; when he and his councillors bound themselves by oath to the same Blessed Peter and his successor, Pope Adrian, that they would religiously observe all its provisions.[3]

From this account, it would appear that the deed executed by Charlemagne to Adrian, on this occasion, conveyed the same extent of territory as Pepin's deed to Stephen, of which it was a confirmation. With respect to Charlemagne's concession of the Sabine territory "in a written deed of donation" to the Holy See, and other grants of that monarch, alluded to in the Diplomas of the Emperors, Louis, Otho, and Saint Henry, they are generally ascribed to a later period of his reign.[4] Charlemagne now returned to his army,

[1] Anastasius, "Life of Adrian I."

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., and Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 329, A.D. 774. The deed was drawn up in duplicate; one part being deposited in the Church of Saint Peter, and the counterpart being taken by the King.

[4] Father Pagi is of opinion, that, as may be inferred from Pope Adrian's letters, although Charlemagne added many cities and territories to those which his father, Pepin, had granted to the Apostolic See, he did not grant them altogether, or in this particular visit to Rome: viz. "Constat vero ex Epistolis Hadriani Papæ, Carolum civitatibus ac provinciis, quas Pipinus pater Apostolicæ Sedi concesserat, plurimas addidisse, *sed has nec omnes simul, nec in hac Romana Caroli*

closely investing Pavia; and, after a protracted struggle, that city, reduced by famine and pestilence, was compelled to surrender. King Desiderius and his family were sent prisoners into France; and the conqueror, adding those fair provinces to his dominions, legitimately assumed the iron crown of Lombardy.[1] Thus terminated the Lombard rule in Italy, after an existence of 206 years.[2]

profectione data sunt" ("Brev. Gestorum Pontificum Romanorum,' vol. i. p. 461; Venice, 1730). This accords with the words of Anastasius, above quoted.

[1] The Iron Crown of Lombardy is so called because, within a broad golden band set with jewels, it contains a thin circlet of iron, said to have been beaten out of one of the nails used at the Crucifixion of our Saviour, and brought over from the Holy Land by the Empress Helena. This crown was used at the coronation of several Emperors, including Charlemagne, Charles V., and Napoleon I. The last, wearing the diadems of France and Italy, placed the Iron Crown upon his own head, amid great state and ceremony, in the Cathedral of Milan, on the 26th of May, 1805, pronouncing at the same time these words: *Dieu me la donne; gare à qui la touche.*

[2] A.D. 568-774. Anastasius, "Life of Adrian I.," and Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 334 et seq., A.D. 774.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHARLEMAGNE CROWNED EMPEROR OF THE WEST.

"Thou standest like Imperial Charlemagne,
Upon thy bridge of gold; thy royal hand
Outstretched with benedictions o'er the land."

LONGFELLOW.

SOME five and twenty years later, the aid of Charlemagne was again invoked by the Successor of Saint Peter; and the French King promptly and efficiently interposed, as Patrician of Rome and Protector of the Holy See. The occasion was as follows; and its details furnish a remarkable illustration of the condition of society in those rude and troublous times. One day, in the fourth year of his pontificate,[1] as Adrian's successor, Leo III.,[2] was passing in a procession through the streets of Rome, immediately in front of the monastery of Saints Stephen and Sylvester, he was attacked by a numerous body of hired assassins, irreverently seized on, and savagely assaulted. The clergy and laity, unarmed and unprepared, were powerless to protect him; and the Holy Father was carried off and imprisoned. The miscreants by whom this outrage was perpetrated were the tools of a few influential wicked men, who had conspired to depose Leo, and to place a nephew of Adrian on the Pontifical throne. Having effected his escape from prison, and furnished by the Duke of Spoleto with a strong military escort, the Pope crossed the Alps, to solicit the aid of Charle-

[1] April 25, 799.

[2] Pope Leo III., by birth a Roman, governed the Church, A.D. 795-816.

magne, then encamped with his army at Paderborn in Westphalia. That monarch, hearing of his approach, sent forward several bishops and nobles, and his son Pepin, to escort the Pontiff; and, on his arrival, he paid him honours similar to those rendered by his royal father to Pope Stephen. The king immediately sent envoys to Rome to investigate the case. They found that the perpetrators of the outrage could not aver anything against Leo, nor palliate their own conduct. They were thereupon condemned to death; but, in deference to the Pope's wishes, the penalty was mitigated to exile. Returning to his capital, with a French escort, Leo was received with loud acclamations by the clergy and people, hailing him as their sole legitimate Lord and Pontiff.[1]

The following year, according to promise, Charlemagne visited Rome, chiefly with the object of terminating the troubles and scandals caused by the factious proceedings of certain powerful subjects of the Holy Father. Those unscrupulous men had dared to lay before the King a series of false charges against Leo, whose only offence was, that he alone had the courage and the power to check their excesses. As on a former occasion, Charles was received with all honours by the Pope. On the seventh day after his arrival, the King convened, with Leo's sanction, a great assembly of the clergy, nobles, and other influential persons, French and Roman, in the Church of Saint Peter. The Pope and the King occupied elevated seats, on the same level, and invited the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, to be seated also; the principal nobles, of both nations, and the remainder of the assembly standing. Charles then stated that his chief object in coming to Rome was, to investigate with the Holy Father the complaints that had been made, and that they invited those present to join in the investigation. On this, the

[1] Anastasius, "Life of Leo III.," and Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 498, A.D. 799.

archbishops, bishops, and abbots unanimously replied, "We dare not judge the Apostolic See, which is the head of all the Churches of God; for by it and its Vicar we all are judged, but it is judged by no one; such being the custom of ancient times. But, according as the Supreme Pontiff himself will decide, we will canonically obey."[1] The Holy Father then stood up and declared: "I tread in the footsteps of the Popes, my predecessors; and I am ready to clear myself of all the false charges, which have been iniquitously preferred against me."[2] No one having meanwhile repeated, or attempted to substantiate, those accusations, Leo, on a subsequent day, in the same Church of St. Peter, and in presence of the French monarch and the same assembly, ascended the ambo,[3] and, taking an oath on the Holy Evangelists, said, in a loud and

[1] Anastasius, "De Vitis Pontificum Romanorum," p. 183, Moguntiæ, 1602. "Qui universi archiepiscopi, et episcopi, et abbates unanimiter audientes dixerunt: 'Nos Sedem Apostolicam, quæ est caput omnium Dei ecclesiarum, judicare non audemus. Nam ab ipsâ nos omnes et Vicario suo judicamur; ipsa autem a nemine judicatur, quemadmodum et antiquus mos fuit. Sed sicut ipse Summus Pontifex censuerit, canonice obediemus.'" This is indeed strong testimony, as to how fully the Primacy of the Holy See was recognized at this early period; and it has the greater weight, as coming from a cotemporary historian, remarkable for his accuracy and truth.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ambo (from the Greek, *ἀναβαίνειν*, to ascend). This was a raised platform of wood, or masonry, in the nave of churches, in the early ages, surrounded by a low railing or wall. From it the Gospel and Epistle were read or chanted, announcements to the congregation were made, excommunications were pronounced, the Scriptures were read, and sermons were preached. In later times, it was replaced by the pulpit. An interesting specimen of the ambo may be seen in the ancient church of San Clemente, Rome. The Diptychs also were read from the ambo in ancient times. The Diptychs (from the Greek, *δίπτυχα*, double-folded) were double tablets or catalogues, read out to the congregation from the ambo by the deacon, or, in a low voice, to the priest at the altar by the sub deacon, or referred to by the officiating priest in his prayers. They were those of the living and of the dead. In the former were inscribed the names of the Pope, the Bishops and Clergy, the Emperor and Empress, the Consuls, the benefactors of the Church, and others. In the latter were the names of the former Bishops and others deceased. In the Diptychs were also mentioned

distinct voice: "It is notorious, most beloved brethren, that bad men have risen up against me, and have calumniated me and my life, by the gravest accusations. For the sake of sifting these things, the most clement and most serene King Charles has come to this city, along with his clergy and nobles. Wherefore I, Leo, Pontiff of the Holy Roman Church, neither judged by any one nor acting by compulsion, of my own free will, in your presence before God who knows our consciences, and the angels of God, and the Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, hereby clear myself of having perpetrated, or ordered to be perpetrated, those things of which I am accused, calling God as my witness, by whom we shall be judged and in whose sight we stand. And I do this, not bound by any laws, nor wishing to impose this custom or ordinance in the Holy Church on my successors or brother bishops: but only that I would the more certainly free your minds from wicked suspicions."[1] This declaration of the Holy Father was most joyfully and respectfully received; the litanies were recited; and thanks were rendered to God by the entire assembly.

All this occurred in the middle of December 800. On Christmas day, that year, as Charles prayed in the Church of Saint Peter, Leo advanced with a precious crown, emblematic of the Imperial dignity, and placed it on the monarch's head; and all the Romans, present in great numbers, witnesses of his devoted defence and love of the Church, and of its chief pastor, exclaimed, as with one voice, "Long life and victory to Charles, the pious Augustus, crowned by God, the great and

the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Martyrs, and other Saints. In case of heresy, excommunication, or public scandals, the name of the offender, if on the Diptychs, would be erased. The commemoration of the saints, and the mementos of the living and the dead, in the Diptychs, may be traced in the canon of the Mass.

[1] Ex Sacris Ritibus Romanæ Ecclesiæ ante Natalem Domini, apud Baronium, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 503; and Anastasius, "De Vitis Pontificum Romanorum," p. 183.

peace-giving Emperor."[1] Then the Pontiff anointed with holy oil the Emperor and his eldest son; and Charlemagne bound himself by oath, to act ever as the protector and defender of the Church."[2]

The investiture of Charlemagne with the Imperial dignity by Pope Leo III. may well be regarded as one of the grandest, most solemn, and most important events in history. In reviewing it, we must not confine ourselves to the services rendered to the Church by the Carlovingian King. We must further take into account his paramount power; his widely extended dominions, comprising all France and Germany, the Low Countries, the Continent of Italy to Beneventum, and portions of Hungary and Spain; his peace-giving victories over unjust warfare, spoliation, and anarchy; his wise jurisprudence; his enlightened promotion of education; his encouragement of agriculture and of all the useful arts; and the other signal benefits which, for a long series of years, he had conferred on the populations of Western Europe. Moreover, it was but right, as it was expedient, that the Imperial crown of the West should be worn by him who now firmly held the sceptre which had long since passed away from the Byzantine Emperors.[3] By many writers, the hand of Divine Providence is recognized in the intimate union

[1] "Carolo piissimo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno, pacifico Imperatori, vita et victoria."

[2] Anastasius, "Life of Leo III.;" and Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 502, A.D. 800. It is stated by Eginhard, and other writers after him, that Charlemagne was ignorant of the Pope's intention, and that the act of Leo took him completely by surprise; nay, that he afterwards affirmed, that, had he known of the intended coronation, he would not have come to the church that day. This allegation however is not borne out by the monarch's seeming ready acquiescence in the ceremony. Some writers again surmise, that the coronation had been settled between the monarch and the Pope; but that the time was anticipated by Leo.

[3] With reference to the re-establishment of the Empire of the West by Pope Leo III., Sigonius observes, "This title of Imperial dignity, which, in the person of Romulus Augustulus, the last Emperor of the West, had succumbed to the rule of the Goths, almost three hundred

thus established between the Church and the Empire —an union so fraught with advantages to all Christian nations; and this, notwithstanding the fact, that, in the course of time, there arose a few unworthy successors of Charlemagne on the Imperial throne.

Throughout the whole course of his long reign, this powerful monarch, the master of the entire Western world, displayed a filial affection for the successor of Saint Peter, and the most devoted zeal for the welfare of the Church. Thus, from the commencement, in setting forth his titles, in public documents, he used to style himself "Charles, by the grace of God, King of the Franks and the Lombards, Patrician of the Romans, Defender of the Holy Church of God." Such were his sentiments of love and veneration for Leo's predecessor, Pope Adrian, that he would have the expression of them embodied, as in an enduring record, in the epitaph which he composed for the monument of that holy Pontiff. In it, these verses occur:—

"Nomina jungo simul titulis, carissime, nostris;
Hadrianus, Carolus, Rex ego, tuque Pater.[1]

On the death of Adrian, A.D. 795, Charlemagne, desirous that the dignity of Patrician of the Romans should be confirmed to him by the new Pope, addressed a letter to Leo, as follows: "As between the predecessor of Your Blessedness and me there has been a solemn treaty of holy paternity, so I now desire that there should be established between us a similar covenant of faith and affection, in order that, God enabling, the See of the most holy Roman Church may ever be defended by our devotion."[2] Whether as King or

years before, was renewed by the Pontiff in the same West, in order that the Roman Church might have a Protector against infidels, heretics, and seditious persons, which office the Emperor of the East appears to have long before repudiated." "De regno Italiæ," lib. iv., ad annum 801. Carlo Sigonio, an eminent historian and antiquary, was born at Modena in 1520, and died in 1584.

[1] "Dearly beloved, I join together our names, with our titles; Adrian, Charles; I the King, and you the Father."

[2] "Sicut enim cum beatissimo prædecessore vestro sanctæ paterni-

Emperor, he on all occasions acted up to these professions; and, in his last will and testament, he solemnly enjoined the same course on his three sons, Louis, Pepin, and Charles, among whom he bequeathed his dominions. In that document, written A.D. 806, he says: "But above all things we order, that the said three brothers shall together undertake the protection and defence of the Church of Saint Peter, as formerly undertaken by our grandfather Charles, and our father King Pepin, of blessed memory, and afterwards by us; that they shall endeavour, with God's aid, to defend it against all enemies; and that, as far as pertaineth to them, and reason demands, they shall vindicate its rights."[1] We find the same spirit pervading all his letters to Pope Adrian.[2] Here, indeed, is presented a remarkable contrast with the course pursued by some of the rulers of the earth in our day—a course directly leading to the subversion of all authority, political as well as religious, and the triumph of infidelity and communism.[3]

tatis pactum inii, sic cum Beatitudine vestra ejusdem fidei et charitatis inviolabile fœdus statuere desidero, quatenus sanctissimæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Sedes, Deo donante, nostra semper devotione defendatur."

[1] The same instructions, in the same words, are given by Charlemagne's son and successor, the Emperor Louis le Débonnaire, to his three sons, in his last will and testament: viz. "Super omnia jubemus atque præcipimus, ut ipsi tres fratres curam et defensionem Ecclesiæ Sancti Petri simul suscipiant, sicut quondam a proavo nostro Carolo, et avo nostro Pipino, et beatæ memoriæ genitore nostro Carolo Imperatore, et a nobis postea suscepta est: ut eam, cum Dei adjutorio, ab hostibus defendere nitantur, et justitiam suam, quantum ad ipsos pertinet, et ratio postulaverit, habere faciant."

[2] In these letters, Charlemagne styles himself, *Devotus sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ Defensor, humilisque Adjutor;* and *Patricius Romanorum, Filius et Defensor Sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ.*

[3] Charles, or as he was afterwards called, Charlemagne (Charles the Great), was the son of Pepin le Bref, and was born at the Castle of Salzburg in Upper Austria, in the year 742. Pepin, dying in 768, left his dominions to his two sons Charles and Carloman, to be governed by them jointly; but, the latter dying in 771, Charles became sole master of France. An able, wise, and enlightened ruler, he largely extended his dominions on every side. As we have seen, he was crowned Emperor of the West, by Pope Leo III., A.D. 800. Shortly

afterwards, his Imperial dignity was recognized by the Eastern Empress, Irene, and her husband Nicephorus; and the boundaries of the two Empires were amicably adjusted. At the same time, friendly relations were established between Charles and the celebrated Caliph of the Saracens, Haroun al Raschid, who presented him with the keys of the city of Jerusalem and of the Holy places ("Claves sepulchri Domini, claves etiam civitatis et montis, cum vexillo detulerunt."—William of Tyre). Charlemagne was a liberal patron of learning, established schools extensively, and otherwise promoted education. He everywhere encouraged agriculture, and all the useful arts. His Capitularies, or celebrated code of laws, range from A.D. 769 to 813. They were published by Baluze, Paris, in two volumes, folio, in 1677. In the year 806, he drew up his last will and testament, dividing his dominions among his three sons; but, Pepin and Charles having died, he associated his only surviving son, Louis, in the Empire with himself, at Aix-la-Chapelle, the year before his death, which took place on the 8th of January, 814, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the forty-seventh of his reign as King, and fourteenth as Emperor. It is related that, several centuries later, his tomb in the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle was opened, when his body was found, attired in the Imperial robes, and seated in a chair of state. On being touched the whole crumbled into dust, save the diamond clasp which fastened his cloak, and other jewels, now preserved at Vienna. It is sometimes observed of Charlemagne, that he founded nothing of an enduring nature —that his Empire, his laws, all his works, perished with him. To this M. Guizot conclusively replies, "Although the vast domination of Charlemagne disappeared with him, it is not true that he founded nothing; he founded all the States which sprung from the dismemberment of his Empire. His conquests entered into new combinations, but his wars attained their end; the foundation of the work subsisted, although its form was changed. It is thus that the action of great men is in general exercised. Charlemagne as an administrator and legislator appears under the same aspect" ("History of Civilization," lecture 20).

CHAPTER XIV.

DIPLOMAS OF THE EMPERORS LOUIS, OTHO, AND SAINT HENRY.

"Has omnes supradictas provincias, urbes et civitates, oppida atque castella, viculos ac territoria, simulque patrimonia, pro statu Regni nostri, cunctoque Christianorum populo conservando, jam dictæ Ecclesiæ tuæ, Beate Petre, Vicarioque tuo, Benedicto, ac successoribus ejus, usque in finem sæculi, eo modo confirmamus, ut in suo detineant jure, principatu, atque ditione."—*Diploma of the Emperor Henry II.*

THE donations of Pepin and Charlemagne to the Popes appear to have been regularly confirmed by their descendants, on the accession of each to the Empire. Thus, Charlemagne's son and successor, Louis le Débonnaire, or Louis the Pious, as he was styled, executed a most ample diploma, or charter, to Pascal I.,[1] A.D. 817, decreeing, granting, and confirming to him, as Supreme Pontiff and Universal Pope, and to his successors for ever, the City of Rome with its duchy and territories, as theretofore held and governed by him and his predecessors;[2] certain cities, towns and districts (enumerated) in Tuscany and Campania; and the Exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, together with their cities, districts and dependencies, which had been "restored by a deed of donation" to the Holy See by Pepin and Charlemagne,[3] also the Sabine territory,

[1] Pascal I., a native of Rome, governed the Church, A.D. 817–824.

[2] "Sicut a prædecessoribus vestris usque nunc in vestra potestate et ditione tenuistis et disposuistis."

[3] "Quæ piæ recordationis dominus Pipinus Rex, ac bonæ memoriæ genitor noster Carolus Imperator beato Petro Apostolo et prædecessoribus vestris jamdudum per donationis paginam restituerunt." It is deserving of notice that the Emperor here speaks of the Exarchate of

which had been "conceded in a written deed of donation" to the Pope by the latter monarch, and certain specified cities and provinces in Lombardian Tuscany, together with the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, and all the patrimonies of the Church, "under her power and jurisdiction," in all parts of the Empire. Louis further confirmed to the Pope certain tributes and pensions, which used formerly to be paid every year out of the Duchies of Lombardian Tuscany and Spoleto into the palace of the king of the Lombards; but, in doing so, he expressly reserved to himself his sovereignty over the said two duchies,[1] thus proving that he did not aim at the least shadow of power or jurisdiction over all the other territories conveyed and confirmed in his diploma, no reservation whatever having been made with regard to them.

This is further expressed in the clause, "And we do not claim for ourselves any part in them (the said territories, cities, etc.), nor any power of governing, judging, taking from, or diminishing the same, unless when we shall have been invited by him who, at any time, shall hold the government of this holy Church."

Next follow stringent provisions against any subjects of the Empire in any way interfering with the Romans, in the free and canonical election of the Pope—a topic which will be treated of fully in a future chapter.

To the same effect are the diplomas, or deeds of confirmation, of the Emperors Otho I. to Pope John XII., and Henry II. to Pope Benedict VIII., executed respectively in the years 962 and 1020. In these, as in that of Louis, we find the clause, "saving our rule in all

Ravenna and the Pentapolis, as having been *restored* to the Popes by Pepin and Charlemagne in a deed of *donation*, whilst he alludes to Rome and its duchy and territories, as having been "held under their power and jurisdiction down to the present time" by Pascal and his predecessors on the Pontifical throne, and governed by them.

[1] "Eo scilicet modo ut annis singulis prædictus census Ecclesiæ Beati Petri Apostoli persolvatur, salva super eosdem ducatus nostra in omnibus dominatione, et illorum ad nostram partem subjectione."

things over these duchies and their subjection to us," applied only to the Duchies of Lombardian Tuscany and Spoleto, the tributes annually paid by which are confirmed to the Popes; while, with this sole exception, "all the provinces, cities and states, towns and fortresses, villages and territories, together with the patrimonies of the said Church," are confirmed to "the Sovereign Pontiff and Universal Pope, and to his successors, to the end of the world, to be held by them in their right, princedom, and jurisdiction."[1]

[1] Theiner, "Codex Diplomaticus Dominii Temporalis S. Sedis," tom. i. p. 2–8, Romæ, 1861; Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 670; Cenni, "Esáme del Diploma di Ludovico Pio," parte prima, and "Esáme de' diplomi d'Ottone e S. Arrigo," parte terza. The authenticity of the diploma of Louis le Débonnaire has been questioned by some writers, while admitted by the majority. It appears however to be conclusively established, as an authentic document, by the Abbate Cenni, in his learned treatise just named. Of the diplomas of Otho I. and Henry II., to the same purport, the authenticity is universally admitted.

CHAPTER XV.

RELATIONS OF THE POPES AND THE EMPERORS.

"Il ne faut jamais perdre de vue cette grande et incontestable vérité historique, *que tous les souverains regardaient le Pape comme leur supérieur même temporel, mais surtout comme le suzerain des empereurs électifs.* Les Papes étaient censés, dans l'opinion universelle, donner l'empire en couronnant l'empereur. Celui-ci recevoit d'eux le droit de se nommer un successeur. Les électeurs Allemands recevait de lui celui de nommer un *roi des Teutons*, qui était ainsi destiné à l'empire. L'empereur élu lui prêtait serment, etc. Les prétentions des Papes ne sauraient donc paraître étranges qu'à ceux qui refusent absolument de se transporter dans ces temps reculés."—DE MAISTRE.

THERE has been considerable discussion amongst the learned as to the degree of power or jurisdiction exercised by the Frankish or German Emperors and the Popes, respectively, in Rome and its dependencies, after the grants of Pepin and Charlemagne. Some writers assert that all through down to the reign of Pope Julius II., A.D. 1503, and some, that, at particular periods specified, the Pontiffs exercised only the proprietary dominion, *dominium utile*, under the supreme dominion, or suzerainty, *dominium altum*, of the Emperors; some again hold, that they exercised supreme power conjointly and equally with the Emperors, *consortes et socii ejusdem dominii;* whilst several are strongly of opinion, with Cardinal Orsi and the learned Fr. Theiner of our day, that, from A.D. 754, the year of Pepin's donation, the successors of Saint Peter continuously exercised the supreme as well as the proprietary dominion of the extensive territories of the Holy See.[1] One fact is un-

[1] See Cardinal Orsi's able work, "Della origine del Dominio de' Romani Pontefici," with which is published, as an appendix, the Abbate Cenni's "Esame del Diploma di Ludovico Pio, e de' Diplome

deniable, and it goes far towards reconciling these various opinions; namely, that, even although the grants were made and confirmed to them by the French and German monarchs, in a manner full and complete, the Popes, in many an instance, were unable to enforce their authority, in several of the provinces, or, again, were powerless to resist attacks from outside; and, consequently, were obliged to request the Emperors' interference and exercise of jurisdiction within their States; whether to defend and protect them against foreign invasion, on the one hand, or domestic faction, unhallowed conspiracies, and sacrilegious outrage, on the other.[1] In all probability, it was with reference to this necessity of the Holy See, rather than with the intent of arrogating supreme authority, that the Emperors used to send, from time to time, into the Papal States their envoys, *missi*, who appear to have partaken of the character of inspectors, or overseers, as much as of ambassadors. On the whole, the view that the Pontiffs exercised supreme dominion within their own territories, at the period in question, is fully borne out by the tenor of the diplomas of the Emperors, Louis, Otho, and Saint Henry, above referred to, as well as by the solemn acts of their successors.

Whilst, with the Pope's permission, the Roman people took an oath of fidelity to the Emperor, expressly reserving however their allegiance to their sovereign lord, the Pope,[2] the Emperor, on his coronation, bound him-

d'Ottone e S. Arrigo;" Rome, 1789: also Father Theiner's "Codex Diplomaticus Dominii Temporalis S. Sedis," tom. i. preface. Rome, 1861.

[1] A notable instance of the latter, was the gross outrage perpetrated on Pope Leo III., and Charlemagne's intervention, at his request; A.D. 799, as above narrated.

[2] In the oath of fidelity to the Emperor, which Pope Eugenius II. prescribed, to be taken by all the Roman clergy (A.D. 824), we find the clause, "saving the fealty which I have promised to the Apostolic Lord" (the Pope)—*salvâ fide quam repromisi Domino Apostolico* ("Supplementum Longobardicorum," attributed to Paul the Deacon, and recited in the end of his book, "Gesta Episcoporum Metensium." See Pagi, Breviarium, etc., ii. 29).

self by oath to act as the Protector and Defender of the Church; thereby undertaking to enforce the obedience, to the Holy Father, of all the subjects of the Papal dominions, and to defend those dominions from all foreign aggression. Again, the Emperor was actually indebted for his authority and title to the Successor of Saint Peter, at whose hands he received the sacred unction and the Imperial crown.

In this interchange of privileges and services, created by the necessities of the times, originated the office of Patrician conferred by the Pontiffs of the day on Pepin and Charlemagne—an office subsequently amplified and exalted in the Imperial dignity.

The coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor of the West by Pope Leo III., A.D. 800, was really the commencement of the "Holy Roman Empire," although the Empire was not generally so called until the change from the Carlovingian to the German line of Emperors, in 962. As was the case with Charlemagne himself, his lineal descendants were indebted for the Imperial rank and power to their coronation by the Supreme Pontiff, who, moreover, in cases of conflicting claims, named the Carlovingian prince to be promoted to the Imperial throne. For instance, three years after the deposition of Charles le Gros, the sixth Emperor of the Carlovingian line, Pope Stephen VI., A.D. 891, nominated to the Empire, not Charles's nephew, Arnulph, who had succeeded him as King of Germany, but Guido, Duke of Spoleto, who was descended from Charlemagne in the female line only, but who was the better able to protect and defend the dominions of the Holy See.

Another illustration of the power of the Popes in this regard, in the tenth century, is furnished by the transference of the Empire from the French to the German princes by Pope John XII., in 962.[1] Not

[1] This important event will be more fully referred to in the next chapter.

long afterwards, the elective principle came into operation. At first, the election of Emperor was made by the Germanic Diet; but, from the middle of the thirteenth century down to modern times, it devolved on the high dignitaries of the Church and the Princes of the Empire. The place of election was Frankfort on the Main, to which city the electors or their delegates were summoned by the Archbishop of Mentz. All strangers, even sovereigns and foreign ambassadors, were jealously excluded from access to the city on the occasion. But, in reality, it was by the Pope alone that the Imperial dignity could be conferred; inasmuch as the prince who was elected King became Emperor only on his receiving the Imperial crown at the hands of His Holiness. Thus, by the Alemannic law, it was enacted that "the Germans elect the King; and when, by the will of those who have elected him, he is consecrated and enthroned at Aix-la-Chapelle, he then receives the power and name of King. But when the Pope consecrates him, then he has the plenary power of the Empire, and the name of Emperor."[1]

In the letter of Pope Innocent III. to King Otho IV. and the princes of the Empire, A.D. 1201, the Pope, addressing Otho, says, "By the authority of Almighty God, conferred upon us in the person of Blessed Peter, we receive thee as King, and we order, that henceforward royal reverence and obedience be paid thee; and, all preliminaries prescribed by law and custom being observed, we shall invite thy royal majesty to receive the crown of the Roman empire, and, God granting, we shall solemnly confer it upon thee, by the hands of our humility."[2] Here the Pope speaks in the spirit of the

[1] "Juris Alemannici," cap. xviii. n. 1–3. "Germani eligunt regem. . . . Quando ipse consecratur, et collocatur in solio Aquisgranensi, ex eorum voluntate qui ipsum elegere, tunc accipit potestatem et nomen Regis. Quando autem Papa eum consecravit, tunc plenariam habet imperii potestatem, et nomen Imperatoris."

[2] Baluze, "Epistolæ Innocentii III.," Epist. 32. "Auctoritate Dei Omnipotentis, nobis in Beato Petro collatâ, te in regem recipimus, et

age, which invested the Head of the Church with such extraordinary powers in matters temporal.

Again, as in the cases of Charlemagne, Louis le Débonnaire, Lothaire I., and others, we find the Pope of the day confirming the right of succession in the eldest son of the reigning Emperor, by anointing him King, and thus sanctioning his association with his father in the Empire.

But we have a still further proof of the paramount authority of the Popes in the Middle Ages, in the fact that it was from them that the Germanic princes, in a certain sense, derived their power of electing the King, and expectant Emperor. This historical fact stands forth in a clear light, as incontestably proved by several authentic official documents. From these let us take the following extracts:—

In a letter of Pope Innocent III. to the Duke of Carinthia, A.D. 1201, the following passage occurs: "Wherefore, we acknowledge in those princes (Electors of the Holy Roman Empire) the right and power of electing the King, to be afterwards promoted Emperor, as we ought to recognize it in those to whom it belongs by right and ancient custom; especially as this right and power has come to them from the Apostolic See,[1] which transferred the Roman Empire from the Greeks to the Germans, in the person of Charles the Great. But the princes, too, must acknowledge, and they do acknowledge, that the right and authority of examining the person elected King, and of promoting him to the Empire, belong to us, who anoint, consecrate, and crown him."[2]

regalem tibi præcipimus de cætero reverentiam et obedientiam exhiberi; præmissisque omnibus quæ de jure sunt et consuetudine præmittenda, regiam magnificentiam ad suscipiendam Romani imperii coronam vocabimus, et eam tibi, dante Domino, humilitatis nostræ manibus, solemniter conferemus."

[1] "Right and power," *jus et potestas*, are thus taken together, and used in the singular number, in the original.

[2] "Epistolæ Innocentii PP. III.," epist. 62. This letter is the more

When Rudolph of Hapsburg, as Emperor-elect, confirmed and guaranteed, in the most ample manner, the territories and privileges of the Holy See to Pope Nicholas III., A.D. 1279, the Pontiff required, that the Imperial diploma should be approved and ratified, in a solemn deed by the Princes of the Empire. That deed was accordingly executed by them; and in it they acknowledge, in language most emphatic, however florid, that their electoral rights and power are derived from the See of Peter; and, further, they show the complete accord of the Church and the Empire at that period. The exact statement which they give of the actual territories of the Papacy at the time—now six centuries ago—is of no small interest, especially as the territories, set forth by them, so closely coincide with the possessions of the Holy See in modern times."[1]

They say that, in conferring the Empire on Germany, the Roman mother Church "has honoured her with a terrestrial name of dignity which is above every name of those who temporally reign upon earth;" and has established princes in her, who, supported by the authority of the said Church, are the electors of him who holds the reins of the Roman Empire. "In order, then," they continue, "that all matter of dissension and scandal, or any occasion of ill-feeling, may cease to exist between the Church and the Empire," they, in the name of their princedom, in and through all particulars, approve and ratify all that has been ratified and confirmed by their lord, Rudolph, King of the Romans, ever august, to their most holy father and lord, Pope Nicholas III., with respect to the acknowledgments, concessions, and acts or deeds, as well of the other Emperors and Kings, as of the King himself, and especially with regard to the

important, that it is embodied in the Corpus Juris Canonici, in the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX., lib. i. tit. vi. cap. xxxiv.

[1] "By the diplomas of Rudolph," says Sismondi, "the States of the Church reached the extent which they have preserved to the present day" ("Annals of Italy," tom. ii. p. 252).

fidelity, obedience, honour, and reverence, due by the Roman Emperors and Kings to the Roman Pontiffs, and to the Church herself, and also with regard to the possessions, prerogatives, and rights of the same Church. They next specify in detail all the territories of the Church thus confirmed—an enumeration which it is unnecessary to repeat here, especially as these coincide pretty closely with the Pontifical States, as settled by the Treaty of Vienna in 1815. To this parchment deed, dated A.D. 1279, are attached, by silken cords, nine seals, viz., those of Henry, Archbishop of Treves; Sigfrid, Archbishop of Cologne; Werner, Archbishop of Mentz; Louis, Count Palatine of the Rhine and Duke of Bavaria; John, Duke of Saxony; Albert, Duke of Saxony; John, Marquis of Brandenburg; Otho, Marquis of Brandenburg; and Gerard, Marquis of Brandenburg.[1]

Occasionally, when the usual election was prevented by wars and disturbances, the choice, as we have seen, was vested in the Sovereign Pontiff, by whom the Emperor was nominated as well as crowned. This great power in the hands of the Pope appears to have been generally recognized in the Middle Ages. By common consent, he was the arbiter of princes and kingdoms; and, as such, in a few grave cases, he deposed unworthy sovereigns and released their subjects from their allegiance. Of this extreme exercise of his authority, a few remarkable instances will be noticed further on.

[1] From the original deed in the Vatican Library; apud Theiner, "Codex Diplomaticus Dominii Temporalis S. Sedis;" No. 393, tom. i. p. 247. In the year 1356, the Emperor Charles IV. issued the Golden Bull, so called from a golden seal attached to it by silk cords, after the manner of Papal Bulls. This Bull, also called "Caroline," after the Emperor, regulates all, even the most minute, details to be observed in the election of Emperor. It confines the privilege of voting to the Archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, and the Duke of Saxony, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Marquis of Brandenburg, and the King of Bohemia. Several other princes were subsequently added.

CHAPTER XVI.

VICISSITUDES OF THE TEMPORAL POWER IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE subdivision and rapid decline of the great Empire of Charlemagne, after the death of its illustrious founder, were, for a long period, detrimental alike to the Temporal Power of the Popes and the spiritual interests of the Universal Church. Charlemagne's son and successor, Louis I., whose diploma we have examined, was succeeded by his son Lothaire, A.D. 841, after a troubled reign of twenty-seven years. When, three years later, on the death of Gregory IV., Sergius II. ascended the Papal throne, he was consecrated immediately on election, without reference to the Emperor, matters having been precipitated by the apprehensions arising from the violence of faction. Lothaire thereupon sent his son Louis, with an army, to invade the Papal States. When Louis arrived at Rome, the Pope received him on the steps of Saint Peter's; and refused to open the gates of the basilica to him until he should declare that he entertained no designs hostile to the Holy See. On the prince's making this declaration, Sergius crowned him King of the Lombards, but refused to comply with his demand, that the Romans should swear fealty to him —an oath which could be claimed only by the Emperor.

In the year 855, a short time before his death, Lothaire divided his dominions among his three sons. To Louis, whom he had associated with himself in the Empire, six years before, he gave Italy; to Lothaire, with the title of King, the provinces lying between the

Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheld, called after him Lotharingia, and more recently Lorraine; and to Charles the Bald, the kingdom of Burgundy, Provence, and Dauphiné.

In 849, Louis, who, as Emperor Associate, then governed Italy, had witnessed the invasion of the southern portion of the Peninsula by the Saracens, who carried their audacity so far as to besiege Rome, which he was powerless to defend, and which was saved solely by the genius and influence of Pope Leo IV.[1]

On the death of Louis II., without issue, in 875, he was succeeded by his brother, Charles II., or the Bald; and other Carlovingian princes followed, several of whom were indebted for the Imperial dignity to their nomination by the Pope. But now the power of the Empire had dwindled to a mere shadow of its former substance. Consequently, the Emperors, even where willing, were oftentimes unable to protect the Pontiffs; and not only was the control of the election to the Papacy usurped by certain powerful families and their factions at Rome, but several portions of the States of the Church were unrighteously seized on and appropriated by princes and nobles—the Emperors themselves, in some instances, participating in the spoliation. Thus, from the latter part of the ninth to the middle of the eleventh century—a period of close on two hundred years—a large portion of the Pontifical dominions was in the hands of laymen.

[1] "Pope Leo IV.," says Voltaire, "taking on himself, in this juncture, an authority which the Emperor Lothaire's generals seemed unwilling to assume, showed himself worthy, by his defence of Rome, to rule there as sovereign. He had employed the riches of the Church in repairing the walls, raising towers, and extending chains across the Tiber. He armed the militia, visited all the gates himself, and received the Saracens, not in warlike array, but as a Pontiff encouraging a Christian people, and as a king watching over the safety of his subjects. He had been born a Roman: the courage of the first ages of the Republic reappeared in him, in a period of cowardice and corruption, like one of the great monuments of ancient Rome among the ruins of later structures."

From time to time, the Popes, sometimes aided by the Emperors, and sometimes unassisted, endeavoured, with varying success, to re-establish the Papal government in its spoliated provinces. Their efforts in this direction, upheld by the spiritual power, which in the Middle Ages was, in itself, a tower of strength, appear to have been under-estimated by certain writers, who no less undervalue their results. Much additional light, however, has been thrown on the actual position of the Pontiffs, as temporal sovereigns, at this particular period and in subsequent centuries, by the publication of a complete series of authentic official documents, which have been carefully extracted from the archives of the Vatican, by a master hand, chronologically arranged, and given to the public in our day.[1] To these it will be necessary several times to refer, as we proceed, in this and the immediately following chapters.

[1] "Codex Diplomaticus Dominii Temporalis S. Sedis," by Father Augustin Theiner, Priest of the Oratory, Prefect of the secret archives of the Vatican, Rome, 1861. The series commences with the Donation of Pepin, A.D. 756, and gives, in chronological order, the solemn official acts of Pontiffs, princes, and others, with reference to the temporal dominions and government of the Holy See. Previously, a great part of these important documents were scattered in the pages of various historians and other authors. Several of them again lay hidden and forgotten in the manuscripts of the Vatican library. Here, we have them all placed before us, in an easily accessible and admirably arranged edition; and they afford "the most abundant and most reliable source of information to the historian of the Middle Ages." They altogether refute those writers who allege that, for the first seven centuries after the Donation of Pepin, the Popes did not exercise real power over the territories that were assigned, or rather restored, to them by that celebrated act; and that the temporal government of the Popes dates from only the commencement of the sixteenth century—Julius II. and Clement VII., according to them, being the true and sole founders of the temporal government of the Holy See. Father Theiner, not wishing to accuse these authors of bad faith, observes, that we must attribute their error to ignorance of the existing historical documents, relating to the governmental acts exercised by the Popes over their States. This will be seen clearly by a reference to his work. Allusion has already been made to Father Theiner, as the continuator of the Ecclesiastical Annals of Baronius, Raynaldi, and Laderchi, which he is bringing down from 1572 to the present time.

In the year 962, a great change was effected, by the transference of the Imperial dignity to Otho I., King of Germany. This change, which was the commencement of the German line of Emperors, was brought about as follows. Pope John XII., having suffered much wrong and indignity at the hands of Berengarius, King of Italy, and his son Adelbert, sent legates to invite Otho to Rome, to defend the Papal States and the Holy Roman Church from their tyranny; at the same time, promising the German prince, that he would make him Emperor of the Romans—a dignity which, owing to the public disturbances, had been vacant since the death of Berengarius the elder, A.D. 924. John laid down, as a condition, that, before entering Italy, Otho should swear, in the presence of the Apostolic legates, that he would consult the welfare of the Roman Church, and accomplish the restoration to it of all the possessions of which it had been deprived by its enemies. Otho readily complied; and, at the head of his army, entered Italy, towards the close of the year. Having occupied Pavia without opposition, he proceeded to Rome, with a picked body of troops; and there he was anointed and crowned Emperor by the Pontiff, before the 13th of February, 962, on which day he issued his diploma, alluded to in a former chapter. In that important deed, in which he styles himself Emperor, he restores, and fully confirms, and guarantees, the rights and territories of the Holy See.

Unhappily for himself and the interests of the Church, John XII., ere long, yielded to the earnest and frequently urged solicitations of Adelbert, Prince Royal of Italy, and took part with him against the Emperor. On this, Otho marched on Rome, and entered the city, as a conqueror—the Pope and Adelbert fleeing before him, with all the treasure they could collect. Otho caused a synod to assemble at Rome; and, at his instance, they elected an antipope, who assumed the name of Leo VIII., 6th December, 963. John shortly

afterwards returned to the city; and the antipope fled; but John died on the 14th of May following.

On the death of John XII., Benedict the Deacon was immediately elected his successor; and took the name of Benedict V. This Pope was exiled, and imprisoned at Hamburg, by the Emperor, who had now become completely master of the situation, and little heeded the solemn obligations, which, in his diploma, as well as in his coronation oath, he had contracted to the Apostolic See.

The Emperor died in 973, and was succeeded by his son Otho II. In the reign of this prince, the contending factions of the Roman nobles again involved the city and the Papacy in anarchy, which continued, through the reigns of eight Pontiffs, until the year 996, when Otho III. secured the election of his relative Bruno, who ascended the Papal throne as Gregory V.[1] Otho received the Imperial crown from Gregory, on Ascension day, the same year. This Pontiff was driven into exile by Crescentius, or Cenci, a powerful senator of Rome,[2] but was reinstated by the Emperor, who took signal vengeance on the rebellious subjects of the Holy See. Cenci and twelve of his followers were beheaded; and his puppet, the antipope "John XVI." was deprived of his sight, and otherwise cruelly mutilated.[3]

[1] Gregory V., who reigned A.D. 996–999, was the first German who occupied the Papal throne.

[2] The family of Crescentius, or Cenci, possessed great power and influence in Rome in the latter part of the tenth, and the whole of the eleventh, century. Their violent factious proceedings, and those of other noble families, were a continual source of trouble to the Pontiffs, and a hindrance to the progress and prosperity of the city, and of the adjoining districts.

[3] This antipope was John Philagathus, Bishop of Piacenza, who had been a great favourite of Otho II. and the Empress Theophania. He had been sent to Constantinople, to negotiate the marriage of one of the Greek princesses with Otho III. On his return to Rome, with the Greek envoys, A.D. 997, urged on by Crescentius, he opposed, as antipope, Gregory V. The barbarous cruelties inflicted upon him are by some writers imputed to the Emperor; while others state that they were the act of certain Imperial officers, who avoided consulting Otho,

On Gregory's death in 999, Otho again interposed; caused Gerbert to be elected, as Sylvester II.;[1] and enabled him to maintain his ground against the factions of the Roman nobles, which still called for the severest measures of repression.

Otho III. dying in 1002, Hardouin, Marquis of Ivrea, was crowned King of Italy at Pavia; but Henry II., Duke of Bavaria, was, about the same time, elected King of Germany by the German princes, and King of Italy by the Milanese. Hence Italy was distracted by a civil war. In 1014, Henry was invited to Rome, and crowned Emperor, by Pope Benedict VIII., in the church of Saint Peter; and his royal consort Cunegunda was crowned Empress, on the same occasion. This exemplary prince, whose diploma we have examined, and whose name has been enrolled by the Church in the calendar of the saints, was a worthy successor of Pepin and Charlemagne, and a devoted defender of the rights and territories of the Holy See. A few years later,[2] Pope Nicholas II. effected much in vindication of the temporal, as well as the spiritual, power, by his wise enactments to regulate Papal elections, which will be presently detailed. The good work was followed up by the successful exertions of the renowned Hildebrand, who governed the Church, as Gregory VII., A.D. 1073–1085. These will be described in the next chapter.

lest he should order John's liberation. Vide Pagi, "Brev. Gest. Pont. Rom.," ii. 218, 219.

[1] Sylvester II., a Benedictine monk, and afterwards Archbishop of Rheims, governed the Church, A.D. 999–1003. He was the first Frenchman elected Pope.

[2] A.D. 1059.

CHAPTER XVII.

SAINT GREGORY VII.

"L'intérêt du genre humain demande un frein qui retienne les souverains, et qui met à couvert la vie des peuples: ce frein de la Religion aurait pu être, par une convention universelle, dans la main des Papes. Ces premiers pontifes, en ne se mêlant des querelles temporelles que pour les apaiser, en avertissant les rois et les peuples de leurs devoirs, en reprenant leurs crimes, en réservant les excommunications pour les grands attentats, auraient toujours été regardés comme des images de Dieu sur la terre. Mais les hommes sont réduits à n'avoir pour leur défense que les lois et les mœurs de leurs pays; lois souvent méprisées, mœurs souvent corrompues."—VOLTAIRE.

THE pontificate of Hildebrand, who, on his election, assumed the name of Gregory VII., is by many regarded as the most important and most interesting epoch in the history of the Papacy. In examining its prominent events, it is necessary that we should take into account the corrupt state of society in every grade, mainly induced by continual wars and disturbances, at that period; the crimes of princes and nobles; their lawless appropriation of Church property; their simoniacal sale of bishoprics and benefices; and the lamentable laxity of morals of numbers of the clergy, especially in Germany and Northern Italy, and the neglected condition of their flocks, which necessarily ensued—evils which had been in vain struggled against by Gregory's predecessors. When we do this, and, further, when we review his Herculean labours, which may best be done through the medium of his voluminous correspondence, although we cannot fully realize, we may at least approach a worthy estimate of, the character and motives of this greatest of Pontiffs, who, actuated

solely by a sense of duty, resolutely attacked all those appalling scandals, and delivered God's Church from the thraldom and desolation under which he had found her so helplessly suffering.

Hildebrand was born, of humble parentage, at Saono in Tuscany, in the year 1013, and was educated at Rome, under the eye of his uncle, the Abbot of Santa Maria on the Aventine Hill. Having embraced the monastic state in the celebrated abbey of Cluni, he soon became, even in that most austere community, remarkable for his fervour and spirit of mortification. He stood high in the favour of Bruno, Bishop of Toul, who, on ascending the pontifical throne, under the name of Leo IX., A.D. 1049, summoned him to Rome, appointed him Abbot of Saint Paul's, and employed him in several affairs of importance.[1] Hildebrand was no less esteemed and consulted by Popes Victor II., Stephen X., Nicholas II., and Alexander II.; and he largely influenced the policy of those Pontiffs.[2] In 1055, as Papal Legate of Victor II., he held a council at Lyons, to condemn simony; and, the same year, he convened a council at Tours, for the same pontiff, in which Berengarius[3] retracted his errors concerning the Blessed Eucharist. In 1059, Pope Nicholas II. created him Archdeacon of Rome.[4]

[1] "Acta Vaticana," de rebus gestis Gregorii Septimi.

[2] Pope Victor II. governed the Church, A.D. 1055–1057; Stephen X., 1057–1058; Nicholas II., 1058–1061; and Alexander II., 1061–1073.

[3] Berenger or Berengarius of Tours, Archdeacon of Angers, was the precursor of Luther in his errors regarding the Blessed Eucharist. He was condemned by several Popes and Councils. Retracting his errors and relapsing again and again, he died, it is generally thought, penitent and orthodox, in 1088.

[4] It is stated by some writers that Hildebrand was not a Cardinal when elected Pope. However, Panvinius affirms that he was made Archdeacon Cardinal of Sancta Maria in Dominica, by Nicholas II. Panvinius, "Pontificum Romanorum Chronicon," apud Platinam: "Abbas Sancti Pauli Romæ ex S.R.E. œconomo et subdiacono, archidiaconus Cardinalis Sanctæ Mariæ in Dominica a Nicolao II. factus." And Pagi states that, in the month of August 1059, Hildebrand, yet sub-deacon, was a Cardinal.—"Pontif. Rom. Gesta," ii. 301.

On the death of Alexander II., in 1073, Hildebrand was unanimously elected his successor by the cardinals, with the assent and joyous acclamations of all the clergy and people.[1] Although he was chosen on the 22nd of April, his consecration did not take place until the 29th of June, the feast of the Apostles Saints Peter and Paul. His reluctance to accept the weighty charge was the main cause of the delay. At this time, the Kings of Germany, even when only Emperors elect and not yet crowned by the Pontiffs, continued to claim and exercise the right to confirm the election of Pope, and to send ambassadors to be present at the Papal consecration. Accordingly, Hildebrand sent off messengers to Henry IV., announcing his election; but at the same time clearly showing the monarch that he was far from anxious to undertake so great a responsibility.[2] Henry however urged him to accept the dignity, unhesitatingly gave his consent, and deputed Gregory, Bishop of Vercelli and Chancellor of his Italian kingdom, to be present at the consecration.[3]

Hildebrand, or, as he may now be styled, Gregory VII., was no sooner seated in Saint Peter's Chair than he addressed himself energetically to the correction of all existing abuses, and the assertion of all the rights and jurisdiction of the Apostolic See. Whether the

[1] The decree of his election sets forth that he was chosen by the Cardinals—the Bishops, Abbots, Clerics and Monks being present, and crowds of the people of both sexes adding their acclamations. Apud Pagi, "Pontif. Rom. Gesta," ii. 331.

[2] It is stated that in his letter Hildebrand earnestly besought the king to withhold his assent or confirmation, adding that, if he were once consecrated Pope, he would immediately take measures to repress the monarch's flagrant excesses. "Acta Vaticana." "Sed cum excusationem de relinquendo Papatu non invenisset, nuntios ad Regem Henricum celeriter destinavit, per quos et electionem super se factam aperuit, et ne assensum præberet attentius exoravit. Quod si non faceret, certum sibi esset, quod graviores et manifestos ipsius excessus nullatenus impunitos toleraret." See also Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," xi. 415, A.D. 1073. This is gravely doubted by Hefele.

[3] Baronius, *ut supra*. This was the last instance of the Imperial confirmation of a Papal Election.

wrong-doer were prince, or prelate, or peasant, he heeded not. In the unswerving discharge of his duty, he made no distinction of persons. All alike he called to account for their delinquencies. The King of Germany, to be in due time crowned Emperor by the Pope, was by far the greatest offender; and, as he was so exalted in station, his multiplied crimes, his gross immorality, and his simoniacal dealings in Church property, exercised the most pernicious influence throughout Western Europe.

All these accumulated scandals were a cause of grave solicitude to the newly elected Pontiff; and to these was superadded a lively sense of his own responsibility before God. He felt that his strength for the life-and-death contest on which he was about to enter, could come only from on high. At this period, he addressed a touching letter to Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury,[1] imploring his prayers and those of his suffragans

[1] Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, was born A.D. 1005, at Pavia, the capital of Lombardy, of which city his father was a magistrate. Having completed his studies at Bologna, he followed the legal profession, and also taught jurisprudence for some years in Pavia. Removing to Normandy, he entered the Abbey of Bec, of which, in the course of time, he became prior. Here commenced his controversy with Berengarius, against whom he triumphantly defended the doctrine of the Church, on the Blessed Eucharist. Through the favour of William of Normandy, he was promoted to the dignity of Abbot of Saint Stephen's at Caen; and, when William was established on the throne of England, he was raised to the exalted post of Archbishop of Canterbury. During William's absence, Lanfranc was virtually the ruler of England; and his power and influence were, if possible, still greater under the reign of that monarch's son and successor, William Rufus. He died in 1089, aged 83. A devoted son of the Church, and a faithful servant and trusted counsellor of the King, Lanfranc was sometimes placed in a difficult position, as William was not always obedient to the will of the Supreme Pontiff. However, the archbishop appears to have ever acted with prudence, and to have endeavoured to promote, to the utmost extent of his power, the interests of religion. His works are, Letters, his Commentary on Saint Paul's Epistles, and his celebrated treatise on the Blessed Eucharist, *Libellus de corpore et sanguine Domini contra Berengarium*. All were published in one volume folio, by Luc D'Achery, Paris, 1648.

and clergy, in his great emergency. The letter ran thus:—

Gregory, Bishop, Servant of the servants of God, to our beloved brother, Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, Health and Apostolic Benediction. How the honour and burden of the Apostolic government has been imposed upon us, and by what great troubles we are pressed on every side, will be described to you by the bearer of these letters, to whom, having regard to your affection, we have disclosed some things yet hidden from our own domestic circle. Among other matters, in the first place, we beg of you, our brother, to relax not in your constant prayers for us, and to remind those subject to you or associated with you, to assist us also by their fraternal supplications. For, the greater the danger in which we are placed, so much the more do we need your suffrages, and those of all good men. Besides, if we would escape the judgment of Divine vengeance, we are compelled to rise up against a multitude, and to provoke them, even to the taking of our life. For while almost all, in the words of the Apostle, seek the things which are their own, and not those of Jesus Christ, the princes of kingdoms and the powerful ones of this world, in order that they may accomplish their desires, not alone negligently desert, but with their utmost endeavours assail, the law of God and justice; so that we now behold fulfilled, under our eyes, that of the Prophet: "The Kings of the earth stood up, and the princes met together, against the Lord and against His Christ." Even the bishops and those who ought to be pastors of souls, seeking with insatiable desire the glory of the world and the pleasures of the flesh, not only confound in themselves what is holy, and what is religious, but draw down their subjects to all wickedness, by the example of their works. How fraught with danger to us, not to oppose these; how difficult to resist them, and to restrain their wickedness; your prudence will fully realize.[1]

Well indeed might Gregory have thus written; for at the time the condition of the Church, and of society at large, was truly deplorable. Several unworthy persons, had, through temporal motives, entered the sanctuary. The sale of benefices was unblushingly carried on. The law of the celibacy of the clergy was extensively infringed. It is true, that many a holy priest and bishop, all the inmates of the monasteries, and the

[1] Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," xi. 420, A.D. 1073.

great majority of the laity, were deeply pained by these abuses; but they were unable to prevent them; for their perpetrators were countenanced and abetted by "the rulers in Israel"—the princes and nobles of the land, in several countries of Continental Europe.[1]

These two crying evils—simony and the incontinency of the clergy—which went hand in hand, and acted and reacted on each other, as cause and effect, could be grappled with only by him to whom, in his capacity of Vicar of Christ, the greatest monarch or the most exalted prelate was no less amenable than the degraded serf. Equally impressed with the authority and the responsibilities of his divinely conferred commission, Gregory did not hesitate for one moment in the path of duty.

Accordingly, early in 1074, he convened a council in Rome, the chief objects of which were, the repression of simony and the reformation of the morals of the clergy. Former decrees were renewed, with increased stringency, on these two important matters. All buyers and sellers of Ecclesiastical benefices were declared punishable with excommunication: and, as regards holy orders, only those were to be ordained who bound themselves to a life of celibacy; married priests were to separate from their wives, or, in the event of their refusing to do so, they were to be deprived of their

[1] Gregory, in allusion to congratulatory letters on his accession, addressed to him by William the Conqueror and his Queen, Matilda, speaks in complimentary terms of the King, as being an exception to the general rule with reference to the crimes, in the correction of which the Holy See was then engaged. "The King of the English," says he, "although in some respects he does not conduct himself as religiously as we desire, shows himself more deserving of approval and honour than the other sovereigns; as he neither destroys nor sells the churches of God, and promotes peace and justice among his subjects, and, further, he has refused the invitation of certain enemies of the Church, that he should unite in a pact against the Apostolic See; and has compelled priests to put away their wives, and laymen to surrender tithes detained by them" ("Sancti Gregorii VII. Epistolæ," lib. ix. ep. 5. April, 1074).

offices; and in this latter case the laity were forbidden to attend at mass celebrated by them, or to receive the sacraments at their hands. In carrying out these decrees, the Pope met with the most determined opposition; but that opposition had to succumb to his inexorable sense of duty and his intrepid iron will.

The following year, he held a second council at Rome, in which he proceeded to deal with the great question of Investitures. Before considering the acts of this council, it may not be amiss to say a few words on the subject of Investitures generally.

When a suzerain lord made a grant of land to his vassal, it was usual that he should complete the grant by the outward ceremony of investing him therewith; as, for instance, taking him on the land and handing him a turf, or a stone, or some other thing which formed a portion thereof, whilst the vassal, on his part, used to do homage and swear fealty to his supreme lord.[1]

Originally, princes, in conferring lands on bishops and abbots, for the support of their state, and for various purposes of religion and charity, invested them with a crosier and a ring, as the symbols of their jurisdiction over the said lands. When a prelate died, those symbols were borne back to the sovereign by a deputation of the chapter of the diocese or of the religious community, as the case might be; and he, again, invested the new bishop or abbot therewith. Thus far, there was no objection urged; but when, in the course of time, sovereigns practically aimed at the right of conferring the spiritual authority, as symbolized by the crosier and the ring, by either interfering with the free and canonical election of the new dignitary, or by actually nominating him themselves, independently of the chapter or the Pope, then there arose a serious usurpation of the rights and jurisdiction of the Apostolic See. On this, the Popes declared, that, whilst

[1] "The grant of land or a feud was perfected by the ceremony of corporeal investiture, or open delivery of possession," says Blackstone.

they did not dispute investiture by the sceptre, which symbolized the government of temporal domains, they strongly objected to, and condemned, investiture by crosier and ring, as symbolical of spiritual jurisdiction, which could emanate only from the spiritual power. To such a height had this abuse arisen, at the time of the acession of Gregory VII., especially in Germany, that the sovereigns used to nominate their own creatures to Church preferments, without reference to their fitness, and carried on and countenanced a shameless traffic in the sale of benefices, repugnant to all common decency, not to speak of the laws and exigencies of religion.

The abuse of Investitures had already engaged the earnest attention of Popes and councils. In the Seventh General Council, the second of Nice, under Pope Adrian I., A.D. 787, and again in the Eighth General Council, the fourth of Constantinople, under Adrian II., A.D. 869, the most stringent canons had been enacted against this flagrant evil.[1] But thus far the zeal of Popes and councils had been ineffectual: their enactments had been disregarded. Gregory resolved that this should no longer be the case. In the council convened at Rome, above alluded to, he passed the following decree:—

If any one henceforward shall accept from the hands of any lay person a Bishopric or Abbacy, let him not in any way be reputed as among Bishops or Abbots; and let no audience be granted to him as to a Bishop or Abbot. And moreover We interdict to him the grace of Blessed Peter and the entry of the

[1] The canon of the Seventh General Council was to this effect: "Si quis Episcopus, secularibus potestatibus usus, ecclesiam per ipsos obtinuerit, deponatur et segregetur, omnesque qui illi communicant;" and that of the Eighth General Council: "Promotiones vel consecrationes Episcoporum, concordans prioribus conciliis, hæc sancta et universalis synodus electione et decreto Episcoporum fieri constituit, et statuit, et promulgavit, neminem laicorum Principum et potestatum semet inserere electioni, vel promotioni Patriarchæ, vel Metropolitæ, aut cujuslibet Episcopi, ne inordinata hinc, et incongrua fiat confusio vel contentio," etc.

Church, until he abandon the place which he has taken through the crime of ambition, as well as disobedience, which is the guilt of idolatry.[1] And We decree in like manner concerning inferior ecclesiastical dignities. Also, if any Emperor, Duke, Marquis, Count, or any secular power or person shall presume to confer the investiture of a Bishopric or of any ecclesiastical dignity, let him know that he is bound by the chain of the same sentence.[2]

Gregory followed up this decree with characteristic vigour. He wrote an urgent letter to Henry, calling on him to obey it, by ceasing to exercise all investiture of ecclesiastical benefices, and threatening him with excommunication should he fail to do so. The King at first promised compliance, probably because his Saxon subjects were, at the time, in open rebellion against him; but, having conquered these, he returned to his wicked simoniacal practices, conferring several sees on unworthy persons—notably the Archiepiscopal See of Milan, in which he re-established Godfrey who had been excommunicated for simony, by the Pope.

Gregory again wrote feeling letters of expostulation to Henry; but without avail. He then dispatched legates to the King, citing him to appear before a council at Rome, on the second day of the second week of Lent, A.D. 1076, to answer for his crimes, and giving him notice, that, if he failed to obey the citation, he should be cut off from the communion of the Church.

Henry, enraged at these proceedings, dismissed the legates with contumely, and forthwith convened a diet of the clergy of his dominions, at Worms, to depose the Pope.[3] This time-serving assembly, having passed the sentence of deposition, transmitted it by one of their number to the Holy Father, who, with difficulty, saved the life of the rash envoy from the hands of the infuriated inhabitants of Rome. The Pope then, having

[1] 1 Kings xv. 23.

[2] The Second Council of Rome, under Pope Gregory VII., A.D. 1075. At this council were present fifty bishops and a great number of priests and abbots.

[3] January 23, 1076.

first taken the opinion of his council, excommunicated Henry and his principal advisers, clerical and lay, and pronounced against him a solemn sentence of deposition from his German and Italian kingdoms, absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance.[1]

Gregory immediately communicated this sentence by letters and messengers to the prelates and princes of the Empire; and they, having assembled to consider the best course to be pursued in such grave circumstances, arrived at the conclusion, that if the King did not, within twelve months, the limit fixed by the Pope, make his peace with his Holiness, and obtain from him absolution from his sentence of excommunication, they would proceed to elect another to the vacant throne. Henry, seeing that he had no alternative, now resolved to make full submission to the Pope. In the month of January, 1077, with a few attendants, he travelled into Italy, to meet the Holy Father, then on his way to Augsburg, to confer with the German electors, who had earnestly solicited his presence at their deliberations about the affairs of the Empire. Henry also had been invited to this meeting to explain his conduct, but he preferred seeing the Pope separately. Hearing of his approach, Gregory awaited him at Canossa, a strong fortress in Northern Italy, belonging to the Countess Matilda.[2] Here, in accordance with the custom of the

[1] The fearful profligacy of Henry IV. of Germany, and the outrages and murders he perpetrated, in pursuit of his unhallowed pleasures, even at a very early age, were in themselves sufficient to justify his deposition, wholly irrespective of his sacrilegious invasion of the rights and jurisdiction of the Church. See Fleury, "Histoire Ecclesiastique," vol. xiii.

[2] The Countess Matilda, born in 1040, was daughter of Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, and Beatrice, sister of the Emperor Henry III. On the death of her only brother, without issue, she succeeded to all his dominions, of Tuscany, Parma, Lucca, Mantua and Reggio. Rather late in life, she married Guelpho, son of the Duke of Bavaria —no issue resulting from their union. This princess displayed great energy and administrative ability in the troubled times in which she lived, occasionally appearing at the head of her own troops. Ever a devoted daughter of the Church, she specially venerated Pope Gregory

age, the King remained in the outer court of the castle, for three days, clad in a coarse woollen garment, and barefoot, praying with tears for reconciliation with the Church. Among those interceding for him were Saint Hugo, Abbot of Cluni, and several bishops, as well as the Countess Matilda, and other noble ladies. On the third day, Gregory was moved to give him an audience, at which he received his promises of amendment, absolved him, and restored him to communion.[1] It was then arranged that Henry should appear before a Council of the German Princes, on a day and at a place to be named by the Pope; and that there, in the presence of the Holy Father, he should answer for his crimes; that, if cleared, he should be re-established on his throne; but, if not, he should lose his kingdom; and that meanwhile he should not assume the royal robes or state, or exercise kingly functions.[2]

VII., to whom she afforded much material support, in the difficulties by which he was constantly beset. To this Pontiff, she made a donation of a considerable portion of her dominions, for the benefit of the Holy See, A.D 1077, confirming the same in a deed to Pope Pascal II., in 1102, entituled "Cartula donationis Comitissæ Mathildis facta S. Gregorio PP. VII., et innovata Paschali PP. II.;" apud Theiner, "Codex Diplomaticus," etc., tom. i. p. 10. As the original deed to Gregory VII. is not extant, and the deed of confirmation or renewal does not recite the territories conveyed, there is some uncertainty about their exact limits. However, it is generally thought, that they comprised the district formerly known as the Patrimony of Saint Peter, lying on the right bank of the Tiber, and extending from Aquapendente to Ostia. The Countess Matilda died in 1115, aged seventy-five.

[1] Paulus Bernriedensis, "Gregorii VII. Vita," cap. 84. "Interea Rex propriæ causæ diffidens, et idcirco audientiam totius regni subterfugiens, furtive Italiam cum excommunicatis, contra præceptum Papæ et concilia Principum, intravit; et Apostolico ad prædictam diem Augustam tendenti, ante Purificationem Sanctæ Mariæ apud Canusium obviavit; ibique ante portam castri per triduum, deposito omni regio cultu, miserabiliter, utpote discalceatus, et laneis vestibus indutus, persistens, non prius cum multo fletu Apostolicæ miserationis auxilium et consolationem implorare destitit, quam omnes qui aderant, et ad quos rumor ille pervenit, ad tantam pietatem et compassionis misericordiam movit," etc. See also Lambertus Schafnaburgensis. "Historia," in loco.

[2] Ibid. and Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," xi. 489–491, A.D.

Although he appeared to be a consenting party to this arrangement, and expressed his gratitude to the Holy Father, Henry ere long returned to his evil courses, and paid no regard whatever to his undertaking to meet the German Princes and the legates of the Apostolic See. Having waited in vain for his appearance, the former now proceeded, at Forcheim, to elect a King in his place; and their choice fell on Rudolf, Duke of Suabia, who received the royal unction at the hands of the Archbishops of Mentz and Magdeburg, at Mentz, on the 26th of March, 1077.

It was not with Henry IV. of Germany alone that Gregory had to deal. His vigilant care of the Church, and his jealous guardianship of its rights and privileges, led him into weighty controversies with other rulers. A few months after his accession, he threatened Philip I. of France with excommunication, and the loss of his kingdom, should he persist in his simoniacal practices.[1] About the same time, he dispatched, with full powers and instructions, Dominic, Patriarch of Venice, as legate, to the Emperor Michael, with the desirable object of terminating the Oriental schism, and reconciling all the subjects of the Empire to the Church.[2] The following year, he addressed letters to Solomon, King of Hungary, calling him to account for having received the investiture of his kingdom from Henry IV. of Germany, when he ought to have received it from the Apostolic See, of which it was a fief.[3] Again, on the expulsion of Solomon

1077. The reader will remember Prince Bismarck's exaggeratory phrase, "We will not go to Canossa," uttered a few years ago, when his cabinet had been remonstrated with by the Holy See, on the grievous persecution of the Church in the German Empire.

[1] "Sancti Gregorii VII. Epistolæ," lib. i. epist. 35, A.D. 1073. In reply to this remonstrance, Philip I. sent an embassy to the Pope, the chief object of which was, to profess obedience to His Holiness, in all things (lib. i., epist. 57). Subsequently Pope Urban II. was obliged to excommunicate Philip.

[2] Ibid., lib. i. epist. 18, A.D. 1073.

[3] Ibid., lib. ii. epist. 13, A.D. 1074.

by his relative Geisa, when the latter applied for investiture to the Pontiff, Gregory endeavoured to bring about an amicable arrangement between the two princes. In his letter written on that occasion, he pointed out, that, in accepting investiture from another King, instead of from the Successor of Saint Peter, Solomon had degraded the monarch of the most noble kingdom of Hungary from a king to a kingling; and, as a judgment, had suffered the loss of his dominions.[1] At this period, also, A.D. 1075, we find him in communication with Boleslas II., King of Poland, with reference to establishing a hierarchy in that kingdom.[2] Four years later he deposed the same Boleslas for his grievous crimes, and especially for having murdered, with his own hands, the venerable Saint Stanislas, Bishop of Cracow, at the altar.[3] In 1075 also, with the assent of Demetrius, King of the Russians, and the Queen Consort, Gregory handed over the administration of that kingdom to their son, who desired to receive it as a fief of the Apostolic See; and accordingly the Papal legates were sent, to accomplish this and other important affairs of the Church, in that remote Northern region.[4]

In the year 1076, Demetrius Suinmur, Duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, of his own free will, made his dominions a fief of the Holy See, taking the oath of fealty, and receiving investiture, by a standard, sword, sceptre, and crown, at the hands of the Papal legate. On this occasion, he was raised by the Pontiff to the

[1] "Sancti Gregorii VII. Epistolæ," lib. ii. epist. 70, A.D. 1075.

[2] Ibid., lib. ii. epist. 73, A.D. 1075.

[3] May 8, 1079. Boleslas II., surnamed the Cruel, was steeped in the same vices and flagrant crimes as Henry IV. of Germany. It was for having remonstrated with him on his enormous public scandals that he murdered Saint Stanislas. On his being excommunicated and deposed by the Pope, Boleslas, universally shunned and detested, fled into Hungary, and there died shortly afterwards, some say, by suicide.

[4] "Sancti Gregorii VII. Epistolæ," lib. ii. epist. 74; and Baronius, "Annal. Eccles.," xi. 463.

dignity of King.[1] This placing of their dominions under the suzerainty of the Popes by Christian princes was a not uncommon circumstance at the time; for thereby they assured themselves of the powerful protection of the Holy Father. Thus, three years later, the standard of rebellion having been raised against Demetrius, Gregory, as his suzerain lord, effectually interposed in his behalf; writing as follows to Vuezelin, the leader of the insurgents: "Know that we are greatly astonished, that a person of your prudence, and one who has so long ago promised fealty to Blessed Peter and to us, should now attempt to rise against him whom the Apostolic authority has constituted King in Dalmatia. Wherefore we admonish and command you, not to presume to make war against this King, knowing that whatever you do against him you do against the Apostolic See." He concluded with a threat to Vuezelin, that, should he not abandon his wicked design, the sword of Peter would be unsheathed against him and his followers.[2]

This year also, Anzir, King of Mauritania,[3] "confessing and knowing the primacy of Peter and the princedom of the Roman Pontiff over all the Churches," sent the priest Servandus to Rome, to be consecrated Bishop of Hippo by the Pope. On the occasion, Anzir liberated all his Christian captives. Gregory wrote a feeling letter in reply, congratulating the African King on his humanity, and his devotion to the Chair of Peter. He also addressed a letter to the people of Hippo commending to them their new "archbishop," whom he had himself consecrated, and to whom he exorted them to listen with docility and reverence. He further enjoined on them the practice of mutual charity and Christian fervour; "and thus," he added, "will you

[1] Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," xi. 483, 484, A.D. 1076.
[2] "Sancti Gregorii VII. Epistolæ," lib. vii. ep. 4; and Baronius, "Annales Eccles.," xi. 522, A.D. 1079.
[3] Mauritania Sitifensis, in Northern Africa.

edify your Saracen neighbours, so that they may be led to glorify your Father who is in heaven."[1]

In the year 1077, he dispatched ablegates to England,[2] France,[3] the Venetians,[4] Spain,[5] and Corsica,[6] on Ecclesiastical affairs. The same year, on the death of Sweyn, King of Denmark, he addressed feeling letters to his son and successor, Harold, whom he exhorted to imitate his father's devotion and obedience to the Church.[7] Also, on the death of Geisa, King of Hungary, he deputed Nehemiah, Bishop of Strigonium, to wait on Ladislas, his successor, and to counsel that prince to establish and maintain intimate relations with the Holy See—a suggestion with which Ladislas readily complied.[8]

In the year 1078, the Pope was obliged to remonstrate strongly with Jordan, Prince of Capua, on his invasion of the sanctuary and other acts of sacrilege: and his admonitions were attended with the desired effect.[9] At the same time, he excommunicated and deposed Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, afterwards antipope. Guibert had been several times cited to Rome, to answer for irregularity and schism; and, now that the sentence long impending over him had been carried out, Gregory wrote to the people of Ravenna, to withdraw their obedience from him.[10] At the close of this year, he addressed a letter to Olave, King of Norway, as he had, a short time previously, to the King of Denmark, urging him to send youths to Rome, to be instructed and ordained priests there, in order that,

[1] "Sancti Gregorii VII. Epistolæ," lib. 3, epist. 19, 20. Baronius, "Annales," xi. 485, A.D. 1076.
[2] Ibid., l. iv. epist. 16–20.
[3] Ibid., l. iv. epist. 22. The Synod of Langres.
[4] Ibid., l. iv. epist. 26, 27.
[5] Ibid., l. iv. epist. 28.
[6] Ibid., l. v. epist. 2, 4.
[7] Ibid., l. v. epist. 10.
[8] Ibid., l. iv. epist. 25.
[9] Ibid., l. vi. epist. 37; and Leo Ostiensis, l. iii. cap. 46.
[10] Ibid., l. vi. epist. 10; and Baronius, "Annales Eccles.," xi. 513, A.D. 1078.

being thus duly qualified, they might return to preach the faith in their own country.[1]

In 1079, Gregory instructed his legate Hubert to remonstrate with William the Conqueror, on his prohibition of the bishops of his dominions visiting the Tomb of the Apostles, and to require that at least two bishops from each archiepiscopal province of England and Normandy should attend a council to be celebrated at Rome, in the approaching Lent; adding, however, that, should they not be able to attend at the time prescribed, they should, at least, after Easter present themselves at the Apostolic See.[2] We learn from the Pope's letters, that William complied with his wishes in this respect, sending his ambassadors to Rome with Hubert, on his return.[3] Gregory also demanded, through his legate, that the king should take an oath of fealty to the Holy See, and resume the payment of Peter's pence, which had fallen into arrear.[4] The first, William refused; the second, he promised to comply with; as will be seen in his letter, as follows:—

To Gregory, the most excellent Pastor of the Holy Church, William, by the grace of God, King of the Angles, and Duke of the Normans, wisheth health, with friendship.

Most Holy Father, Your legate, Hubert, coming to me, has on your behalf admonished me, that I should render fealty to you and your successors, and that I should think better concerning the money which my predecessors were accustomed to send to the Roman Church. The one I have admitted: the other I have not admitted. I have been unwilling to render fealty, and I will not do so; because I have not promised it, nor can I find that my predecessors did so to your predecessors. The money, for nearly three years, during my absence in Gaul, has been negligently collected: now, however, as through the Divine mercy, I have returned into my kingdom, whatever is collected is being sent by your above-named legate; and the remainder shall be transmitted, as opportunity offers, through the envoys

[1] "Sancti Gregorii VII. Epistolæ," l. vi. epist. 13.
[2] Ibid., l. vii. epist. 1; and Baronius, "Annales Eccles.," xi., 520, A.D. 1079.
[3] Ibid., l. vii. epist. 25.
[4] For Peter's Pence, see Index.

of our faithful Archbishop Lanfranc. Pray for us, and for the state of our kingdom; for we have loved your predecessors, and we desire to sincerely love and obediently hear you, above all others.[1]

That the Pope felt acutely William's refusal to render fealty to the Holy See, is manifest from his letter to the legate Hubert, in which he says, "You yourself have long ere this been able to understand what value I set upon tribute paid, without honour rendered."[2]

Harold King of Denmark having died this year, his successor Canute immediately sent an embassy to Gregory, professing his filial devotion and obedience to the Roman Church, by which he desired to be instructed and directed. The Pope replied in a most affectionate letter, congratulating the King on his anxiety to learn all things appertaining to the practice of the Christian faith, and his recognition of the Holy Roman Church as his mother, and the mother of all nations. He then suggested that Canute should send a prudent ecclesiastic to Rome, to inform the Holy See about the condition and requirements of his subjects, and to take back all necessary documents and instructions.[3]

About the same time,[4] Gregory dispatched Cardinal Richard, Abbot of Marseilles, as legate, to Alphonsus, King of Spain, to congratulate him on his filial and devout attachment to the Chair of Peter, and to present him with a golden branch, containing filings of Saint Peter's chains, according to ancient custom.[5]

[1] Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," xi. 521.

[2] "Sancti Gregorii VII. Epistolæ," lib. ix. epist. 1. "Pecunias sine honore tributas quanti pretii habeam, tu ipse potuisti dudum perpendere."

[3] Saxo Grammaticus, "Historia Daniæ," l. ii. and "Sancti Gregorii VII. Epistolæ," l. vii. ep. 5.

[4] October, 1079. "S. Greg. VII. Epist.," l. vii. ep. 6.

[5] Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," xi. 523. "Cui et dono mittit auream claviculam, more majorum, catenæ Sancti Petri ramentis refertam." This presentation resembles, if it was not the origin of, that of the Golden Rose, sent, once a year, by the Pope to a sovereign or other exalted personage. We read, in ancient authors, that on the fourth Sunday of Lent, on which is sung the *Lætare Jerusalem*, the

In the year 1080, Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, who had been an enemy and invader of the States of the Church, made submission, and swore fealty to the Pope, at whose hands he received investiture of all his dominions, as his predecessors had, from Popes Nicholas and Alexander. On this occasion, Robert bound himself and his heirs and successors to pay annually to Gregory and his successors twelve denarii of Pavian money for each ploughland of his lawful territories.[1]

Whilst Gregory was thus continuously engaged in the affairs of the Church in the West, the interests of religion in the East received his devoted attention. This year, an embassy from the Patriarch of the Armenians arrived in Rome, to consult the Pope, and to obtain his condemnation of certain heretical opinions, which had recently been broached in the East. These are enumerated in Gregory's reply to the Patriarch.[2]

Supreme Pontiff used to bless, and carry in the procession, a Golden Rose, full of balsam and musk, and afterwards send it to some prince or illustrious person, who had rendered good service to the Holy See. The custom is said by some writers to have originated with Leo IX., A.D. 1049–1055; and, by others, with Urban II., A.D. 1088–1099; and it has been regularly followed by succeeding Pontiffs. Pope Alexander III., in sending the Golden Rose to Louis VII. of France, in the year 1163, explains its mystic meaning, as follows, in his letter to that monarch: "This flower expresses and designates Christ the King, who says of Himself, 'I am the flower of the field and the lily of the valley.' For gold is, not inaptly, said to denote the King, since with this figurative meaning it was offered by the Magi to the Saviour, in order that thereby the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords should be shown. And the red by which the gold is tinged and suffused signifies the Passion of the Redeemer, concerning which we read, 'Who is He who comes from Edom, with garments tinged from Bosra?' And, again, 'Wherefore is thy raiment red, and are thy garments as of those trampling in the winepress?' And the perfume of this flower prefigures the glory of His Resurrection."

[1] June, 1080. Baronius, "Annales," xi. 534. We shall presently see how, on several occasions, this prince most loyally fulfilled his feudal duties, in coming to the Pope's rescue, and compelling Henry IV. to raise the siege of Rome.

[2] "S. Gregorii VII. Epistolæ," l. vii. epist. 26; and l. viii. epist. 1; also Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," xi. 544, A.D. 1080.

But while we review the multiplied labours of his ever-vigilant zeal in remote countries, we must not overlook the difficulties and opposition which he had to encounter nearer home. In the early part of his reign, when the decrees of his councils were promulgated, there arose, far and near, a storm of indignation, in which his sacred character appears to have been altogether forgotten by the wrong-doers, even among his own subjects. This is painfully illustrated by the following instance, well-nigh incredible, however fully authenticated.

There dwelt in Rome a powerful noble, of the family of Crescentius, or Cenci, a man of great wealth and influence. The Pope, who had frequently remonstrated with him privately, was at length obliged to excommunicate him for his crimes. On Christmas day, 1075, as Gregory was celebrating midnight mass at Saint Mary Major's, Cenci entered the church, with an armed band, mounted the steps of the altar, seized the Holy Father by the hair of the head, dragged him through the streets, and cast him into a dungeon. Immediately the rumour of this appalling crime spread throughout the city. "To arms, to arms!" was shouted on every side. Rich and poor, noble and simple, an infuriated multitude, pouring in from every quarter, laid siege to the stronghold of the aggressor; and so fierce was their assault, that before the dawn of day the Pope was liberated. Through his active interposition, which assumed the form of a command, the lives of Cenci and his family were spared, but all their property within and without the city was destroyed by fire and sword. This sacrilegious outrage, although it deeply pained Gregory, did not for one moment deter him from performing what he conceived to be his duty before God and man.[1]

[1] Lambertus Schafnaburgensis, "Historia," A.D. 1076. These particulars are taken literally from Lambert, a cotemporary historian, who commences the year with Christmas day. See also Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," xi. 464, 465. Paulus Bernriedensis, in his

We have now to return to Henry IV. Since his deposition and the election of Rudolph, as his successor, by the German princes, Henry had not been idle. Joined by some of his former associates, he gradually collected an army, chiefly among his late Lombard subjects. When he deemed this force sufficient for his purpose, he levied war against Rudolph. That prince, who had reluctantly ascended the throne, was, after a reign of three years and seven months, defeated and slain; and Henry, once again, became *de facto* master of the Empire.[1] Having thus removed every obstacle, Henry next turned his arms against the Pope, who recently, in a council at Rome, had renewed the sentence of excommunication against him, and had confirmed Rudolph's election.[2] In this campaign against Gregory, Henry was accompanied by Guibert, the excommunicated Archbishop of Ravenna, whom, in a synod of schismatical prelates at Brescia, he had caused to be elected antipope, under the name of Clement III. Three successive years, Henry devastated the Papal dominions and laid siege to Rome. At length, in 1084, through the co-operation of some traitors within the walls, he gained possession of the city. Gregory took refuge in the Castle of Saint Angelo; the antipope Guibert was enthroned in Saint Peter's; and at his hands Henry received the Imperial crown.

The Duke of Calabria, with his Normans and Saracens, appearing on the scene, Henry retired before him; and Gregory was restored to his palace of the Lateran.

account of this sacrilege, does not name the leader, and elsewhere he speaks favourably of Cenci; whence F. Pagi expresses some doubt of the latter's having been the perpetrator. Mabillon however distinguishes between two Cenci—one the sacrilegious noble, and the other justly praised by the historian.

[1] October 1080.

[2] March 1080. In this his seventh Council at Rome, Gregory also renewed his decree against uncanonical investitures. In confirming Rudolph in his royal dignity, he sent that prince a golden crown, bearing the inscription:

"Petra dedit Petro; Petrus diadema Rodolpho."

Here the Pope celebrated his tenth and last Roman Council, in which he renewed his decree of excommunication against Henry, Guibert, and all their adherents. Feeling Rome insecure, he retired with his liberators, first to Monte Cassino, and shortly afterwards to Salerno; and there, broken down by his anxieties and labours, he calmly expired on Sunday, the 25th of May, 1085, having governed the Church twelve years, one month, and three days. His biographer relates, that, just immediately before the last agony commenced, some of the bishops and cardinals, who stood at his bedside, congratulated him on the labours of his holy life and teaching; when he replied, "My dearest brethren, I deem my labours of but small account: in this only do I trust—that I have always loved justice and hated iniquity. Therefore I die in exile."[1] They then spoke with anxiety about their position after his decease, and begged of him to name his successor. Thus pressed, he gave them the option of three names: Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino, who succeeded him, as Victor III.; Odo, or Otho, Bishop of Ostia, who succeeded Victor, as Urban II.; and Hugo of Lyons.[2] Then the Holy Father, in his dying breath, once again blessed his sorrowing brethren, and promised them, that, when in heaven, he would with earnest prayers commend them to their merciful God.[3]

[1] Paulus Bernriedensis, "Vita Gregorii VII.," cap. 108. "Ego, fratres mei dilectissimi, nullos labores meos alicujus momenti facio, in hoc solummodo confidens, quod semper dilexi justitiam et odio habui iniquitatem: propterea in exilio morior."

[2] Ibid., cap. 109.

[3] Ibid., cap. 108. "Illuc, inquit, ascendam et obnixis precibus Deo propitio vos committam." Henry IV. of Germany survived Pope Gregory VII. over twenty years, without being reconciled to the Church. His latter days were embittered by adversity and domestic faction. His sons Conrad and Henry took part with his insurgent subjects against him. Conrad died early; but Henry compelled his father to abdicate, taking his place as Henry V. The dethroned King died at Liege in 1106, at the age of fifty-six, after a troubled reign of forty-six years. As he had died under the sentence of excommunication, his remains lay above ground, in a stone coffin, at Liege, without

Thus Hildebrand passed from this mortal scene. His last moments were darkened by adversity and seeming defeat: yet his mighty spirit was undaunted to the end. He died in exile: but his great work had been accomplished. The Holy See had been delivered from Imperial control; its political independence was firmly established, and its influence was strengthened by judicious alliances; the free and canonical election of the Sovereign Pontiff was assured; unhallowed intruders had been driven from the sanctuary; the discipline of the clergy was summarily enforced, and the abuse of Investitures had received its death-blow. In the words of an able English Protestant writer, Gregory VII. "found the Emperor the virtual patron of the Holy See; he wrested that power from his hands. He found the secular clergy the allies and dependents of the secular power; he converted them into the inalienable auxiliaries of his own. He found the higher ecclesiastics in servitude to the temporal sovereigns; he delivered them from that yoke, to subjugate them to the Roman tiara. He found the patronage of the Church the mere desecrated spoil and merchandize of princes; he reduced it within the dominion of the Supreme Pontiff. He is celebrated as the reformer of the impure and profane abuses of his age; he is more justly entitled to the praise of having left the impress of his own gigantic character on the history of all the ages which have succeeded him."[1]

It is only natural that the public life of Gregory VII. should be variously estimated. No one denies the greatness of his genius. Some would accord him the highest praise; while there are others who condemn him as ambitious and grasping, and who loudly protest against his "arrogant assumption of authority over sovereigns."

Christian burial, until 1111, when they were removed to the Imperial vault at Spire by Henry V.

[1] Sir James Stephen, "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography," p. 56. London, 1860.

But, to arrive at a correct conclusion, we must, as far as possible, divest ourselves of modern ideas and associations, and transport our minds back, some eight centuries, to the semi-barbarous age in which he lived. Whilst all are of opinion that in our day Hildebrand would be an anachronism, many, even non-Catholic, authorities affirm that in his own times he was a necessity. Obviously, the circumstances, political and social, of the eleventh century were very different indeed from those of the nineteenth. The paramount authority of the Pope, formerly, over Christian sovereigns — an authority exercised with moderation and discretion— was universally recognised; the rule being proved by the exceptional resistance of a prince, here and there, against whom the Papal decree had been promulgated. But, what was the result of that decision, notwithstanding? Adherents, as in the case of Henry IV. of Germany, or of Boleslas of Poland, fell away from the deposed ruler, on every side; and his cause, if not immediately, at least eventually, became hopeless. Invariably, the great majority of Christian princes and nations rallied round, and morally supported the judgment of, the Holy Father. Excommunication, which, unrevoked, was sure to be followed by, as it involved, deposition, was an irresistible power in the hands of the Successor of Saint Peter. In the troublous condition of society in the Middle Ages, when might alone constituted right, when our modern ideas of international law and constitutional government were altogether unknown, and when, further, kings and nobles were but too apt to forget that they had duties towards their subjects to fulfil, and that the millions whom they ruled were not made solely to be the slaves of their caprices, and the victims of their crimes, that power was not only a necessity, but a great public advantage.[1]

[1] In perusing the lives of the Popes, and the history of the proceedings of councils, it will be noted that the Popes almost invariably con-

When a Pope, or a few bishops, proclaimed a sovereign denuded of his rights, and his subjects freed from the oath of fidelity, (says Monsieur Guizot) such an intervention, although, doubtless, open to serious abuses, was often in particular cases legitimate and salutary. In general, whenever liberty has been wanting to mankind, its restoration has been the work of religion. In the tenth century, the people were not in a state to defend themselves, or to make their rights available against civil violence, and religion came to the rescue in the name of Heaven.[1]

The Papal power, by disposing of crowns, prevented the atrocities of despotism (observes another Protestant writer).

Hence, in those ages of darkness, we see no example of tyranny comparable to that of the Domitians at Rome. A Tiberius was then impossible; Rome would have crushed him. Great despotisms exist when kings believe that there is nothing above them. Then it is, that the intoxication of unlimited power produces the most fearful crimes.[2]

Of the same purport are the following words of Voltaire, quoted in the heading of this chapter:—

The interests of the human race demand a check to restrain sovereigns, and to protect the lives of the people. This check of religion could, by universal agreement, have been in the hands of the Popes. These first pontiffs, in not meddling in temporal quarrels except to appease them, in admonishing kings and peoples of their duties, in reproving their offences, in reserving excommunications for great crimes, would have been always regarded as the images of God upon earth. But men are reduced to have for their defence only the laws and morals of their country, laws often despised, morals often corrupted.[3]

In the exercise of this great power, with which the Supreme Pontiffs were invested, by general consent, for the common weal, during the Middle Ages, they appear to have been singularly devoid of those motives of self-aggrandizement which so largely influenced the

vened and consulted councils, at least of their own suffragans, before acting in grave matters, such as the excommunication and deposition of princes. In some instances, the Pontiffs laid affairs of this kind before general councils, which happened to be sitting at the time.

[1] Guizot, "Histoire de la Civilisation en Europe," 5me lecture.

[2] Coquerel, "Essai sur l'Histoire Générale du Christianisme," p. 75. Paris, 1828.

[3] Voltaire, "Essai," tom. ii. chap. 9. More evidence, of the same nature, will be found further on, in chap. xl., "Benefits conferred by the Papacy on Mankind."

policy of other sovereigns. Some fifty years before the spoliation of the territories of the Holy See, which it has been the misfortune of the present generation to witness, Le Comte de Maistre remarked with truth:—

To the Papacy alone is reserved the honour of possessing only what it has possessed for ten centuries. Here one finds neither treaties, nor battles, nor intrigues, nor usurpations: in going back, one always arrives at a donation. Pepin, Charlemagne, Louis, Lothair, Henry, Otho, the Countess Matilda, formed this temporal State of the Popes, so precious to Christianity.[1]

Finally, in one important particular, above all others, the state of political society in those days differed widely from that which exists in our time. All Christian nations were then within the pale of the Catholic Church; and, as the Pope was regarded as the spiritual head of the entire Christian world, communion with him was deemed an indispensable condition of the rulers of Christian States receiving and preserving the allegiance of their subjects. This is clearly set forth by the venerable Archbishop of Cambrai, in the following words:—

Gradually this sentiment became deeply impressed on the minds of Catholic nations; namely, that the supreme power could be committed only to a Catholic prince, and that this was a law or condition established between the people and the prince, that the people faithfully obey the prince, provided the prince himself obey the Christian religion. Which law being established, all thought that the bond of the oath of fealty, taken by the whole nation, was immediately dissolved, on the prince, in violation of that law, with a contumacious mind, resisting the Catholic religion. (And he observes further). It is not to be wondered at, that nations, greatly attached to their religion, should have thrown off the yoke of an excommunicated prince. For, by that law, they had promised that they would be subject to the prince, as the prince himself would, in like manner, be subject to the Catholic religion. But the prince who, through heresy or the criminal and impious administration of the kingdom, was excommunicated by the Church, should now be no longer considered the pious prince, to whom the whole nation wished to commit itself. Therefore they deemed the bond of the oath dissolved.[2]

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[1] De Maistre, "Du Pape," chap. vi.

[2] Fénélon, "Dissertatio de auctoritate Summi Pontificis," c. 39.

The mainspring of Gregory's policy, the scope of his life and labours, was to increase and consolidate the influence of the Church, and through that influence to promote the best interests of mankind. This was not with him an affair of personal ambition, as some superficial writers inconclusively allege; for probably there never lived a man more elevated above all petty considerations of self. It was rather a duty, which he felt was entailed upon him by his exalted office of Universal Pastor and Teacher. On that office, as we have seen, he entered with reluctance; but, once he had done so, he readily accepted all its responsibilities, and fearlessly fulfilled its every obligation. In this spirit, as evidenced by his letters to foreign princes and prelates, he continuously laboured, even under circumstances the most adverse, to diffuse among all nations the truths and precepts of the Gospel. It is possibly for this reason, that certain doctrinaires of that school, which would eliminate the religious element from popular education, somewhat flippantly pronounce him to have been a foe to social and intellectual progress.

Let us now hear a distinguished writer, already quoted, who deals with this subject in no superficial manner, and has brought to bear fully upon it the acuteness and thoroughness of his eminently philosophic mind:—

> We are accustomed to represent to ourselves Gregory VII., as a man who wished to render all things immovable, as an adversary to intellectual development and social progress, and as a man who strove to maintain the world in a stationary or retrograding system (observes M. Guizot). Nothing can be so false. Gregory VII. was a reformer upon the plan of despotism, as were Charlemagne and Peter the Great. He, in the Ecclesiastical order, was almost what Charlemagne in France and Peter the Great in Russia were in the civil order. He wished to reform the Church, and through the Church to reform society, to introduce therein more morality, more justice, and more law—he wished to effect this through the Holy See, and to its profit.
>
> At the same time that he strove to subject the civil world to the Church, and the Church to the Papacy, with an aim of reform

and progress, and not one of immobility or retrogression, an attempt of the same kind and a similar movement was produced in the cloisters of monasteries. The desire for order, discipline, and moral strictness was zealously shown. It was at this period that Robert de Molême introduced a severe order at Citeaux. This was the age of Saint Norbert, and the reform of the prebendaries; of the reform of Cluni; and, lastly, of the great reform of Saint Bernard.[1]

Here, M. Guizot might have given a far more extensive catalogue of the monastic institutes established about this time—all of them adopting, and some even surpassing, the primitive austerity of rule of the great Benedictine order. Taken in rotation of date, they would stand as follows: the Cluniacs, founded by Saint Odo, second Abbot of Cluni, in the province of Burgundy, in 927; the Camaldolesi, founded by Saint Romuald, Abbot of Camaldoli, near Arezzo in Tuscany, in 1009; the order of Vallumbrosa, founded in the valley of that name, in the diocese of Fiesoli in Tuscany, by Saint John Gualbert, abbot, in 1070; the Carthusians, founded by Saint Bruno, in the desert of Chartreuse, near Grenoble, in 1085; the Cistercians, or Bernardines, founded by Saint Robert, Abbot of Molême, in the forest of Citeaux, near Dijon, in 1098, of which community Saint Bernard became a novice in 1113, founding his celebrated abbey of Clairvaux, two years later; the order of Fontevrault in Poitou, founded by Saint Robert of Abrissel, in 1099; and that of Grandmont, near Limoges, founded by Saint Stephen, abbot, about 1120. All these monastic orders were remarkable for their spirit of fervour and austerity of rule.

Of the Canons Regular, besides the Premonstratensians, above-mentioned, founded by Saint Norbert, in the valley of Premontré, department of Aisne, in 1121, may be enumerated the Canons of Saint Victor, founded in the Abbey of Saint Victor, Paris, by William of Champeaux, Archdeacon of Paris, under King Louis VI., in 1113; the Gilbertines, founded by Saint Gilbert,

[1] Guizot, "History of Civilization in Europe," lecture 6.

an Englishman, at Sempringham, in Lincolnshire, in 1150; the military orders, and others.[1]

It is true, that several of these orders were instituted after Gregory's death; but the founders and their associates were thoroughly imbued with his spirit, and influenced by his undying example.

In almost every chapter of Ecclesiastical history, we find the same principle of good, developed and sustained by supernatural grace, striving against, and eventually overcoming, the evil tendencies of man's weak nature. Even in the darkest, and, humanly speaking, the most hopeless, period of the anarchy of the Middle Ages, there were laid the foundations, broad and deep, of those monastic institutes—so many seminaries of piety and learning—which still diffuse priceless blessings amongst us; and, moreover, God raised up illustrious confessors, doctors, and martyrs, in various countries, to illumine the moral waste, and to preserve, extend, and perpetuate the benign influences of religion, by their teaching and example. And thus it was, that the Seventh Gregory had many a cordial sympathizer in his life-long struggle with the combined powers of earth and hell—a struggle in which he laid down his life, but not before he had achieved those triumphant results which have so long survived him, and which continue to operate beneficially, even in our remote age.

[1] The Canons Regular are commonly called "of Saint Augustine," whose rule they follow, with the exception of a few, who observe other particular rules.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE TEMPORAL POWER IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

THE contest of the Pontiffs and the Emperors on the great question of Investitures—a contest which may really date its commencement from the accession of Gregory VII., A.D. 1073, and which terminated in favour of the Church, in the concordat of Worms between Callixtus II. and Henry V., in 1122—while it completely vindicated the spiritual jurisdiction of the Holy See, tended at the same time still further to consolidate the temporal power of the Popes.[1]

Thenceforward, with some troubled intervals, resulting from wars and domestic faction, the Pontiffs resumed their legitimate position, in the government of their temporal dominions, and the exercise of their functions as supreme arbiters in the commonwealth of Christian nations. That position was made more and more secure by Eugenius III., who presided over the Church, A.D. 1145–53; by Adrian IV., A.D. 1154–59; and notably

[1] The settlement of the Investiture question, which took place some thirty-seven years after the death of Gregory VII., was really the result of that Pontiff's energetic action in the matter. Henry IV. of Germany persisted to the end in his course of opposition to the Holy See, and maintained his right of investiture of Ecclesiastical benefices, against Popes Victor III., Urban II., and Pascal II. Henry V. at first followed his father's example, and claimed the same right, until the year 1122, when a concordat was concluded between him and Pope Callixtus II., at Worms, the conditions of which were ratified at the Ninth General Council, the first of Lateran, convoked by the same Pontiff, the following year. These conditions were to the effect that the Emperor should have the right of temporal investiture by the sceptre, and the Pope the right of spiritual investiture by the ring and crosier; as may be seen by the solemn declarations of both on the occasion.

by Alexander III., A.D. 1159–81. These three Pontiffs were engaged in a protracted and desperate struggle with the Emperor Frederick I., surnamed Barbarossa, of the house of Hohenstaufen—a struggle from which the Church eventually issued triumphant. The services of Eugenius, in vindicating the power and jurisdiction of the Papacy and the regalia of Saint Peter, will be best seen in the concordat between him and Frederick, executed at Constance, on the 22nd of March, 1152.[1] Adrian, an Englishman, no less jealously maintained the rights and prerogatives of the Holy See, and his reign of close on five years has been fitly described as "a series of perpetual conflicts," in the discharge of what he conceived to be a sacred duty. Thus it was, that he, a man of the humblest birth, without worldly interest or worldly advantages, and promoted for his own merits solely to the Apostolic throne, compelled the greatest monarchs to pay him due obedience and homage, as the Vicar of Christ.[2]

[1] "Concordia inter Eugenium, PP. III. et Fredericum I. Imperatorem, Romanorum Regem, A.D. 1152; ex Cencio Camerario, fol. 112; apud Theiner, "Codex Diplomaticus," tom. i. p. 22.

[2] Adrian IV., whose name was Nicholas Breakspeare, was the only Englishman who ever filled Saint Peter's Chair. He was born, of very humble parentage, at Abbots Langley, near St. Alban's. His father Robert had taken the habit at the monastery of St. Alban's; and Nicholas, who had for some time been performing menial services there, applied to be also admitted a novice. The abbot, considering him unsuitable, refused to receive him. On this, he went to Paris, subsisting altogether on alms; and prosecuted his studies at the famous university of that city, with great success. Leaving Paris, he was admitted into the house of the Canons Regular of Saint Rufus, near Avignon, of which, in the course of time, he was elected prior. Repairing to Rome about the affairs of his order, he made a most favourable impression on Pope Eugenius III., who detained him at Rome, and appointed him Cardinal Bishop of Albano. He was sent by Eugenius, as legate, to the Kings of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, remaining in those kingdoms four years. On the death of Eugenius's successor, Anastasius IV., he was unanimously elected to the Pontificate by the cardinals, with the joyous acclamations of the Roman clergy and people, and was enthroned in Saint Peter's on the 2nd of December, 1154. It was with the greatest reluctance that he submitted to the heavy burden of the Papacy. In his reign of four years, eight months,

Adrian's successor, Alexander III.[1] justly styled "the Liberator of Italy," continued the struggle with the Imperial power. At first the tide of fortune strongly set against the Pontiff and his allies in Northern Italy. Alexander was exiled, and temporarily deprived of his dominions; antipope after antipope, in rapid succession, was raised up against him; but eventually the justice of his cause, upheld by his genius and indomitable sense of duty, prevailed, and brought the Imperial offender, humbled and a suppliant, to the foot of his throne.[2]

It is related that, early in the conflict, when Frederick urged Louis VII. of France to join him in supporting the antipope Octavian, the French monarch rejected the overture, and plainly stated to the Imperial envoys, that he did not see why he and his bishops should cut themselves off from the communion of the Church of Christ. The same view was taken by Henry II. of England, the other European sovereigns, and the Greek Emperor, who all steadfastly adhered to Alexander, as the legitimate Pope.[3] We read in cotemporary history an interesting account of the reception of the exiled

and twenty-eight days, Adrian IV. created thirteen cardinals—one cardinal bishop, six priests, and six deacons. He died on the 31st of August, 1159. All readers of history are familiar with the Bull of Adrian, "favourably assenting to the petition" of Henry II. of England, and conferring on that monarch the sovereignty of Ireland. Until recently this Bull was generally accepted as genuine; but now, apparently not without reason, it is regarded by several scholars as a forgery.

[1] Alexander III., a native of Siena, governed the Church twenty-two years. For the first nineteen years of his reign he witnessed a deplorable schism of antipopes, which happily he outlived. He presided in person at the Eleventh General Council, the third Lateran. In the chapter on Cardinals, will be found an account of his wise legislation, to regulate the elections of Popes. Elected September 5, 1159, he died at Rome, August 26, 1181.

[2] Pagi, "Pontificum Romanorum Gesta," vol. iii. p. 42–83. See also "Conditiones pacis inter Fredericum I., Imperatorem et Alexandrum PP. III., ab ipso Imp. approbatæ," A.D. 1177: *ex transumpto coævo;* apud Theiner, tom. I, p. 22.

[3] Pagi, iii. 51.

Pontiff, at this period, A.D. 1161, by the Kings of France and England, who had respectively requested him to honour their dominions with his residence. On his arrival at Courcy on the Loire, he was met by the two sovereigns, who, having paid him the usual marks of veneration, accompanied him on foot, one on each side, holding his bridle rein, and thus they conducted him to the pavilion prepared for his reception.

On the submission of Frederick, after fifteen years' futile endeavours to subjugate Italy, the conditions of peace having been concluded by their respective ministers, the Emperor travelled to Venice, to pay his homage to the Holy Father, who awaited him in that city. Alexander deputed certain cardinals to receive the Emperor's abjuration of the schism of the antipopes Octavian, Guido, and John, which he had instigated and abetted, and his promised obedience to himself and his successors in Saint Peter's Chair. This having been accomplished, the cardinals absolved Frederick from the sentence of excommunication, and restored him to Catholic unity.[1] The same favour was extended to all the Imperial princes and councillors, ecclesiastical and secular, and all others present, who were bound by the same sentence. Then the Emperor, as a Catholic sovereign, approached the Pope, who received him in state, at the portals of the church of Saint Mark. Taking off his cloak, Frederick prostrated himself, and kissed the foot of the Pontiff, who raised him up, and gave him the kiss of peace. They then entered the church, amidst the joyful demonstrations of the people, the Emperor taking the Pope's right hand, and, on reaching the choir, Frederick reverentially received the blessing of His Holiness.[2]

On the following day, the feast of Saint James, after

[1] July 24, 1177.

[2] The same ceremonial was observed on the occasion of the visit of Charlemagne to Pope Adrian I., at Rome, four hundred years before, as we have seen.

the Pope had celebrated high mass, Frederick conducted him out of the church, and held his stirrup whilst he mounted his horse; but, as the distance to the point of embarkation was considerable, Alexander dispensed with his further attendance, the Emperor being desirous to hold his bridle-rein, and thus accompany him on foot the whole way, according to ancient custom. On the first day of August following, in a full assembly convoked for the purpose, Frederick, through his plenipotentiaries, bound himself, by oath on the Holy Evangelists, to preserve in good faith the peace of the Church and the Empire, also the peace which he had concluded with the King of Sicily, and the truce into which he had entered with the Lombard cities. The Sicilian ambassadors, and the Lombard delegates, bound themselves by a similar oath. Thus, mainly through the exertions of Alexander, peace smiled once more on the Italian Peninsula, so long afflicted by war and its attendant evils.[1]

Still more triumphant were the results accomplished by Innocent III., who reigned from 1198 to 1216, and who is generally reputed to have been one of the ablest and most illustrious of the occupants of Saint Peter's Chair.[2] From the commencement of his reign, Inno-

[1] Pagi, "Pontificum Romanorum Gesta," iii. 85, 86. Baronius, in loco. No less successfully did the Church maintain its rights against Barbarossa's grandson, the Emperor Frederick II., A.D. 1227–1250, during which period the cause of justice and truth was uncompromisingly vindicated by Popes Gregory IX. and Innocent IV.

[2] Lothaire, afterwards Pope Innocent III., was the son of Thrasimond, Count of Segni, and was born in Rome, A.D. 1161. In his thirtieth year he was made cardinal deacon, of the title of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, by his uncle Clement III. On the death of Celestine III., January 8, 1198, he was unanimously elected by the College of Cardinals to the Papal Chair. He deeply regretted his election, alleging his unworthiness and youth as disqualifications; for he was then only thirty-seven years old. However, the cardinals thought otherwise; and, although he was allied to some of the highest of the noble families of the city, his promotion to so exalted a dignity was due solely to his distinguished ability, holiness, and zeal for God's honour. In the "History of Pope Innocent III. and His Cotempo-

cent seems to have taken for his model his great predecessor, Gregory VII.; and, accordingly, he untiringly and most successfully devoted his energies, with all the weight of his influential office, to the exaltation of the Church, the promotion of justice, the repression of crime and great public scandals, the general reformation of morals, and the consulting the best interests, temporal and eternal, of the whole human race. His policy will perhaps be best understood, from his own words, in the following extract from his first official letter after his elevation:[1]—

It is our duty (he writes) to make religion flourish in the Church of God; and to protect it there where it flourishes. It is our wish that during all our life Christianity should be respected and protected, and that religious establishments should prosper more and more. Neither death nor life separates us from justice; and we know that on us is imposed the duty of watching over the rights of all. No favour towards any person whomsoever shall make us deviate from this path. We are placed over peoples and kingdoms, not on account of our merit, but as the servant of God. Our firm resolution, in which nothing shall make us waver, is then sincerely and faithfully to love all those who are devoted to the Church, and to protect them with the buckler of the Holy

raries," M. Frederic Hurter, President of the consistory of Schaffhausen, who unceasingly for twenty years laboured at his great standard work, has enabled us to realize this grand historical character—perhaps, with the single exception of his predecessor Gregory VII., the most prominent and most important personage of the mediæval period. "The existence of a Pope of the Middle Age," says Hurter, "is a portion of Universal history; and this latter, without the Chief of the Church, loses this central base, the source of the life which circulates in all parts of the European body." "His pontificate," observes another Protestant writer, "is the one most worthy of the attention and study of European monarchs. . . . His reign is the most brilliant epoch of the Papal power" (Daunou, "Essai Historique sur la Puissance Temporelle des Papes.") Innocent died at Perugia, on the 6th of July, 1216, having reigned eighteen years, six months, and nine days. One result of M. Hurter's labour of love, in studying and recording the life and actions of Innocent III., was, that, after the completion of the work, he abandoned the Protestant for the Catholic communion.

[1] So great was the pressure of affairs to be dealt with, in various countries, on the accession of Innocent III., that the number of official letters alone, which he wrote in the first year of his reign, was no less than 583.

See, against all insolence of oppressors. But, if we regard the importance of the pastoral functions, and the weakness of our powers, we trust not in our own capacity, but in Him only whose place we hold upon earth. If we consider the diversity of the affairs to be treated, the solicitude to be bestowed on all the Churches—a solicitude which is for us a daily duty, we recognize in ourselves, as expressed in the greeting of our letters, 'the servant of the servants;'[1] if, in fine, we consider the burden of the supreme administration, and the weakness of our shoulders, we can apply to ourselves the words of the prophet: "I have come into the deep sea, and I have perished in the storm." But it is the hand of the Lord which has raised us from the dust to this throne, where we render justice not only with princes, but above princes.

Throughout the whole reign of this Pontiff, we have unmistakable evidence of the paramount power of the Popes, "rendering justice not only with princes, but above princes," in the councils of Europe, in the Middle Ages. The controversies of Innocent with Philip Augustus of France and John of England, not to speak of others in which he was engaged, proved that he carried the assertion of his authority to the highest point ever aimed at by an occupant of the Pontifical throne. To that authority, in every instance, the monarchs were compelled to submit. Those terrible weapons, the Interdict, laid on the dominions of recusant sovereigns,[2]

[1] This title, "Servant of the servants of God," was first used by the Popes, in the heading of their official letters, towards the end of the sixth century. It is said to have originated with Saint Gregory the Great, who, when John "the Faster," Patriarch of Constantinople, assumed the title of "Œcumenical Bishop," deemed it his duty to set an example of humility, and commenced signing himself as "Servant of the servants of God." This signature is to be found in several of Saint Gregory's letters: for instance, among others, in those to Romanus, the defender of Sicily; to Innocentius, Prefect of Africa; to Virgilius, Bishop of Arles; and to Augustine and his companions, whom he sent to evangelize England, A.D. 596. Its origin has been erroneously ascribed to Pope Damasus, who governed the Church, A.D. 366–384. See Pagi, "Pontificum Romanorum Gesta," i. 34 and 276; also Bede's "Ecclesiastical History of England," book i. chap. 23.

[2] The Interdict. Local interdicts were resorted to by bishops in the early ages, to repress great public scandals, such as the violence and crimes of princes and nobles. We read of them in the sixth century.

and the excommunication and deposition of princes, in punishment of flagrant crimes, of the arbitrary abuse of power, and of the gross violation of the rights and jurisdiction of the Church, may seem unjustifiable to those who confine their scope to modern times, and regard not the circumstances and the exigencies of an earlier period: but every one must admire the disinterested zeal, and the intrepid love of justice, which, with great holiness of life, were the characteristics of this illustrious Pontiff.

National interdicts are ascribed to the Middle Ages, when the strongest measures were required in the interests of religion and humanity. In a district or country under interdict, the churches were closed; the bells were silenced; solemn religious services ceased; the sacraments were administered only to infants and the dying; and the interment of the dead took place without any religious service. Thus the sovereign was punished through his subjects, to whom, in a short time, the deprivation of all the aids and ministrations of religion became intolerable. Hence the offender was eventually compelled to submission, preferring a request, in all penitence, that the interdict should be taken off, and the public exercise of religion restored to his kingdom. Perhaps the two most remarkable instances of national interdicts were the following, in the reign of Innocent III. The first was A.D. 1200, when the whole kingdom of France was laid under an interdict, because Philip Augustus had repudiated his wife Ingelburga of Denmark, and married, in her stead, Agnes de Méranie. In eight months, Philip was obliged to yield, sending away Agnes, and taking back his lawful wife. The second instance was, when John, King of England, opposed the Pope's nomination of Stephen Langton to the See of Canterbury, persecuted the clergy, and seized on their revenues. Here, in like manner, but after five years' obstinate impenitence—March 23, 1208 to May 15, 1213—with a sentence of excommunication and deposition pronounced against him, and his whole kingdom laid under an interdict, John was compelled to yield, swearing fealty to the Pope and his successors; even as, two years later, he signed the great charter of English liberty, *Magna Charta*, on the compulsion of his barons, at Runnymede. Considerable mitigations of the above-recited penalties of the law of interdicts were subsequently introduced by the Church.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TEMPORAL POWER—CENTURIES XIII. TO XVIII.

THE election of Rudolph von Hapsburg to the Imperial dignity, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, marks another important era in the history of the Temporal Power of the Popes.

Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England, who had been chosen King of the Romans and Germans in 1271, having died on the 2nd of April, 1273, and the rights of Alphonsus, King of Castile, who had been elected to the same dignity, being doubtful and most difficult of decision, Pope Gregory X., moved by the disputes and disturbances in Germany, which necessarily resulted, commanded the Ecclesiastical electors, under penalty of the deprivation of office, and the secular princes, under pain of excommunication, to determine without delay, and give an Advocate to the Church;[1] adding, that otherwise he would make the election himself. The electors, thereupon, immediately assembled at Frankfort; and, after three days' deliberation, Rudolph, Count of Hapsburg in Switzerland, then absent, was chosen King and Emperor elect.[2] Repairing to Aix-

[1] Advocate, *i.e.*, Protector or Defender. Charlemagne and his successors, as we have seen, were commonly styled: *Sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ Advocatus, Adjutor, Defensor.* Subsequently, during the Middle Ages, the title *Advocatus* was given to princes and nobles who protected local churches, and who received a payment, or tribute, for doing so.

[2] Rudolph, or Rodolph, von Hapsburg was the founder of the present Imperial house of Austria. Ottocar, King of Bohemia, having refused to acknowledge him as Emperor elect, a war ensued between them, resulting in the defeat and death of the Bohemian prince; A.D. 1278. Rudolph then took possession of Ottocar's province of Austria, which

la-Chapelle, Rudolph there received the oaths of fealty of the electors, and was crowned King. The following year, he sent his ambassadors to the Pope, then presiding over the Fourteenth General Council, at Lyons. Gregory gave them audience, not at the council, but in a consistory of cardinals; on which occasion the leading member of the embassy, Otho, Provost of the Church of Saint Guido at Spires, and Chancellor of the Imperial Court, in the name of Rudolph, confirmed all the rights and territories of the Holy See, and promised that the Emperor elect would not invade the possessions of the Church, or levy war against the King of Sicily; and, further, that, on his receiving the insignia of the Empire at Rome, he would take the usual oath of fealty and obedience to the Holy Father. On this, Gregory confirmed his election.

The next year, Rudolph, coming from Vienna, with his Queen Consort and children, waited on Gregory, then at Lausanne, taking an oath to the Pontiff, that he would defend and guarantee the possessions of the Church, and further binding himself to join the Cru-

he conferred on his own son Albert, afterwards Emperor: and Albert's successors, abandoning the title of Hapsburg, assumed that of Austria, as being more illustrious. Rudolph was succeeded by Albert in 1291; and the male line continued until the death of Charles VI. in 1740, when it became extinct, and Charles's only daughter Maria Theresa succeeded to the throne. She married Francis I., Duke of Tuscany of the house of Lorraine, who thus became the founder of the Hapsburg-Lorraine dynasty. In 1780, Maria Theresa was succeeded by her son Joseph II.; and he, by his brother Leopold II., in 1790. After the coronation of Napoleon as Emperor of France in 1804, Leopold's son and successor, Francis I., relinquished the title of Emperor of Germany, and assumed that of Emperor of Austria. Some say that this step was taken, in obedience to the imperious will of Napoleon, while others, including a cotemporary writer, affirm that it was the result of Francis's apprehension that, with the increase of the power of the Protestant States, in the course of time, the title of Emperor of Germany might be wrested from the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine by the house of Hohenzollern—a view which has been borne out by recent events. After an unusually long reign, Francis was succeeded by his son Ferdinand IV. in 1835; and that monarch abdicated in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph, the present Emperor, in 1848.

sade.[1] In his diploma, executed the same year, A.D. 1275, Rudolph placed on record his confirmation of all the privileges conceded by the Emperors, his predecessors, to the Holy Roman Church, and his solemn promise to defend the city and provinces which they had recovered and restored to her.[2]

In this important deed, we find the following clause, regarding matters spiritual:—

Anxious to abolish the abuse which some of our predecessors are known and are said to have exercised in the election of prelates, we concede and enact, that the election of prelates shall be freely and canonically made, so that he shall be placed over a widowed Church, whom the whole chapter, or the greater or sounder part thereof, will have considered the person to be chosen, provided the canonical statutes are fully observed. And in Ecclesiastical affairs and causes, appeals shall be freely made to the Apostolic See. And let no one presume to impede their prosecution or progress. We also repudiate and repress the abuse which our predecessors used to commit in taking possession of the goods of deceased prelates or Churches, according to their own pleasure. And all spiritual things we leave to be disposed by you, and other prelates of Churches; in order that all things which are Cæsar's may, by a right distribution, be rendered to Cæsar; and all that are of God, to God.[3]

It is unnecessary to dwell on Rudolph's diploma to Pope Nicholas III., issued A.D. 1279, and confirmed in a solemn deed by the Imperial electors,[4] or on the various other official documents at our disposal, illustrating the amicable relations of the Pontiffs and the Emperors at this period. Thenceforward, as observed by Father Theiner, speaking with all the experience of

[1] Pagi, "Pontificum Romanorum Gesta," iii. 348; Bernardus Guido, in "Chronico Rom. Pontificum;" and Ptolomæus Lucensis, "Hist. Eccles.," lib. xxxiii. cap. 4.

[2] These territories are set forth, as "all the land from Radicofani to Ceprano, the March of Ancona, the Duchy of Spoleto, the land of the Countess Matilda, the County of Bertinore, the Exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, Massa Trabaria, with the adjacent lands, and all others belonging to the Roman Church."

[3] Theiner, "Codex Diplomaticus Domin. Temp. S. Sedis," tom. i. p. 194.

[4] Vide supra, p. 218.

his laborious learned researches, the integrity and inviolability of the States of the Holy See became a sacred law of the Empire, and even of all Christendom, as the German Emperors resumed, according to the sublime idea of the Middle Ages, the supreme Advocacy of the Church, and the protection of all Christian kingdoms. The example of Rudolph von Hapsburg was followed by his successors. The establishment of the happy relations subisting between the Priesthood and the Empire at this period, is justly attributed to "the wise and magnanimous efforts of Popes Gregory X., Innocent V., Adrian V., and John XXI."

In the year 1309, Pope Clement V.,[1] a Frenchman, alarmed by the violence of the Roman nobles, and at the same time following his own inclinations, and strongly influenced by the wishes of King Philip le Bel, decided to transfer the Papal residence to France. Evidently with a view to this change, he had the ceremony of his coronation carried out with great pomp at Lyons, instead of at Rome, on the 14th of November, 1305. Four years later, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of the Sacred College, he removed with his entire court to Avignon.[2] The Popes continued to

[1] Bertrand de Got, a member of a noble family of Aquitaine, and Archbishop of Bordeaux, was elected Pope, in the conclave held at Perugia, in 1305, through the influence of his sovereign, Philip le Bel, and ascended the Pontifical throne as Clement V. He reigned eight years, ten months, and fifteen days, dying in 1314. Clement revoked the Bulls issued by his predecessor Boniface VIII. against Philip le Bel. In 1311, he convoked the Fifteenth General Council, that of Vienne, at which the order of Templars was suppressed. As set forth above, Clement removed the Papal residence to Avignon in 1309. In this, as in other matters, he appears to have been too subservient to the wishes of King Philip. The alleged compact or bargain, however, between Clement and Philip, set forth by Villani, as the price of Clement's election to the pontificate, is gravely doubted by Döllinger, Hefele, and other modern investigators. In another chapter, reference is made to the Constitutions of this Pope styled *Clementinæ*.

[2] Avignon. The Comtat Venaissin, *Comitatus Vendascensis*, or county of Avignon, on the east bank of the Rhone, now comprised in the department of Vaucluse, was ceded by Philip III. to Pope Gregory X. in 1273. In 1348, Pope Clement VI. purchased the City of Avignon,

hold their court in that city seventy years—Clement's successors there being John XXII., A.D. 1316–1334; Benedict XII., A.D. 1334–1342; Clement VI., A.D. 1342–1352; Innocent VI., A.D. 1352–1362; Urban V., A.D. 1362–1370; and Gregory XI., A.D. 1370–1378. These were all Frenchmen, and naturally were favourable to the change; and they were susceptible of being swayed in the matter by the wishes of the French monarchs. Their creation of French cardinals, out of all proportion, gave France a preponderance in the Sacred College; and thus the continued residence of the Popes at Avignon became more assured, and the foundations were laid of the great schism which, after the death of Gregory XI., so grievously afflicted the Church.

Meanwhile Rome and all Italy suffered severely from the absence of the Pontiffs. The city became a solitude —its population having fallen off one half; grass grew in the streets; and the general lawlessness and insecurity of life and property were sadly aggravated by the violence of the Roman nobles, who had fortified their dwellings, and the public monuments of which they had taken possession, and there maintained bands of armed followers. The legitimate rulers, in their absence, were represented by cardinal legates, or vicars, who, in many an instance, were inadequate to the emergencies which arose.

An interesting episode at this time was the brief and brilliant career of Rienzi, "the last of the Roman Tribunes." Nicola, or Cola, Rienzi was born in Rome, of humble parentage, in the year 1310. Having received a good education, he used, from his earliest youth, to pore over "the pictured page of Livy," and other classics,

Avenio, from Joan, Queen of Naples and Countess of Provence, for 80,000 gold florins of Florence. The French, on any difference arising with Rome, from time to time, disputed this sale; but long possession preserved the city and territory to the Holy See, until 1791, when they were annexed to France.

and there meditate on the departed glories of the eternal city, sadly contrasting her past greatness with her modern decline. Bitterly lamenting the absence of the Papal court, and chafing under the tyranny of the barons and the outrages of their retainers, he accompanied a deputation to Avignon, in 1342, to supplicate Clement VI. to return to his normal residence, Rome. His dear friend the poet Petrarch[1] also formed one of the deputation. Rienzi was the spokesman; and Clement was so struck with his language and bearing, that, although he would not allow his political course to be shaped by popular harangues, he appointed the youthful delegate a notary of the Apostolic Chamber —an office to which were attached considerable emoluments. Rienzi, thus honoured, returned to Rome; and frequently there, as occasion offered, he addressed his fellow-citizens on his all-absorbing subject, with that irresistible eloquence which appears to have been his special gift. The leading idea of his life was, the substitution of the sovereignty of the Roman people for the existing oligarchy of factious nobles; saving always the rights and jurisdiction of the Apostolic Father.

At length, having carefully matured his plans, with a number of trusty associates, Rienzi assembled the people on the 19th of May, 1347, and invited them to join him in acts of devotion, throughout the night, in the Church of St. John of the Piscina, in order to draw down God's blessing on his undertaking. The following morning, being Ascension Day, he issued from the Church, in full armour, but bareheaded; one hundred armed men formed his escort; banners emblematic of Liberty, Justice, and Peace, were borne before him by three of the principal patriots of Rome; and by his side walked the Pope's vicar, Raymond, Bishop of Orvieto, who fully entered into his views.

[1] In a letter to Urban V., on this subject, some years later, Petrarch boldly asked His Holiness: Did he prefer living among sinners at Avignon to dwelling with the saints and martyrs at Rome?

He then proceeded to the Capitol, accompanied by a multitude of peaceful and unarmed citizens. Arrived at the foot of the grand staircase, he turned round and addressed the people, detailing to them the measures which he proposed to carry out for the common weal. A guard of twenty-five horse and one hundred foot soldiers was to be maintained in each quarter of the city; guard-ships, for the protection of commerce, were to be stationed in the Tiber; the fortresses and other strong places, within and without the walls, were to be taken from the nobles, and handed over to the people or their officers, to whom were also to be given in charge the bridges and the city gates; public granaries were to be established; and arrangements were to be made for the prompt punishment of crime, and the speedy adjudication of civil causes. These wise proposals were hailed by the joyous acclamations of all present; and Rienzi was invested with full power and authority to carry them into immediate execution. Then were conferred on him the titles of Tribune and Liberator of Rome—the same titles being also conferred on the Papal vicar.

The new Tribune forthwith became the supreme dictator of Rome, and accomplished, with little or no resistance, his peaceful revolution. The Colonnas, Ursini, Savelli, and other nobles were obliged to surrender or dismantle their strongholds, and to disband their forces. Robbers and murderers were summarily tried and executed; and peace and security were assured, not only in the city, but in all the adjoining districts.

Other cities and states looked on with admiration; and, envious of Rome, appealed to her ruler for his countenance and protection. Even foreign powers sent their envoys to him, with messages of peace and friendship; and, in one instance, his arbitration was invoked by two contending princes.

But, unfortunately, Rienzi's brain was turned by

his sudden elevation. On the 1st of August, he proceeded in state to the church of Saint John Lateran; was there knighted; and assumed all the pomp of the Imperial Cæsars. On the following day, he summoned Clement VI. and his cardinals and court to remove from Avignon to Rome; and cited the Emperor Charles IV. and Louis of Bavaria to appear before him. The Bishop of Orvieto protested against these extraordinary proceedings: and, on their being reported to the Pope, Clement sent a legate from Avignon to remonstrate. Protest and remonstrance were alike disregarded by the Tribune. Then a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him; the people fell away from him on every side; the barons resumed the offensive; and on the 15th of December, after a rule of about seven months, he resigned his office of Tribune of the people, and retired into private life.

In 1350, the Jubilee year, Rienzi re-appeared on the scene. His reception at Rome was cold; and consequently, after some delay, he determined to solicit the Emperor's aid in carrying out his projects for the welfare of Italy. With this view, in 1352, he visited the Imperial court at Prague, when Charles had him arrested and sent, a prisoner, to his legitimate sovereign, the Pope. Detained by Clement, he remained three years in captivity at Avignon, studying the ancient glories of Rome, in his favourite classics. At length, in 1354, Clement's successor, Innocent VI., sent him to govern Rome, as senator, under the authority of the vicar, Cardinal Albornoz. Here his administration was alike brief and unsuccessful. His former prestige had to a great extent departed, and he appears to have been deaf to the suggestions of ordinary prudence. Being short of supplies, he levied taxes which were most obnoxious to the people, who rose against him; and, after four months' rule, as senator, on the 8th of October, 1354, he was assassinated at the Capitol by an infuriated mob. In Rienzi, a powerful character

appears to have been marred, and a grand career cut short, by the absence of two essential qualities of true greatness—discretion, and abnegation of self.

A no less remarkable man in this crisis was Cardinal Albornoz, in whose person were combined the genius of a great statesman, the talents of a military leader, and the qualities of a zealous churchman. Giles or Ægidius Albornoz claimed descent from the Royal houses of Leon and Aragon. At an early age, he became Archbishop of Toledo, and in 1352 he received a Cardinal's hat from Pope Clement VI. The following year, he was sent by Innocent VI., as his vicar to Rome, and he governed in Italy for that Pontiff and his successor, Urban V., till his death in 1367. In his administration of fourteen years, Albornoz displayed rare political ability and martial vigour, in summarily repressing lawlessness and outrage, and in expelling from the Papal towns and territories the turbulent nobles, by whom they had been usurped.

Owing to the urgent remonstrances, not only from Italy but from other countries also, that had reached Avignon, and the insecurity of that city from the crowds of disbanded soldiers and other marauders in the neighbourhood, Urban V. determined to remove his court to Rome in the year 1367. His arrival in his capital was joyfully hailed by the inhabitants, and, combined with the results of the able administration of Cardinal Albornoz, tended to restore peace and confidence in every quarter. After nearly three years' sojourn in Rome, Urban returned to Avignon in 1370, in order to mediate between the Kings of England and France, then preparing for war against each other. However, he died within four months after his arrival; and it was reserved for his successor, Gregory XI., to accomplish, some seven years later, the definitive removal of the Papal court to Rome.

It is deserving of note, that the unwise proceedings of Clement V. and his immediate successors did not by

any means diminish the weight and authority of the Holy See, in its own dominions or in the general affairs of Europe, at this period. Indeed, of the Avignon Popes it has been observed with truth, that they governed their States with more real power than many of their predecessors; and that John XXII. was much more a sovereign than any of the temporal princes of the age.[1] When Louis of Bavaria entered Rome, and, in a large assembly in front of Saint Peter's, pronounced the deposition of John, and proclaimed the election of an antipope in his stead, his attempts against the inviolability of the rights of the Holy See were utterly futile.[2] In the words of a disinterested witness, "Louis forgot his own debility and the prejudices of the times; beyond the precincts of a German camp, his useless phantom was rejected; the Romans despised their own workmanship; the antipope implored the mercy of his lawful sovereign; and the exclusive right of the Cardinals was more firmly established by this unreasonable attack."[3]

The rise of the Italian free cities and republics, and their struggles for independence, the sanguinary wars of the Guelphs and Ghibellines,[4] the frequent usurpation of portions of the Papal territories, and the measures necessitated for their recovery, the continuous outrages

[1] Theiner, "Codex Diplomaticus Dominii Temporalis S. Sedis," tom. i. præf. ix. Father Theiner's opinions to this effect are based on the several official documents which he places before us.

[2] April 18, 1328.

[3] Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," chap. lxix.

[4] Guelphs and Ghibellines. These were two powerful parties in the Middle Ages, having their origin in Germany, and desolating Italy with warfare for more than two centuries. The Guelphs were adherents of the Popes; and the Ghibellines, of the Emperors. The former were so called after Guelpho, or Welf, of Altdorf, a powerful leader, brother of Henry, Duke of Bavaria; and the latter derived their name from the great family of Guibelinga, or Waeblinga, who owned a castle of that title in the diocese of Augsburg. These names first became war-cries after the battle of Winsberg, between Conrad III. and Guelpho, the 21st of December, 1140. As both parties were Catholic, the religious element did not enter into their disputes, which were altogether political.

of the Roman nobles and their factions, and the occasional paroxysms of Imperial or other foreign aggression on various parts of the Italian Peninsula, involved the successive occupants of Saint Peter's Chair in an almost unbroken series of anxieties and afflictions, for at least three centuries. Into these events we have not space to enter here. One result of the anarchy and confusion thus created was, that the Church was again and again despoiled of large portions of her possessions —to be again and again recovered; and thus, as in the days of "the first and the greatest of the name of Gregory," each Pope, in his turn, was occupied by the cares of a secular prince no less than by the solicitude of chief pastor of the Universal Church.

The action of the Popes all through such periods of difficulty and danger is variously viewed, according to the ideas or prepossessions of various writers. All dispassionate readers, however, who carefully weigh the evidence, will be likely to arrive at the conclusion, that, as a rule, the exertions of the several Pontiffs were confined to the preservation, or the recovery, of those provinces which they regarded as a sacred trust, for the benefit of the Church over which they presided, and, further, to the discharge of the duties which devolved on them, as the arbiters of Christian princes, and supreme guardians of the rights and best interests of the entire population of all Christian States.

The much discussed military operations of Julius II.[1] were all undertaken in this spirit; and not unfrequently his object was attained by an armed demonstration, without any actual hostilities. "The re-establishment of the States of the Church," says Ranke, "was in that day considered not only a glorious, but even a religious enterprise; every effort of the Pope was directed towards this end; by this one idea were all his thoughts

[1] Julian della Rovere, nephew of Pope Sixtus IV., governed the Church, A.D. 1503–1513, under the name of Julius II. He convoked the Eighteenth General Council, the fifth Lateran, in 1512.

animated; they were, if I may so express myself, steeled and moulded into this one unvarying form. In furtherance of this, his grand aim, he engaged in the boldest operations, risking all to obtain all."[1] Not only did Julius thus recover his territories, which had recently been usurped by Cæsar Borgia in the Romagna, the Venetians in the same province, the Bentivogli in Bologna, and the Fredducini in Fermo; but he won back Parma, Piacenza, and Reggio, which had been so long alienated from the Holy See. Over the whole region from Piacenza to Terracina he ruled supreme. "He had ever sought to present himself in the character of a liberator; governing his new subjects with a wise benignity, he secured their attachment and even devotion; the temporal princes were not without alarm at sight of so many warlike populations in allegiance to a Pope."[2]

From this time forward, the various cities of the Papal dominions, and the unruly barons, were brought more and more into a state of unconditional subjection to their sovereign lords, the Popes; and, with occasional vicissitudes arising from political disturbance and warlike operations,[3] the territories of the Holy See continued the same, till near the close of the last century, when the French revolution and its consequences effected great, though not enduring, changes in this, as in other sovereignties. These will form the subject of future chapters.

[1] Ranke's "History of the Popes," book i. chap 2.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Such, for instance, were the disastrous warlike policy and the unlucky alliances which were forced on Clement VII. by the defence of Italy against Charles V., and which entailed such severe reverses and so much humiliation on that Pontiff. Clement VII. reigned A.D. 1523-1534; and had the misfortune to witness the defection of England from the Church, under Henry VIII.

CHAPTER XX.

THE GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST.

Of all the evils resulting from the removal of the residence of the Popes to Avignon, which was, not inaptly, compared by the Italians to the Babylonian captivity, the most deplorable was that inflicted on the Universal Church by the Schism of the Antipopes,[1] which endured more than forty years. This schism arose out of the transfer of the Papal court back to Rome, by Gregory XI., in 1377.

Gregory having died on the 27th of March, 1378, the sixteen cardinals then in Rome assembled in conclave, and on the 8th of April unanimously elected, as Pope, Bartolomeo di Prignano, Archbishop of Bari in Apulia, outside the Sacred College. The elect, who assumed the name of Urban VI., was immediately enthroned; and on Easter Sunday, the 18th, his coronation took place, in front of Saint Peter's, all the cardinals who had chosen him participating in the ceremony.

The inhabitants of Rome had urgently besought the cardinals, before their enclosure, to elect a Roman, or at least an Italian, and thus to put an end to the evils inflicted on the City and Papal States by an opposite course for the last seventy years. According to some writers, they assumed a tone of menace; and, further on, large crowds, in a state of excitement, surrounded the building in which the conclave was being held, crying out that they would insist on the new Pope

[1] Generally called "the Great Schism of the West."

being a native of Rome. Although these proceedings may not have amounted to coercion, there can be no doubt that they would have had considerable effect in making the result of the election different from what it might have been, were the majority of the cardinals unanimous. For the conclave comprised four Italians only, one Spaniard, Peter de Luna, and no less than eleven Frenchmen; and these last, if they agreed and were not coerced, could and would have chosen one of their own nation. But, it is alleged, the French cardinals were by no means of one mind, being divided into two parties, that of Limousin, and that of the other provinces of France, and therefore both favoured the election of an Italian. Besides the sixteen who entered the conclave, there were six who had remained at Avignon, the total number of the members of the Sacred College at the time being twenty-two.

On the 19th of April, the sixteen cardinals at Rome wrote to their colleagues at Avignon, announcing their election of Urban; and the Avignon cardinals replied by letter, acknowledging him as Pope.

Urban was a learned, pious, and austere man; but, in his zeal for the reformation of manners, the correction of abuses, and the retrenchment of extravagant expenditure, he appears to have been wanting in discretion; for immediately after his election he began to act with harshness to the members of the Sacred College, and he also offended several of the secular princes. Towards the end of June, twelve of the cardinals—eleven Frenchmen and one Spaniard—obtained permission to leave Rome, owing to the summer heats, and withdrew to Anagni. Here, in a written instrument, dated 9th August, 1378, they protested against the election, as not having been free, and they called on Urban to resign. A few days later, they removed to Fondi in the kingdom of Naples, where they were joined by three of the Italians whom they had gained over to their views; and, on the 19th of September, the fifteen

elected an antipope, the French Cardinal Robert of Cevennes,[1] who took the name of Clement VII., and reigned at Avignon sixteen years, dying September 16, 1394. Thus there were two claimants of the Papal throne—Urban holding his court at Rome, and Clement residing with his followers at Avignon. The latter was strong in the support of the sovereigns of France, Scotland, Naples, Aragon, Castile, and Savoy; while the remainder of Christendom adhered to Urban.

Clement was succeeded by Peter de Luna, the Cardinal of Aragon, who, on his election, assumed the name of Benedict XIII., and reigned at Avignon twenty-three years—A.D. 1394–1417.

This lamentable state of affairs lasted altogether forty years. Urban's successors at Rome, duly elected by the Italian cardinals and those of other nations acting with them, were, Boniface IX., a Neapolitan, A.D. 1389–1404; Innocent VII., a native of Sulmona, A.D. 1404–1406; Gregory XII., a Venetian, A.D. 1406–1409; Alexander V., a native of Candia, who reigned ten months, A.D. 1409–1410; and John XXIII., a Neapolitan, A.D. 1410–1417. As we have seen, there sat, during the forty years, two antipopes at Avignon—Clement VII., A.D. 1378–1394; and Benedict XIII., A.D. 1394–1417.

Although the Popes above enumerated, as having reigned at Rome, are now regarded as the legitimate Pontiffs, and, as such, are inscribed in the Catalogues of Popes, while Clement and Benedict are classed as antipopes, there prevailed at the time much uncertainty on the subject. A great deal depended on the question, whether or not the election of Urban VI. was made under coercion and was consequently uncanonical. That question was one most difficult of decision. The party of each claimant was large and influential; and,

[1] Döllinger, Alzog, and other modern writers call him Robert of *Geneva;* but Pagi, Panvinius, and others, nearer his own time, style him *of Cevennes;* "Robertus Gallus Gebennensis."

although diametrically opposed to each other, neither was guilty of disobedience to the Church or its chief; as all were only anxious to know the true Pope and to render him obedience.

"During the whole time that the schism lasted," says a cotemporary, Saint Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence,[1] "each party or obedience numbered men deeply learned in the Holy Scriptures and the canon law, and also most religious men, nay, men illustrious by their miracles: nor could the question ever be decided, without its remaining doubtful to many. For, although it is necessary to believe that, as there is one Catholic Church, not several, so also is its one chief pastor the Vicar of Christ, if however it should happen that through schism several Supreme Pontiffs are created or named at one and the same time, it does not seem necessary to salvation to believe that this or that one, but that one of them is the Pope canonically elected. Now, every one is not bound to know who has been canonically elected, as every one is not bound to know canon law. In such matters, the people can follow their superiors or prelates."

We may well imagine the uncertainty existing as to the legitimate Pope, when we find ranged on opposite sides two most illustrious saints, Catherine of Siena, and Vincent Ferrer,—both spiritual children of Saint Dominic, and burning with zeal for the glory of God.[2]

In February, 1395, Charles VI. of France convoked

[1] Saint Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, was born in that city, in 1389. At an early age he entered the Dominican order, in which he was distinguished for his learning and piety. In 1446, he was consecrated Archbishop of Florence. He died in 1459, in his seventieth year. His principal work is *Summa Theologiæ Moralis, partibus quatuor distincta*, which has passed through several editions.

[2] Saint Catherine of Siena, with her powerful influence, supported Urban VI., while Saint Vincent Ferrer adhered to De Luna, Benedict XIII., whom he regarded as the legitimate Pope, until 1416, when, in common with the King of Aragon and several other adherents, he renounced him, admitting that he had been mistaken in supporting him.

an assembly of the clergy of his dominions, under the presidency of Simon Cramandus, Patriarch of Alexandria, in order, if possible, to terminate the schism. The assembly advised that the rival Pontiffs, Boniface IX. and Benedict XIII. should abdicate. The same view was taken by most of the universities of Europe. Both claimants however were reluctant to act upon it; and consequently affairs remained as before.

About two years after the election of Boniface's second successor, Gregory XII., by the Roman cardinals, a conference was proposed between him and his rival at Avignon, in order that some agreement might be come to between them—each having, on his election, promised on oath that he would resign should the other do the same; but the difficulties as to preliminaries, which were raised on both sides, were such that no progress was made in the matter.[1] Then the French party, dissatisfied with Benedict, withdrew their support from him; and the Roman cardinals, equally displeased with Gregory, abandoned him likewise. After this, the united cardinals met at Leghorn, and there agreed, that, whereas both Pontiffs were bound by their oaths and the uncertainty of their positions to abdicate, and had refused to do so, thus prolonging the schism, they had lost all claim to obedience. It was therefore resolved that they, the members of the Sacred College, should convoke a General Council, to meet at Pisa, on the 25th of March, 1409. Gregory and Benedict were duly informed thereof, and were requested to attend the council; and legates were sent with the same intimation to the sovereigns of France, England, Germany, and other states.

The Council of Pisa sat from March 25th to August 7th, 1409. There were present twenty-four cardinals of both "obediences," four patriarchs, twelve archbishops, eighty bishops, eighty-seven abbots; the pro-

[1] Panvinius, apud Platinam, "De Vitis Pontificum Romanorum," p. 281.

curators of one hundred and two absent archbishops and bishops, and of two hundred absent abbots; the generals of four mendicant orders; the deputies of thirteen Universities, namely, Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Toulouse, Orleans, Angers, Montpellier, Bologna, Florence, Cracow, Prague, Vienna, and Cologne; the representatives of over one hundred cathedral and collegiate chapters, two hundred and eighty-two doctors and licentiates of canon and civil law; and the ambassadors of the Kings of England, France, Poland, Bohemia, Portugal, Sicily, and Cyprus. Guido de Malesec, the oldest cardinal, presided.

This was a large and most influential representation of the Church, and it afforded evidence of the great anxiety of Christendom to put a period to the schism. Yet, in the opinion of many, the validity of the council, at best, was but doubtful; as the essential condition of its being convoked by the Pope, and participated in by him, was wanting. This view was urged by Gregory's representatives, as well as by those of the German King, Rupert of the Palatinate, and of Ladislas, King of Naples, both supporters of Gregory.

The crisis, no doubt, was one of extreme difficulty. John Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, and other learned theologians argued, that the rule just mentioned, that a General Council should be convoked, and participated in, by the Pope, applied only when there was an undoubtedly legitimate Pope; but that, in the actually existing circumstances, where there were two claimants of the Papal throne, each with a large following, and where the legitimacy of each was a doubtful question, the mandate of neither would be generally obeyed, and consequently the lamentable schism, so full of perplexity and uncertainty, and so detrimental to the Church, would be perpetuated; and that therefore the council, convoked and participated in by the united cardinals, was legitimate.

In its eighth and ninth sessions, the council discussed

the question of its being canonically convened, and decided that question in the affirmative. The case of the two claimants of the Papacy was next considered. Their protests against the proceedings were set aside; and, as they both had failed to attend in person, judgment went against them, and they were each declared unworthy to preside over the Church, and forbidden to act as Pope.[1] In the sixteenth session, each of the twenty-three cardinals solemnly bound himself by an agreement, that, if he were chosen Pope, he would not dissolve the council until it had legislated for the complete reformation of Ecclesiastical discipline, which had been seriously impaired by the schism.

It was next decided that the united cardinals exclusively had the right of electing the Pope. The conclave commenced on the 15th of June, and, on the 26th, Peter Filargo, a Friar Minor, and a native of Candia, was chosen, taking the name of Alexander V. Alexander presided at the last sessions of the council, which broke up on the 7th of August, having accomplished its main work of electing a Pope. The reformation of Ecclesiastical discipline was deferred to a General Council, which the Fathers unanimously agreed was to be convoked in three years for the purpose.

The newly elected Pope, as several had anticipated, was not universally recognized. Gregory had still the support of Germany, Naples, and some of the lesser Italian States; while Scotland, Spain, and Portugal adhered to Benedict. Alexander, after a short reign of ten months, died on the 3rd of May, 1410, and the cardinals elected as his successor Cardinal Cossa, a politic worldly man, who assumed the name of John XXIII.

The Council of Pisa, intervening in a most difficult crisis, intended well; but it was irregular, as not having been convoked and participated in by the Pope. Consequently, it only aggravated the evil which it

[1] Session 15th, June 5, 1409.

laboured to cure. Instead of two, there were now three claimants of the Papal Chair. It was reserved for the General Council of Constance to restore union and peace to the Church.

The Sixteenth General Council, that of Constance, was, at the time of its assembling, the largest, and perhaps the most important, ever held. It was convoked by John XXIII. for the 1st of November, 1414, in a Bull issued for the purpose on the 7th of December previous. Its objects were, to terminate the schism of the antipopes; to condemn errors of faith, especially those of Wycliffe and Huss; and to reform Ecclesiastical discipline.

The council assembled a vast number of ecclesiastics, and comprised twenty-four cardinals, three patriarchs, thirty-three archbishops, one hundred and fifty bishops, one hundred and twenty-four abbots, fifty provosts, and close on three hundred doctors and licentiates of canon and civil law. Among the princes present were Sigismund, King of Germany, Emperor Elect, and the Dukes of Saxony, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Lorraine, and Austria. The concourse of strangers in the city was over one hundred thousand.

On the 5th of November, 1414, the council was opened by John, who advisedly spoke of it as a continuation of the Council of Pisa, which had pronounced against his two rivals. However, the general sentiment was quite otherwise, in accordance with the conclusion arrived at by the university of Paris and other universities; namely, that the schism could be ended only by the resignation or deposition of the three claimants.

Gregory acted in this spirit; for, in a public audience, his delegates declared to the council that he was ready to resign, provided that his two opponents would do so, and that John should not preside at the council. John refused, relying on the decision of the Council of Pisa; and further expressed a wish that the voting should be by bishops alone; but to this it was objected

that the bishops were a very small proportion of the ecclesiastics attending; and that of these the Italian bishops constituted the great majority, and they were known to be in favour of John; and that, moreover, there were several laymen representatives of the universities, and they were entitled to a voice. Then it was strongly urged, and especially by the French Cardinal D'Ailly, that the Council should distinguish between affairs purely spiritual and the subject matter of the existing schism; and that, under the circumstances, all who had been invited should have a vote. On all these points, John was quite in a minority; and the definite arrangement made was as follows. The whole assembly, including all the doctors, was divided into four nations—Italian, French, German and English. After De Luna was abandoned by the Spaniards, and they joined the Council, a fifth nation, the Spanish, was added. Each nation had its own officers and president, and separately discussed the several subjects of deliberation, every one present having a vote in committee. The result was laid before the general conference of nations—it having been agreed upon that the final voting should be by *nations*, and not by individuals, each nation having one vote; and the decision of the majority, thus arrived at, was reported to the council, in its next public session.[1]

On the 1st of March, 1415, the four nations being assembled in the Apostolic palace, in presence of the Emperor Sigismund, the Patriarch of Antioch, in the name of the whole council, earnestly besought John, who, as Pope, had convoked the council, that he would restore complete peace to the Church by a renunciation of the Papacy—his two rivals renouncing also;

[1] This mode of proceeding was, on due deliberation, deemed necessary, in order to meet the extraordinary, nay unique, circumstances of the emergency that had arisen; the Fathers, however, declaring that such a departure from the usage of individual voting must not be regarded as a precedent.

which John of his own free will promised to do. On the following day, the Pontiff, seated on his throne in front of the altar, in the Cathedral, and in presence of the Emperor and the whole council, in its second session, read out in a clear voice the schedule, which on the previous day had been presented to him by the Patriarch, and of which the tenor was as follows: "I, John XXIII., Pope, for the sake of the whole Christian people, of my own accord and freely, profess, promise, vow, and swear to God, and to the Church, and to this sacred council, that I will give peace to the Church by way of my simple renunciation of the Papacy; and that I will do and carry it into effect, according to the deliberation of this present council, if and when Peter de Luna and Angelus de Corario, styled respectively by their followers Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., renounce in like manner, and also in any case whatsoever of renunciation or decease, or otherwise, in which my renouncing can give union to the Church of God, for the extirpation of the present schism." The Emperor thereupon laid aside his crown, and kneeling kissed the feet of the Pontiff, thanking him in his own name and that of the council. Thanks on behalf of the whole council were also rendered to him by the Patriarch of Antioch.

But ere long differences arose between the Pope on the one hand and the Emperor and the council on the other. John moreover appears to have immediately regretted his solemn promise to abdicate. With the aid of Frederick Duke of Austria, he withdrew, in disguise, to Schaffhausen, on the night of the 20th of March. Thence he summoned the cardinals of his obedience to attend him; and he opened communications with the King of France and other princes, in order to justify his flight. Meanwhile the business of the council proceeded. By its order and that of the Emperor, John was arrested by Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg, and detained a prisoner. The council

then appointed a deputation to confer with him on the whole question; and the result of their protracted conference was, that John made full submission. Thereupon, the council, in its twelfth session, on the 29th of May, 1415, formally deposed him from the Papacy. On the 31st, in presence of the delegates of the council, he entirely acquiesced in the sentence, and affirmed on oath that he would never act contrary to it; and, now resigning and renouncing the Papacy, he divested himself, yet in their presence, of all the Papal insignia, and expressed his regret that he had ever been elevated to the position.[1]

Immediately on the deposition of John XXIII. by the council, Gregory XII. came forward to redeem his promise. On the 5th of June, 1415, Carlo de Malatesta, Lord of the city of Rimini, where Gregory resided, arrived at Constance, as his plenipotentiary, and declared to the Emperor that he had been sent to him, and not to the council, which Gregory did not recognize. In the fourteenth session, at which Sigismund at first presided, as Gregory refused to abdicate under the presidency of a cardinal of another obedience, a Bull from him was read, in which he first, through his legate the Cardinal of Ragusa, convoked the council, in order that he might afterwards acknowledge its authority. The cardinals of the two "obediences" were declared united, and the cardinals, created by Gregory, six in number, were received into the Sacred College. Then, the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia presiding, Malatesta read Gregory's solemn act of renunciation, which was joyfully and gratefully received by the whole assembly.[2]

[1] The deposed Pontiff, John XXIII., remained a prisoner four years. On his liberation in 1419, he cast himself at the feet of Martin V., whom he venerated as Vicar of Christ, and expressed his approval of his election as Pope, by the Council of Constance. On the 23rd of June that year, Martin named him Bishop of Tusculum and Dean of the Sacred College. He died on the 22nd of December following.

[2] In a letter, a short time afterwards, which he addressed to the council, confirming all that had been done in the matter, Gregory

Benedict XIII., although occupying the most doubtful position of the three claimants, and now long universally regarded as an antipope, was the most difficult to deal with. The council again and again endeavoured to procure from him his renunciation. Even the Emperor Sigismund, accompanied by fourteen delegates of the council, travelled to Perpignan, to hold an interview with him on the subject; but, owing to Benedict's obstinacy and subterfuges, they returned disappointed. The Spaniards, so long his supporters, now withdrew from him; and Saint Vincent Ferrer abandoned him, declaring that he had been deceived in his regard. Finally, in its thirty-seventh session, on the 26th of July, 1417, he was solemnly deposed by the council.[1]

The case now stood thus. Gregory XII. had voluntarily abdicated; John XXIII. had submitted to the Council of Constance, by which he was formally deposed; and the antipope Peter de Luna (Benedict XIII.) had also been deposed, without submitting, and was abandoned by all his followers.

The election of a Pope was the next business of the council. The conclave consisted of twenty-three cardinals, and (on the proposition of the cardinals themselves) of thirty deputies, six from each nation—a departure from the general rule, which was allowed in this particular instance, but which, it was expressly stated, should not be permitted in any other. After a consultation of three days, on the 11th of November, 1417, they unanimously elected Cardinal Ottone Colonna, who assumed the name of Martin V., and was consecrated and crowned on the 21st of the same month.

Martin immediately addressed himself to carrying out the proposed reforms of Ecclesiastical discipline, in

signed himself Angelo, Cardinal Bishop. He was appointed by Martin V. Cardinal Legate of Ancona. He died in October, 1417.

[1] Obstinately adhering to his bare title of Benedict XIII., and without any followers, Peter de Luna continued to reside in obscurity, in the small Spanish town of Peñiscola, until his death, which took place in 1424.

the council. In the forty-fifth and last session, on the 22nd of April, 1418, he confirmed the decrees on matters of faith, made according to the due forms of councils;[1] but he excepted all that had been done otherwise. He then declared the council closed.

Thus happily terminated the great schism of the West, equally disedifying and detrimental to religion; and all Christendom rejoiced that peace and union had been restored to the Church.

[1] "Quæ in materia fidei conciliariter determinata, concluса, et decreta fuissent."

CHAPTER XXI.

WYCLIFFE.

"In quo tandem religionis capite congruunt inter se Ecclesiæ quæ Romano Pontifici bellum indixerunt? A capite ad calcem si percurras omnia, nihil propemodum reperias ab uno affirmari quod alter statim non impium esse clamitet."—BEZA.

FROM the earliest ages, the Church has had to contend with heresies, which, although they have led many of her children astray, and have entailed on her much trouble and affliction, have all plotted in vain against her existence. Each form of error has run its course; and then has succumbed, to make way for another; but, conformably with the promise of her Divine Founder, the Eternal Church has survived, and will continue to exist until the end of time. It is remarkable, however, that, in all the heresies which have disturbed her peace, whilst there is an endless variety of tenets, not only dividing one sect from another, but rendering mutually antagonistic the several subdivisions of each particular sect, there are certain points of similarity which constitute, as it were, a family likeness—certain characteristic features, common to all.[1]

Of these perhaps the most striking is, their substitu-

[1] The word heresy (in the Greek *αἱρεσις* from *αἱρέω*, I take, I choose) was originally used by the ancient philosophers to denote a choice, a party, a sect, good or bad; such as the "Peripatetic heresy," and the "Stoic heresy," meaning the philosophic sects of Aristotle and Zeno, respectively. Heresy is now defined by the Church as "a voluntary and pertinacious error against some dogma of faith." To constitute formal heresy, according to Saint Thomas, it must be "deliberate and pertinacious," which latter word implies the rejection of the authority of the Church Teaching.

tion of the right of private judgment for the authority of the Church, in matters of faith. Hence, on the one hand, we have the Teaching Church, *Ecclesia docens*, and all her children, in every age, and every nation, united in the profession of one common immutable faith, as it has come down from the Apostles; and, on the other hand, we have a perplexing crowd of varying creeds, *tot sententiæ quot capita*, which, from the days of Luther and Calvin down to our times, have been a subject of deep regret to some of the most learned and most zealous leaders of Protestantism.

"I have been long and greatly tormented by those thoughts which you describe," says Theodore Beza, writing to his friend, Andrew Dudith; "I see our followers wandering, the sport of every wind of doctrine, and borne out into the deep sea, now carried to this side, and now to the other. What their opinion on religion may be to-day, you may perchance know; but what it may be to-morrow, you cannot with any certainty affirm. On what point of religion do the Churches which have declared war against the Roman Pontiff agree among themselves? If you run through them all, from head to foot, you will hardly find anything affirmed by one which the other does not immediately exclaim against as impious."[1]

[1] Beza, Epistola ad Andream Dudit. "Exercuerunt me diu et multum illæ ipsæ quas describis cogitationes. Video nostros palantes omni doctrinæ vento, et in altum sublatos, modo ad hanc, modo ad illam partem deferri. Horum, quæ sit hodie de religione sententia scire fortasse possis; sed quæ cras de eadem futura sit opinio, neque tu certo affirmare queas. In quo tandem religionis capite congruunt inter se Ecclesiæ, quæ Romano Pontifici bellum indixerunt? A capite ad calcem si percurras omnia, nihil propemodum reperias ab uno affirmari, quod alter statim non impium esse clamitet." For an account of Theodore Beza, see Index, "Beza." Andrew Dudith was born at Buda in Hungary, in 1533; and, from his earliest youth, manifested high abilities, combined with love of study. He was employed in several affairs of importance by the Emperor Ferdinand I., by whom he was promoted to the see of Tinia in Croatia, in 1560. Two years later, he was deputed by the clergy of Hungary to represent them at the Council of Trent; but the Council was so scandalized by his lean-

Somewhat similar are the words of Melancthon, Calvin, Grotius, and Leibnitz, on this subject, which will be found in other chapters.[1]

Another common characteristic of the various heresies, is their violent, nay virulent, abuse of the Church, strikingly in contrast with the calm, deliberative, and solemn tone of the Popes and Councils, by whom they were condemned. The results of such language, and of some of the doctrines taught therein—doctrines too often subversive of law and order, were painfully felt in the wars and outrages of the Albigenses, the Wycliffites, or Lollards,[2] the Hussites, the insurgent German peasants in the days of Luther, and other similar movements in various parts of Europe.

Some thoughtful writers are of opinion, that it was to counteract the mischief thus caused by evil teachers, and to avert the grave perils with which their extravagant doctrines further threatened religion and social order all over Europe, it entered into the designs of Divine Providence to raise up, as co-operators with the secular clergy, those powerful organizations, the Mendicant Orders, which, endowed with the vitality of God's own work, have now flourished for close on seven centuries, and, during that time, have rendered incalculable services to religion and humanity. Relinquishing the world and its enjoyments, and bound by the solemn vows of holy poverty, chastity, and obedience, the sons of Saint Francis, Saint Dominic, and Saint Augustine, and the servants of Our Blessed Lady of Mount Carmel, are at this day, as they have ever been since their

ing to the new doctrines, that the Emperor was obliged to recall him. On his return home, he resigned his bishopric, took to himself a wife, and professed the new religion. He died in 1589. He wrote several works of controversy, physics, and poetry. He also left some Latin translations from the Greek.

[1] See Index. "Melancthon," "Calvin," "Grotius," and "Leibnitz."

[2] Lollards. This term appears to have been originally applied in an opprobrious sense. Its derivation is ascribed to the German *lallen* or *lollen*, to babble or prate.

institution, regarded by those who know them best—the Catholics of Christendom—with sentiments of gratitude and veneration. Each of these orders, with its rule most carefully devised, and, after strict examination, approved of by the Holy See, and with its discipline so perfect, that its many thousands of members act in unison as one man, presented a compact phalanx against the innovators, who not only impugned the doctrines of the Church, but, in too many instances, in their addresses to ignorant and unreasoning mobs, condemned Christian marriage, the rights of property, and other time-honoured institutions, for which, if unchecked, they would, to a considerable extent, have thus practically substituted flagrant vice and the worst form of communism.

These observations are a necessary introduction to our examination of the life and doctrines of the remarkable man whose name is at the head of this chapter.

John Wycliffe, so called from his native place, Wycliffe, in Yorkshire, was a member of an ancient family established there before the Norman Conquest. He was born in 1324, and, at an early age, entered the University of Oxford. In 1360, he took a prominent part in the controversy then carried on, between some of the secular clergy, chiefly members of the University, and the Mendicant Orders; and, the same year, he published his "Objections to the Friars." In 1361, he was elected by the Fellows Master of Baliol College, and was also presented to the lucrative living of Fillingham, in the county of Lincoln.

At this period, the Carmelites, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Austin Friars, had been established, over a century, in England, where their several houses were so many abundant sources of good to their respective neighbourhoods. They all had flourishing communities at Oxford.

The Carmelites or White Friars claim a very ancient origin; but their first written rule on record is that

which the Hermits of Mount Carmel in Syria received, A.D. 1209, from Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem. This rule, chiefly founded on that of Saint Basil, was approved of by Pope Honorius III., in 1224, and was confirmed, with some additions and mitigations, by Innocent IV., in 1246. The Carmelites were first introduced into England in 1240, when they were established at Alnwick in Northumberland; and shortly afterwards they had houses also at Aylesford, Oxford, London, and other places. The order was introduced into Ireland, in 1274; its first foundation being that of White Friars in Dublin, to which were soon added those of Leighlin-Bridge, Ardee, Thurles, Drogheda, Galway, and Kildare. Nowhere has the Carmelite order been more flourishing than it was formerly in the British Isles, numbering fifty-two houses in England, and twenty in Ireland, before the suppression under Henry VIII.

The Franciscans, Gray Friars,[1] or Friars Minor, were founded by Saint Francis of Assisium, A.D. 1209; and the rule which he gave them was approved of by Innocent III., in 1210, and confirmed by Honorius III. in 1223. They came to England, in 1224, their first house being at Canterbury, and their second in London. Formerly, they had sixty-five houses in England, and seventy-nine in Ireland.

The Dominicans,[2] or Friars Preachers, sometimes called Black Friars, were founded by Saint Dominic, A.D. 1215. Their constitutions were approved of by Pope Innocent III., the same year, and confirmed by Honorius III. in 1216. They were introduced into England in 1221, their first house being at Oxford. The same year, they established themselves at Holborn, then Oldboorne. Here were held two general chapters of the order; those of 1250 and 1263. At the latter

[1] Their original habit was gray. It is now brown.

[2] The Dominicans formerly were also called "Jacobins," from their first house in Paris, in the Rue St. Jacques. Wycliffe speaks of them as *Jacobitæ*, in his unmeasured attacks on the Friars.

was present the great doctor, Saint Thomas Aquinas. Another famous house of theirs was that which stood in a large plot of ground lying between the Lud Gate and the Thames, now the site of Printing House Square. Here were held two general chapters of the order, those of 1314 and 1335. The order was established in Ireland in 1224. Before the dissolution, there were fifty-eight houses of Dominican Friars in England, and forty in Ireland.

The Austin Friars or Hermits,[1] founded by Saint Augustine in Northern Africa, in 388, were dispersed by the Vandals in the fifth century; but they were reconstituted in Europe, and their scattered congregations were united in one religious order, by Pope Alexander IV., in 1256. Ere long, they were established in these islands. At the dissolution by Henry VIII., they numbered thirty-two houses in England, and twenty-four in Ireland.[2]

[1] The Austin Friars are not to be confounded with the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine, from whom they are quite distinct.

[2] The above particulars of the four principal Mendicant Orders are taken, in an abridged form, from my book, "Terra Incognita," second edition, pages 48 to 55. It may be well to state here, for the information of some of my readers, that the orders of Friars, or religious mendicants, established in the commencement of the thirteenth century, are quite distinct from the various orders of Monks, ranging from the fourth century down to the thirteenth. The Monks devoted themselves to a contemplative life, and laboured in agriculture, the transcription of books, the extension of hospitality to travellers, the relief of the poor, and the promotion of the best interests, material and moral, of the peasantry that grouped around their abbeys; while the Friars, depending on alms for their maintenance, undertook missionary duties, in towns and cities, as well as in the rural districts. Besides the Monks and Friars, there were the Canons Regular, who first took solemn vows in the beginning of the twelfth century. They also fulfilled missionary duties. Of the several religious orders, the Benedictine Monks were by far the most numerous and influential in England, as were the Canons Regular of St. Augustine in Ireland, before the suppression by Henry VIII. Many of the districts formerly occupied by the religious orders may be traced, by their names, in London, and other parts of the United Kingdom; viz. Whitefriars, Grayfriars, Blackfriars, Austin-Friars, the Temple, the Charter House (from the Chartreuse), Crutched (or Crossed) Friars, the Minories, &c.

Thus the four great orders of Friars, or religious mendicants, following a rule of holy poverty, and depending for their support on the alms of the faithful, had been long labouring in England and the sister island, when the agitation of Wycliffe and his followers arose against them; and, beyond all controversy, they formed, at the time, in their several districts, a number of most exemplary and most useful communities, aiding the secular clergy, instructing the ignorant, and otherwise effecting much good by their zeal and devotion. Several of the members of these orders, too, had been promoted to episcopal sees in England and Ireland.

One of Wycliffe's principal objections to them appears to have been, that they were mendicants.[1] The reply of their defenders was, that they imitated therein the poverty of Our Saviour. "But," said he, "Our Saviour did not importune as they do, and they are extortioners, liars, blasphemers and impostors."[2] No less than thirteen chapters in his "Trialogus," and three chapters in its supplement, are devoted to abusing them in this fashion; but not one specific fact is adduced therein, to justify such opprobrious language.[3]

That in large religious communities there should have been inequalities in the zeal, prudence, and dispositions of the several members, is but natural; and that, in all countries and at all times, some of the clergy, secular and regular, should have been lukewarm, and more or less backward in the discharge of their duties; nay, that the lives of some few should have been disedifying

[1] At this time, Richard Fitz Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, had expressed himself in strong language against the Mendicant Orders, and it is generally thought that Wycliffe was influenced by his example. They both objected to the importunities of the Friars, and they also took exception to the "Letters of Fraternity," which these latter gave to their benefactors, making them participators in the merit of their prayers and other good works.

[2] Wycliffe, "Trialogus," lib. iv., cap. 34.

[3] Ibid., lib. iv., cap. 26–38; et supplementum, cap. 6, 7, 8.

rather than exemplary, is not a matter of surprise. But, to generalize from such cases, and these, almost invariably, grossly exaggerated, both in extent and degree; to impute to the many the faults of the few; and, on account of the occasional frailties of weak human nature, to impugn *the doctrines* of the Universal Church; must, on calm consideration, be regarded as a most illogical course of proceeding. Yet this is another common characteristic of heresiarchs, which will be further illustrated in future chapters.

Wycliffe's bitter hostility against the religious orders was further stimulated by the following circumstance. In 1361, a new college, called Canterbury Hall, was founded in Oxford University, by Simon Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury. It was composed of a warden, who was to be a monk of Canterbury, and eleven fellows, of whom three were to be monks, and eight were to be secular priests. The first warden was Henry Wodehall, D.D. This well-intended foundation, comprising secular and regular clergy, did not work well; and, consequently, Archbishop Islip transferred it altogether to secular clergy, under John Wycliffe, as warden, in 1365. The date of Wycliffe's appointment was the 9th December, that year; and, on the 26th April following, Islip died. The new archbishop, Simon de Langham, who had been Bishop of Ely and Lord Chancellor of the kingdom, saw fit to change this last arrangement of his predecessor, and he deposed Wycliffe from the wardenship, substituting Wodehall for him, "during pleasure as is customary," and restoring the establishment to the Monks. Wycliffe appealed to Pope Urban V., whose decision was unfavourable to him, and was confirmed by the King—Edward III.[1] On this he submitted, not however without those feelings of resentment, which, ere long, found expression in his writings and discourses, in which he declaimed

[1] May 11th, 1370. The hearing of this appeal occupied three years.

against the temporal and spiritual power of the Pope, and the episcopate and clergy generally.[1]

Soon after the unfavourable decision of his appeal to Rome, Wycliffe appears to have removed to London, where he was appointed to the office of "the King's peculiar clerk," or Royal chaplain. In this office, he zealously supported the King in his resistance to the claim of the Holy See to an annual tribute of one thousand marks, and many years' arrears thereof, in virtue of a right of suzerainty conferred by King John on Pope Innocent III. For his services in the matter, Wycliffe was rewarded, in April 1374, with the rich benefice of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, which he held until his death, ten years later, notwithstanding his invectives against the possessions of the clergy. He also gained powerful friends, including the King's third son, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, with whom he was associated, in the summer of the same year, in a Royal commission, which met the Papal nuncios at Bruges, to discuss the questions pending between England and the Holy See.

The circulation of Wycliffe's writings was necessarily restricted, as, at that period, some sixty years before the invention of printing, the copies could be multiplied only by the tedious labour of the transcriber. Nevertheless, by their boldness and novelty, they excited much attention and interest among the educated classes; and, for the same reasons, his preaching was eagerly listened to by numerous congregations, composed of rich and poor.

In 1377, Wycliffe was summoned by Sudbury the Lord Primate, and Courtenay Bishop of London, to appear before them, to answer for his erroneous doctrines. They assembled a synod at Saint Paul's for the occasion, when he appeared, accompanied by the Duke of Lancaster, and Lord Percy Earl Marshal, who

[1] In one of his sermons, he calls the Pope "Anti-Christ, the worldly and arrogant priest of Rome, and an extortioner."

evidently attended in order to overawe the prelates. In the course of the proceedings, whilst the bishops maintained a tone of courtesy and dignity, Lancaster and Percy treated them in so overbearing and insulting a manner, that the populace rose in anger, and the nobles were compelled to seek safety in flight. Lancaster's palace of the Savoy, moreover, was attacked and plundered. Thus the synod broke up without any result.

Towards the close of the same year, eighteen propositions, taken from the writings of Wycliffe, were laid before Pope Gregory XI., who directed the Primate and the Bishop of London to proceed juridically against him. Wycliffe, on citation, appeared before them, in synod at Lambeth, in March 1378, and submitted a written statement, again and again amended, in which he so altered, and, with many subtle arguments, so explained away, his doctrines, that he escaped with a reprimand, and a caution to avoid such ambiguous language in future.[1] Thenceforward, assuming a garb of poverty, he occupied himself in organizing a body of "poor priests," with whom he went about the country, declaiming against the wealth of the clergy, and the distinction of rich and poor, and attacking several of the doctrines of the Church. These proceedings tended to promote and to intensify the insurrection of the Commons, A.D. 1381, in which Archbishop Sudbury was murdered, and which, for a short period, filled England with so much alarm.

Peace having been re-established, Courtenay, who had been translated from the see of London to that of Canterbury, in succession to the murdered Primate, convoked a synod, consisting of eight bishops and

[1] The following is an example of Wycliffe's evasive explanations to the synod: When questioned as to his declaration that "Charters of perpetual inheritance are impossible, and that God Himself could not give to man civil possessions for ever," he replied, that by the words "for ever," he meant "after the day of judgment."

fourteen doctors, at the convent of the Dominicans at Blackfriars, on the 21st of May, 1382, in which four-and-twenty opinions of Wycliffe and his followers were condemned—ten as heretical, and fourteen as erroneous and dangerous to faith.[1] Wycliffe appealed for protection to his patron, the Duke of Lancaster; but the application was rejected by that prince, whose eyes were now fully opened to the evil results of his teaching. Immediately afterwards, by a Royal ordinance, he was deprived of his professorship of divinity at Oxford, expelled the University, and prohibited from preaching; and all his writings were seized, and handed over to the Primate. On the urgent advice of Lancaster, he submitted to the authorities, at a Synod at Oxford, November 18th–24th, 1382, and made his profession of faith, in presence of the Primate and the Bishops of London, Hereford, Lincoln, Norwich, Salisbury, and Worcester; on which he retired to his rectory at Lutterworth, where, two years later, he was stricken down by paralysis, and closed his eventful career, December 28th, 1384.

Wycliffe made a new translation of the Bible into English, which cannot be regarded as of any value for theological purposes, as he was ignorant of the Greek and Hebrew languages. His version of the New Testament from the Latin of the Vulgate, however, published in 1731, and again in 1810, is interesting, as a specimen of the English language five centuries ago. That of the Old Testament lay by in manuscript until the year 1850, when it first appeared in print.[2] It is not to be supposed that Wycliffe's was the first English version of the entire Holy Scriptures. Sir Thomas More tells us, in his Dialogues, that "the hole byble was long

[1] June 1382. During the celebration of this synod, London was visited by an earthquake, which Wycliffe asserted was an indication of God's anger, at the persecution of himself and his followers.

[2] Wycliffe's version of the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha, edited by the Reverend J. Forshall and Sir F. Madden, Oxford University Press, 1850, four volumes, 4to.

before Wickliffe's days by vertuous and wel learned men translated into the English tong, and by good and godly people with devotion and soberness wel and reverently red." [1]

Wycliffe's principal work, the "Trialogus," in Latin, is a series of conversations between Truth, Falsehood, and Wisdom—*Alithia, Pseustis, Phronesis.* It consists of four books and a supplement. The first book treats of God and Ideas; the second, of the World, Immortality, the Angels, and Predestination; the third, of Virtues, Vices, and the Saviour;—the fourth, of the Sacraments, the Endowment of the Clergy, the Friars, and the Four Last Things; and the supplement discusses the Endowment of the Church, and the Pope, "the fountain of all the wickedness existing in the Church!" The "Trialogus" is by some supposed to have been written between the years 1372 and 1377, and by others as late as 1381 and 1382.[2] It contains the greater part of Wycliffe's errors.

Throughout all his works, his style is characterized by subtle distinctions and qualifications, carried to such an extent, that it is often difficult to arrive at his exact meaning. Prominent among his tenets, is the cardinal error of all the Reformers—that not the authority of the Church, but each individual's own private judgment, is the true rule of faith. Then, there is the doctrine, that everything, whether good or evil, happens by a law of necessity; and that not only the creature, but even the Creator Himself, is subject to this law!

[1] More, Dialog. iii. 14. See, on this subject further, chapter xxx., "The Art of Printing and the Bible, before the Reformation."

[2] The first edition of the "Trialogus" was that of 1525, in the original Latin; but neither the name of the printer, nor the place of printing, is given in the title-page or at the end of the volume. The second edition was printed at Frankfort and Leipsic, in 1753, *impensis Io. Gottl. Vierlingii.* Both are in 4to. The edition used here is that of Professor Lechler of Leipsic, published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1869: viz. "Joannis Wiclif Trialogus, cum Supplemento Trialogi. Illum recensuit, hoc primum edidit, utrumque commentario critico instruxit Gotthardus Lechler," &c.

Next follow, in logical sequence, the denial of Free Will, and the pernicious doctrine of absolute Predestination, afterwards the leading tenet of Calvinism.

He admits the seven Sacraments; but, as regards the Eucharist, he adopts a doctrine of Consubstantiation, similar to that afterwards professed by Luther—namely, that, after consecration, the body of Christ is present in the Sacrament, the bread still remaining.[1] On the marriage contract, he writes diffusely; but he is far from clear; nay, sometimes unintelligible.[2]

According to Wycliffe, the Church was all that could be desired, in doctrine and discipline, the first one thousand years; but after that time, he affirms, the great dragon of the Apocalypse was loosed, scattering from his tail the new mendicant orders, and immediately a lamentable change for the worse took place. The working clergy, such as his own "poor priests," preaching the Gospel, he lauds as the true ministers of religion, while he speaks of "Popes, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Officials, Deans, Monks, Canons, False Friars, recently introduced, and Questors," as "the twelve classes of the procurators of Anti-Christ, who, under the appearance of clergy, plot against the Church of Christ."[3]

Finally, adopting the views of the Waldensian heretics, he authoritatively affirms, that a bishop or a priest in a state of grievous sin cannot ordain, or consecrate, or baptize; that it is contrary to Holy Scripture that ecclesiastics should possess temporal goods; and that the forfeiture of all goods is the penalty of treason, sin is treason against God, and therefore those who are in a state of sin, whether Pope or Bishop or Temporal Prince, should be deprived of all authority and property

[1] "Trialogus," iv. 4. "Et non dubium etiam laico idiotæ, quin sequitur, 'iste panis est corpus *Christi*, ergo iste *panis est* et per consequens *manet panis*, et sic *simul* est panis et corpus Christi.'" See also ibid. iv. 27.

[2] Ibid., iv. 20, 22.

[3] Ibid., iv. 26.

—truly an acceptable doctrine to socialists, nihilists, and the other foes of property, law and order, to be found in all ages!

Wycliffe's doctrine and writings, which had previously been condemned in synods held in England, Bohemia, and Paris, and in the Council of Rome under John XXIII., were examined, in its eighth session, by the General Council of Constance, and forty-five articles thereof were solemnly condemned, on the 4th of May 1415, or thirty years after his death. His errors had found their way into Bohemia and other states of Continental Europe, through certain German youths who had made their studies in Oxford. These errors were ardently received and propagated by John Hus or Huss and his zealous co-operator, Jerome of Prague, both of whom added heretical doctrines of their own. Those innovators had powerful and cordial supporters in the Bohemian nobles, who were but too anxious to get possession of the wealth of the clergy. Huss was born, of humble parentage, at Hussinetz in Bohemia, in 1369, and by his unaided talents had raised himself to the high position of Rector of the University of Prague. He is said to have first become acquainted with Wycliffe's tenets in 1391; and to have been a ready proselyte to them. He translated the "Trialogus" into Bohemian, and preached its contents to the people. Jerome of Prague, Professor of Divinity in the same university, had become imbued with Wycliffe's opinions, by copying some of that heresiarch's works, during his sojourn in England. These he propagated as zealously as his master, Huss. Both were denounced to the General Council of Constance, A.D. 1414, as innovators and teachers of errors in faith. Summoned to appear before the Council, Huss attended, having obtained the Emperor Sigismund's safe-conduct, from Prague to Constance and back, under date Spires, October 18th, 1414. On his arrival at Constance, he began to preach his errors; and, for thus disturbing the public peace

and disseminating heresy, he was arrested and imprisoned. The Emperor was appealed to against this arrest, as a breach of the Imperial safe-conduct; but, as Huss had brought it on himself, the appeal was disregarded. The schedule of thirty heretical propositions, taken from his work, "Tractatus de Ecclesia," was served upon him, and he was allowed ample time to prepare his defence.

On the 6th, 7th, and 8th of June 1415, Huss appeared before the council, acknowledged his writings, but finally refused to retract his errors. On the 6th of July, he was again arraigned, in the eighteenth general session; and, as he continued obstinate, he was sentenced to be degraded from the priestly office, and to be handed over to the civil power. The ceremony of degradation having been carried out, he was, by the Emperor's command, transferred to the custody of the magistrates of Constance, by whom he was sentenced to be burned alive—the penalty at that time inflicted, by the Germanic law, for obstinacy in the open profession of heresy. He displayed remarkable firmness and self-possession at the stake, and was speedily suffocated by the dense smoke. After the execution, his ashes were thrown into the Rhine.

The Emperor has been severely censured for not having respected his safe-conduct in the case of John Huss; but the former's apologists argue that he had given Huss only a free and safe passage to and fro, but had not guaranteed him against the consequences of his conviction. Indeed, in the general session of the Council on the 7th of June, Sigismund cautioned Huss that his safe-conduct could not interfere, in any way, with the sentence of the Council. "I have fulfilled my promise in your regard," said he: "should you now persevere in your errors, the Council has its own rights and laws, by which its proceedings must be governed. I would rather prepare the wood for your burning,

than protect your errors. So the sooner you retract the better."

Jerome of Prague was condemned by the Council, in the same manner, was handed over to the civil power, and suffered on the 30th of May 1416.

It is not surprising that some of the tenets set forth, in exciting language, by Wycliffe and his "poor priests," in their continuous harangues from the pulpit and the platform in England, and by Huss, Jerome of Prague, and others of the same school, in various parts of the Continent, should have borne fruit, in the tumults and domestic wars of the period. We have seen how Wycliffe taught and preached, that Temporal Sovereigns in a state of mortal sin should be deprived of all possessions and authority. But Wycliffe himself was outdone in this direction by some of his leading disciples. Thus, among the doctrines of Huss, we find the following proposition condemned in the fifteenth session of the General Council of Constance: "Lawfully and meritoriously, any tyrant can be, and ought to be, killed by any vassal or subject of his, even by means of secret ambush and subtle blandishment or adulation, notwithstanding any oath or pact made with him, without awaiting the sentence or mandate of any judge whomsoever."[1]

From such examples, we may comprehend the motives of what naturally appears to us, in modern times, to have been the unduly severe action of the civil power, in dealing with obstinate heretics, convicted, and handed over to its jurisdiction, by the ecclesiastical tribunals. As observed elsewhere, in order to judge of the policy of such legislation, we must take into account

[1] "Quilibet tyrannus potest et debet licite et meritorie occidi per quemcumque vassallum suum vel subditum, etiam per clanculares insidias, et subtiles blanditias vel adulationes, non obstante quocumque præstito juramento seu confederatione factis cum eo, non expectata sententia vel mandato judicis cujuscumque."

the circumstances, exigencies, and usages of a remote age.

Wycliffe has been styled, by his admirers, "the morning star of the Reformation"—and justly so, from their standpoint; for in his writings are to be found nearly all the new doctrines introduced by Luther, Calvin, and the other innovators of the Sixteenth Century, whose lives and actions will form the subject of the next two chapters.

CHAPTER XXII.

LUTHER AND THE GREAT PROTESTANT SECESSION.

"And was there not religion when the Church
Was one—a common mother—loved and feared,
When haughty souls rejoiced to bear her yoke,
When all those grand monastic piles were reared?"
—ADA CAMBRIDGE.

THE great Protestant secession has been perhaps the heaviest blow sustained by the Church since her foundation. Of the several defections, too, not excepting even the Greek schism, it has been the most rapid in its development.

Its author, Martin Luther, was born of humble parentage at Eisleben, in the county of Mansfeldt in Saxony, on the 10th of November, 1483. In 1501 he was placed by his father in the University of Erfurt, in order that he might qualify himself for the profession of the law. Here, in 1505, he took the degree of Master of Arts; and, showing but little taste for the legal profession, he devoted himself to the study of the Aristotelian philosophy. About this time, a startling event occurred which changed the whole current of his life. As he was walking one day in a meadow with a friend named Alexis, the latter was struck dead at his side by a flash of lightning. Luther on the spot formed a resolution—some say he made a vow—to dedicate the remainder of his life to God. On the 17th of July, 1505, he privately left the University at nightfall, and begged for admission into the convent of the Augustinian Hermits at Erfurt. Here he was cordially re-

ceived; and in 1507 he made his religious profession, and was ordained a priest. The following year, on the recommendation of Staupitz, the provincial of the Augustinians in that district, he was appointed by Frederick, Elector of Saxony, to the professorship of philosophy in the newly established University of Wittenberg, where he lectured with marked success. So high did he stand in the estimation of his superiors, that in 1510 he was sent, with another brother, on the affairs of the order to Rome. Arriving within sight of the city, he cast himself on his knees, and exclaimed, "Hail, Holy Rome, city sanctified by the blood of the martyrs!"[1] But this devotion did not last long, as will presently be seen. In 1512, he received the Doctor's cap, alluding to which he says, "I was obliged to take the degree of Doctor, and to promise on oath that I would faithfully and without adulteration preach the Holy Scriptures which are so dear to me."

In his preaching, ere long, Luther became remarkable for his propensity to novelties; and he showed himself a strenuous opponent of the system of scholastic theology,[2]

[1] This he tells us himself: "Anno 1510, cum primum civitatem inspicerem, in terram prostratus dicebam: Salve sancta Roma."

[2] The Scholastic Theology, based, as regards its machinery, or reasoning process, on the system of Aristotle, prevailed extensively in the Middle Ages. Its method was, to reduce all theology to one single body, distributing the questions in order, so that one should tend to throw light on another, and the whole should be made a system, connected, consecutive, and complete. It observed in its reasoning the rules of logic, made use of the notions of metaphysics, and reconciled, as far as possible, faith with reason, and religion with philosophy. Its followers were called Scholastics or Schoolmen; but some of them, not content with proceeding judiciously after the example of Saint Thomas, entered into many nice and speculative points, in themselves unimportant, and having but little or no bearing on theology. So far was this abuse carried, that Gregory IX. and other Popes were obliged to interfere and recall the disputants from their extravagant departures outside the legitimate domain of theological discussion. Peter Lombard is generally regarded as the founder of this school, although, to a considerable extent, it existed before his time. He was a Doctor of Paris, and bishop of that city from 1159 to his death in 1164. He is known as the "Master of the Sentences," from his having established a system

of which the great Dominican, Saint Thomas of Aquino, had been so illustrious a Doctor.[1]

Pope Julius II., who governed the Church, A.D. 1503–1513, being anxious to rebuild the basilica of Saint Peter on a magnificent scale, published a Bull, granting indulgences in certain countries of Europe to all the faithful who, being truly penitent and having confessed their sins and received the Blessed Eucharist, would contribute money towards this great work. In 1517, his immediate successor Leo X. extended these

of theology, in which he supported the various subjects with "sentences," or passages from the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers. He was followed by several theologians, who wrote elaborate "Commentaries on the Master of the Sentences." There were two great divisions of the Schoolmen—the *Thomists* or the followers of Saint Thomas of Aquino, and the *Scotists* or disciples of John Duns Scotus. The latter was called *Scotus*, as being a native of Scotland or Ireland, although it is generally thought that he was born in the village of Dunstane in Northumberland. He entered the Franciscan order, taught divinity at Oxford, and subsequently established himself in Paris, where he died in 1308, at the early age of thirty-four. He was called the "Subtle Doctor." Saint Thomas will be spoken of fully in the next note. These two opposed schools both adopted the Peripatetic or Aristotelian system in questions of philosophy. In theology, Duns Scotus and his followers, including the whole Franciscan order, strenuously maintained the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which, being then an open question, undefined by the Church, was denied by the Dominicans. Beyond this, the points of dispute between the two schools were on problematical questions of little consequence.

[1] Saint Thomas of Aquino was born in 1227, of the ancient family of the Counts of Aquino, in Campania in the kingdom of Naples. In 1243 he entered the order of the Dominicans, or Friars Preachers. At Cologne, he studied under the celebrated Albertus Magnus. Here he combined assiduous application to his studies with the most edifying holiness of life; and his silence and love of retirement were such that his fellow-students called him "the dumb Sicilian ox." On hearing this, his distinguished master, who had already become acquainted with his wondrous capacity and genius, exclaimed, "He is an ox, whose bellowings will one day resound throughout the universe!" In 1257, Thomas received a doctor's cap in Paris, where he lectured and preached with great distinction, and where Saint Louis frequently invited him to his court. Pope Clement IV. offered him the Archbishopric of Naples; but he shrank from so great a burthen, and prayed to be excused by His Holiness. On his way to the Second General Council of Lyons, to which he had been summoned by Gregery

indulgences to Germany. The publication thereof was entrusted by the Pope to the Elector Albert, Archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, and Administrator of the diocese of Halberstadt. Albert appointed John Tetzel of Leipsic, a leading member of the Dominican order, to preach the indulgences in his extensive dioceses. The preference of the Dominicans was a cause of no small offence to the Augustinians; especially to Staupitz their provincial, and his favourite, Luther, who, in the spirit of their holy institute, ought to have been above such small jealousies, and certainly ought to have avoided the grave scandals which arose from the intemperate expression of their disappointment on the occasion.[1]

It was asserted that some of the subordinates, called questors, employed by Tetzel were guilty of abuses, not confining themselves to the churches, but going into the streets and public places, "to push the sale of

X., Saint Thomas was seized with his last illness, and closed his labours and holy life at the Cistercian Abbey of Fossa Nova, in the diocese of Terracina, on the 7th of March, 1274, in his forty-eighth year. Saint Thomas's works are most voluminous; and when one takes into account his labours in preaching and discharging other duties devolving on him, it is a subject of wonder how in twenty years one man could have written so much. His style has been well described as "characterized by a vast and profound genius, exquisite judgment, admirable clearness, and unique precision. Whether in establishing the truths of faith, or replying to difficulties raised, it is very rarely one can observe that anything could be added to what he has said." Such was his facility in writing, that he used to dictate to his secretaries on three or four subjects at the same time. This great theologian and saint was styled "the Angelical Doctor," "the Eagle of Theologians," and "the Angel of the Schools." His works have run through several editions, in Rome, Antwerp, Venice, and Paris, ranging from seventeen to twenty-three volumes folio, and twenty-eight volumes quarto. The abridgment of his theological works, called the *Summa Theologica*, is held in the greatest esteem down to the present day, and stands high in the favour of His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., by whose command a new edition of all Saint Thomas's writings is being prepared by a commission of the Dominican Fathers in Rome.

[1] Up to this time the preaching of Indulgences had always been confided to the Augustinian order, who consequently now felt the more its being entrusted to the Dominicans.

indulgences," that they imposed upon the credulity of the ignorant people, and that a considerable portion of the money so obtained found its way into their own pockets—that, in fact, the intentions of the Holy See were shamefully perverted to private ends.[1] It was further affirmed that in some of the sermons heterodox opinions, absurdities, and even impieties were advanced by the preachers. All these statements, however, it may be well to add, mainly rest on non-Catholic authorities.

That there were abuses, there can be little doubt, as there must have been very great laxity of morals, and the necessary consequence, weakening of faith, amongst the clergy, especially in Germany. This may be inferred from the fact of so many shortly afterwards abandoning the Church of which they were ministers, to profess the doctrines of the innovators. In taking so momentous a step they appear to have been mainly influenced by the action of their temporal rulers, in whose hands were all the power and wealth and patronage, and each of whom within his own dominions usurped the place of the Vicar of Christ, and constituted himself, by a novel instantaneous process, the Chief Bishop of his own subjects, the politically limited Visible Head of the Church.[2]

The German princes, moreover, had already expressed themselves strongly opposed to, and had passed measures to prevent, or at least to restrict, the contemplated extensive "sale of indulgences," which would withdraw so much money from their several States.

It is necessary here to say a few words on the Catholic doctrine of Indulgences, about which much misconception and misrepresentation have long existed,

[1] The office of questor was abolished by the Council of Trent.

[2] In the Confession of Basle, it is written, with reference to the opposing false, and defending true, doctrine: "Hoc officium gentili magistratui commendatum esse debet, *ut vero Dei Vicario.*" "This office ought to be entrusted to the national magistracy, as *the true Vicar of God.*"

and still prevail. Indeed, even in our day, an indulgence is sometimes spoken of, possibly in good faith, by non-Catholic authors, as "a remission of sin, on payment of a sum of money;" or, again, as "a permission from the Pope to commit sin!"[1]

Now, the Catholic belief is, that, when a sinner has obtained from God, in the sacrament of Penance, the remission of his guilt and of the punishment which otherwise would be inflicted on him in the next world, he is obliged, as a rule, to satisfy God's justice by suffering a temporal punishment. Thus, when King David repented of his sins of homicide and adultery, and confessed them to the prophet, those sins were forgiven, as regarded their guilt, and their penal consequences to him in the next life; but a temporal punishment was inflicted on him, in the death of his newly born child: "And David said to Nathan: I have sinned against the Lord. And Nathan said to David: The Lord also hath taken away thy sin: thou shalt not die. Nevertheless, because thou hast given occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, for this thing, the child that is born to thee shall surely die."[2]

Hence it is, that penances are enjoined by confessors, which generally consist, in modern times, of prayers or pious lectures, but which in the primitive ages were of extreme severity.[3] The ancient penances, proportioned to the gravity of the offences, extended in some cases

[1] Even Professor Ranke speaks of Indulgences as "forgiveness of sins to be purchased for money" ("History of the Popes," vol. i. p. 59. London, 1874, trans.).

[2] 2 Kings, ch. xii. v. 13, 14.

[3] In the penny "Catechism for general use," we read, that the Sacrament of Penance requires, on the part of the penitent, contrition, confession, and satisfaction. The last refers to the performance of the penance imposed, as a temporal punishment, to satisfy God's justice. With reference thereto, the Council of Trent enjoins, that "the priests of the Lord ought to endeavour to insure that the satisfaction which they impose should not only be a preservative for the future, and a remedy for the weakness of the sinner, but also a punishment and chastisement for the past" (Session 14, de Pœnitentia).

over several years; and, for such crimes as murder or adultery, over the remainder of the penitent's life. They consisted in exclusion from the church—the penitent remaining outside the church-door, in penitential garb, and, after some time, being admitted only for instructions, or for a certain portion of the service; and they further comprised a course of fasting and prayer in solitude, as prescribed by the penitential canons. The mitigations of these penances by the bishops were called indulgences, which were granted in consideration of some good work substituted for them, such, for instance, as alms, prayers, or pilgrimages.

In the course of time, commenced the usage of redeeming the duration of canonical penances, by sums of money contributed towards the building of a church, or for the defence of Christian populations against the Infidels, or by some other such work in the service of religion—a commutation which in each case should be prescribed by the ecclesiastical authorities. Again, contributing towards the cost of the Crusades, or taking part in them in person, was proposed by the Church as a condition of gaining indulgences. Thus, at the Council of Clermont, in 1095, Urban II. granted a plenary indulgence to all those who would take part in the Crusade: that is, he superadded to a sincere confession of their sins, and a worthy reception of the Blessed Eucharist, their aiding the expedition to liberate the Holy Land from the yoke of the Mahometan oppressor. Here, the sums of money which they would contribute, or the labours, hardships, and dangers which they would voluntarily undergo, in co-operating in the enterprise, were substituted for the usual canonical penances.

Indulgences are divided into partial and plenary—the former remitting as much temporal punishment as would be expiated by a stated number of days or years, of the ancient canonical penances, and the latter remitting *all* the temporal punishment incurred by the recipient's sins.

In conclusion, as will, I trust, be clear from the foregoing statement, an Indulgence, according to Catholic doctrine, is not "a remission of sin," but simply a remission of the *temporal* punishment due to sin, after its guilt and its consequent punishment in the next life have been remitted in the sacrament of Penance.[1]

Luther did not confine himself to condemning the alleged abuses of the preachers of indulgences and the questors; but he inveighed against the practice and the doctrine of the Church on Indulgences generally. It was on the 31st of October, 1517, that he affixed to the church door of the Castle of Wittenberg his celebrated ninety-five propositions on Indulgences, which were received with acclamation by his numerous followers, and were widely circulated all over Germany. These propositions were set forth, not as incontestable doctrine, but as points which he submitted for discussion, in order to elucidate the truth.[2] They called forth many written replies, of which the principal were *Tridui Labor*, the "Three Days' Labour" of the Roman Dominican, Sylvester Prierias, a treatise in German, "On Indulgences and Grace" by the Dominican Tetzel, the "Obelisci" (notes on Luther's propositions marked with obelisks) of the learned John Eck, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt,[3] and several treatises by Hochstraten, a Dominican of Cologne. Luther replied to all; and, when full allowance has

[1] It is the Catholic belief, further, that there is a middle state after death, in which some of the souls of the departed are detained, for a time, to suffer the *temporal* punishment due to their sins, already remitted by penance, and that, in this state, the suffering souls may be aided by prayers, indulgences gained, and other good works, offered up as suffrages on their behalf by their friends on earth.

[2] Luther's own words prefixed to the propositions are as follow: "Amore et studio elucidandæ veritatis hæc subscripta themata disputabuntur VVittemburgæ, præsidente R. P. Martino Luthero, Eremitano Augustiniano, artium et S. Theologiæ magistro, ejusdem ibidem ordinario lectore."

[3] Luther's reply to Eck, in the same form of notes is termed "Asterisci."

been made for his excitable temperament and the proverbial heat of religious controversy, even his followers at this day must admit, that his language was far removed from the spirit of decorum and gravity demanded by the nature of the subjects under discussion.

For instance, alluding to Prierias, he says, "Should the Pope and cardinals not silence this mouthpiece of Satan, and compel him to retract, I hereby declare that I will separate from the Roman Church, and renounce her with the Pope and cardinals, as an abomination standing in the holy place. . . . Now farewell, unhappy, lost, and blasphemous Rome. The wrath of God has come upon thee, as thou hast deserved, in the end; and, notwithstanding the prayers offered up for thee, thou didst incline to become, every day, only worse. We have taken care of Babylon, and she is not healed. Therefore we abandon her, that she may become the habitation of dragons, hobgoblins, ghosts, she-devils, and, after her name, eternal confusion—full to the mouth with the perfidious idols of avarice, apostates, robbers, abortions, and endless other monsters, as it were, a new Pantheon of impiety."[1] A strange medley, this, of menace and abuse poured out against the Church and its Visible Head, whom he had, a short time previously, so reverently approached! And what was its cause? Namely, that the Pope and cardinals would not silence an orthodox writer who had ventured to confute his heterodox propositions on Indulgences!

Notwithstanding these and other similar outbursts, so grossly insulting to the Holy See, Luther, as a measure of prudence, decided, in his cooler moments, to present his propositions and their defence to the Pope.

[1] Luther, "Opera Omnia," vol. i. p. 63. Jenæ, 1564. Melancthon, who was pained and disedified by Luther's intemperate language, on this and other occasions, expresses himself, as follows, on the subject in a letter to Erasmus: "Quem quidem virum ego meliorem esse judico quam qualis videtur facienti de eo judicium ex illis violentis scriptionibus ipsius" (Epistola ad Erasmum, inter Epistolas ad Camerarium, p. 90).

The tone of his letter was most submissive; and he prayed for an investigation of the whole controversy. He concluded as follows: "Wherefore, Most Blessed Father, I offer myself, prostrate at the feet of Your Holiness, with all that I am and have. Bid me live, slay me, call, recall, approve, condemn, as it may please you. I acknowledge your voice, as the voice of Christ, presiding and speaking in you."[1]

His course of action, however, was quite at variance with these professions; for ere long he began to teach, both in preaching and writing, doctrines quite opposed to Catholic dogma; such as, that man is altogether deprived of free-will by the fall of Adam, that faith alone is sufficient for salvation, and that of their own nature our best works are grievous sins.

Leo now found it necessary to interfere more actively, and he cited Luther to Rome.[2] At the request of the Elector Frederick, however, the citation was so far altered as to require only his appearance before the Imperial Diet of Augsburg, to meet there the Papal Legate, Cardinal Cajetan, one of the greatest theologians of the age. The cardinal received him with kindness, but, acting on instructions, he refused to enter into any discussion with him, and demanded an unconditional retractation. Although Luther professed submission and obedience to the Church, nothing came of the conference; and, apprehensive of some design on his person, he withdrew by stealth from the city, on the 20th of October, declaring that he appealed "from the Pope not well informed to the Pope to be better informed" (*"a Papa non bene informato ad Papam melius informandum"*).[3]

[1] Ibid., i. 75 b. This letter is dated Trinity Sunday, 1518. "Quare, beatissime pater, prostratum me pedibus tuæ beatitudinis, offero, cum omnibus quæ sum et habeo. Vivifica, occide, voca, revoca, approba, reproba, ut placuerit. Vocem tuam vocem Christi, in te præsidentis et loquentis, agnoscam. Die S. Trinitatis, Anno 1518."

[2] August 7, 1518.

[3] Luther, "Opera," i. 195.

On the 9th of November following, Leo issued his Bull *Cum postquam*, fully explaining the doctrine of Indulgences, in order that no one might have the excuse of being ignorant on the subject. In it he declared that the Roman Pontiff has full power of granting, for reasonable causes, to the faithful who have been absolved in the sacrament of Penance, indulgences for the remission of the temporal punishment incurred by their sins, and that these indulgences may apply to the suffering souls in Purgatory, as well as to those living upon earth.

Leo X. was perhaps ill qualified to deal with such a crisis. A munificent patron of the fine arts, an encourager and promoter of polite literature, "the restorer," as he was styled, "of the Augustan age," he was wanting in those qualities which distinguished a Gregory VII., or an Innocent III., and which, judiciously exerted, would probably have prevented, or circumscribed to narrow limits, the evils resulting to the Church from Luther's revolt.

On the Pontiff's making a final effort to restore the peace of the Church, by a mandate to the heads of the Augustinian Order to restrain their unruly subject, Luther addressed an insulting letter to His Holiness, along with which he sent him his tract on Christian Liberty, which, full as it was of heterodox opinions, was dedicated to Leo himself!

The few following extracts will give the reader an idea of the tone of the whole lengthy letter: "Neither can you, nor can any man deny, that your See, which is called the Roman Curia, is more corrupt than any Babylon or Sodom. . . . Meanwhile you, Leo, are seated as a lamb in the midst of wolves, as Daniel amidst the lions, and dwell as Ezechiel among scorpions. . . . For what do you in your curia effect, my Leo, unless, that the more wicked and the more execrable each one is, so much the more easily does he use your name and authority, to destroy the means and souls of men, to multiply crimes, to oppress faith and truth,

with the whole Church of God. Oh, verily, most unhappy Leo, and seated on a most perilous throne! . . . Is it not true that under the vast heaven there is nothing more corrupt, more pestilential, more odious than the Roman Curia? For incomparably it surpasses the impiety of the Turks."[1] This extraordinary effusion was dated, Wittenberg, April 6, 1520.

On the 15th of June, following, as all more lenient measures had proved ineffectual, Leo published his Bull, *Exsurge Domine, et judica causam tuam.* In it he condemns forty-one propositions extracted from the writings of Luther, ordering his works to be burned wherever they were found, and excommunicating him, should he not retract his errors within sixty days.

Very different indeed was this important document, in style, tone and matter, from the effusions of the heresiarch who called it forth. In it there is not a word of intemperate anger or abuse. On the contrary, it is pervaded throughout by dignified forbearance, Christian charity, and a tone of paternal exhortation addressed from the loving heart of the Father of Christendom to his erring children, whom he would recall to peace and the communion of the Church.[2]

[1] The following is the original Latin of the above extracts from Luther's letter to Leo X.: "Sedem autem tuam, quæ curia Romana dicitur, quam neque tu neque ullus hominum potest negare corruptiorem esse quavis Babylone et Sodoma. . . . Interim tu, Leo, sicut agnus in medio luporum sedes, sicut Daniel in medio leonum, et cum Ezechiele, inter scorpiones habitas. . . . Quid enim facis in curia, mi Leo, nisi ut quo quisque est sceleratior et exoratior, eo felicius utatur tuo nomine et auctoritate, ad perdendas hominum pecunias et animas, ad multiplicanda scelera, ad opprimendam fidem et veritatem, cum tota Ecclesia Dei? O revera, infelicissime Leo, et periculosissimo sedens solio! . . . Nonne verum est sub vasto illo cœlo nihil est Romana curia corruptius, pestilentius, odiosius? Incomparabiliter enim Turcarum vincit impietatem" (Luther, "Opera," i. 433 b).

[2] This Bull, drawn up under the eye of Leo by an accomplished scholar, Cardinal Accolti, is equally to be admired for its classical Latinity, and the beautiful cadence of its every sentence. Erasmus pronounces it to be "truly Ciceronian, a pure, limpid stream throughout." "Quid enim nunc prædicem illum verum Tullianum orationis fluxum, ubique purum, limpidum," etc.

In the course of his Bull, Leo says: "But, as regards Luther himself, what, O Good God, have we neglected, what have we not done, what exertion of paternal charity have we omitted, that we might recall him from errors of the kind? For, after our citation, willing to proceed more leniently, we invited him, and exhorted him, as well by divers conferences held with our legate, as by our own letters, to abandon his aforesaid errors, or, without fear, without any apprehension, which ought to be excluded by perfect charity, to come to us, who had tendered him a safe-conduct and the money requisite for the journey, and, after the example of our Saviour and the Apostle Paul, to speak, not in secret, but openly and to our face. Which if he had done, assuredly, as we judge, entering into himself, he would have known his errors, nor would he have found so many faults in the Roman Curia, which he so vehemently abuses, from attaching too much weight to the vain rumours of the malevolent; and we should have taught him, more clearly than light, that the Holy Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors, whom he injuriously attacks beyond all observance of decorum, never erred in their canons or constitutions, which he strives to impugn. For neither balm nor the physician is wanting in Gilead."

So far was Luther from being influenced, as intended, by the Pope's action, that he issued immediately a rejoinder, "Against the execrable Bull of Antichrist," and also an elaborate defence of all his propositions condemned by the Pope. Both were dated 1st December, 1520, and were expressed in his usual forcible language.[1]

Luther next called together the students of the University and the inhabitants of Wittenberg, and in their presence burned the Papal Bull at the eastern gate of the city, together with the Books of the Canon Law, and the writings of Eck, Emser, and Prierias, his

[1] Luther, "Opera Omnia," i. 286 and 293.

principal opponents. This event took place on the 10th of December, 1520.

At this period, there were many circumstances which combined to favour Luther—such as the jealousy of Rome's influence entertained by the German Electoral Princes, who had inherited the feelings engendered by the former contests of the Popes and the Emperors; the fact that the principal Episcopal sees in Germany were filled by prelates who united in their persons the Ecclesiastical ruler and the secular prince; the great wealth of the German Church, the most largely endowed in Christendom; the reprehensible practice, condemned by the canons, of granting several prebends to one and the same person; the successful endeavours of the princely families to procure the appointment of their own connections to the episcopal and archiepiscopal sees; and the luxurious pomp of those prelates, painfully contrasting with the condition of the working clergy, who were, in several instances, compelled to resort to some trade, to supplement their small stipends, insufficient for their subsistence.[1] We must further take into account, as factors, Luther's proposal, or suggestion, that the sovereigns of the several States should take possession of the lands and other property of the monasteries suppressed in their dominions; the action of the younger Humanists, who arrayed themselves in hostility to the theologians of the Schools, and too often achieved, by ridicule and satire, what reasoning would in vain have attempted to effect;[2] and

[1] Janssen, "Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters," i. 601–604. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1883.

[2] The Humanists were so called, as cultivating "the humanities," *literæ humaniores*, or polite literature. They may be divided into two classes—the Elder and the Younger. The former originated in a new religious institute, the Brothers of Christian Life, encouraged by Popes Eugenius IV., Pius II., and Sixtus IV., A.D. 1431–1471; and numbering as pupils that eminent patron of learning and promoter of education, Cardinal Nicholas à Cusa, Rodolphus Agricola, "the second Virgil," and Thomas à Kempis, whose name is a household word in Christendom down to our day. Those great men and their numerous

finally the laxity of morals which but too generally prevailed.

Then, as the movement gained strength and development, under the fostering patronage of the civil power, a new combination of circumstances arose, to aid its further progress. First, the tone of exaggeration and invective in which Luther and his colleagues, in the pulpit and the press, assailed the Church and her ministers, had considerable effect among the masses; especially as the Catholics were debarred from replying to their strictures, by the violence of a dominant majority in several of the States. Next, while the books of the Lutherans were carefully printed, widely circulated, and preserved in all the libraries in Germany, the works of those who opposed them were seized, and destroyed. Again, a number of the monks, who had left their convents and married, entered the service of printers, and zealously laboured in publish-

associates, more than half a century before the time of Luther, availing themselves of the newly invented art of printing, brought the treasures of Greek and Latin classical literature and Hebrew lore, to the service of religion; and, whilst they successfully laboured in refining and elevating the tone of the Universities and Middle Schools, they effected no less good by the example of their edifying lives, and their devotion to the Church. They also opposed, invariably with due discretion, and without assailing the foundations of faith, any abuses or scandals arising in ecclesiastical life, or any invasion of the sanctuary by the secular princes. Their aims and character are happily described in the following words of Wimpheling, regarding Rodolphus Agricola: "Science and philosophy were but instruments in his hands for subduing his passions, and labouring with faith and prayer in that great work of God, the elevation of mankind." The Younger Humanists came some fifty years later; and, whilst they cultivated polite literature, they appear to have had but little respect for religion. Of these, the principal was Erasmus of Rotterdam. Although he always remained within the pale of the Church, that gifted scholar loved to indulge in a strain of exaggerating satire, when speaking of the ecclesiastics and monks of his day. Of this seemingly irresistible tendency he candidly pleads guilty: viz. "Ut ingenue, quod verum est, fatear, sum natura propensior ad jocos quam fortasse deceat, et linguæ liberioris quam nonnumquam expediat" (Lib. I. epist. 11). The example of so eminent a writer was contagious, especially among his numerous admirers.

ing the works of the Lutherans; whilst it was almost impossible for the Catholics to publish their replies in Germany. Indeed in the rare instances in which the latter succeeded, their books were very badly printed, and abounded in errors, omissions, and typographical blunders, the result of negligent indifference, if not of design; as may be seen in the few copies that have come down to our times.

The youthful Emperor, Charles V., now entered on the scene. Under his safe-conduct, in April, 1521, Luther attended the Imperial Diet of Worms, at which Charles presided. Pressed to retract his errors by the Chancellor, John Eck, he refused to do so. Urged by princes, bishops, and divines, to submit to the judgment of a General Council, he likewise refused.

Ordered to quit Worms, which he left on April 26th, Luther, on his journey, was seized on by a friendly party, and was carried off, "a willing prisoner," to the Castle of Wartburg, near Eisenach, where he remained in seclusion, under an assumed name, from May 1521 to March 1522.[1] On the 25th of May, 1521, an Imperial decree was read to the diet, placing him under the ban of the Empire, and was signed by the Emperor on the following day. By this decree, taking effect from the 15th of May, the date of the expiration of his safe-conduct, all persons were forbidden to harbour him, and were ordered to seize his person, and to deliver him up to the Imperial officers, to be dealt with according to law; all his works, whether written in Latin or German, were ordered to be burned, wherever they were found, in Germany and Belgium; and it was enjoined that all aid should be given to the Apostolic Commissioners in executing the decrees of the Holy See. Owing to the support and countenance extended to Luther by the Elector of Saxony and other German

[1] This friendly arrest was all arranged by Luther's patron, the Elector of Saxony.

princes, this enactment of outlawry against him was practically inoperative.

Meanwhile, in his seclusion in the Castle of Wartburg, which he used to speak of as his hermitage and his Patmos, Luther had strong misgivings about his proceedings; but, as he himself informs us, he rejected them as temptations of the Devil. During his ten months' sojourn here, he laboured assiduously at his translation of the Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek text into German, a colossal work, which has ever been regarded by his followers as a classic.[1] The idiom which he employed was the old Saxon German, "so masculine and attractive;" and, whilst fault has been found with his far from perfect knowledge of the Hebrew, his work is prized, "as a noble literary monument" by the whole German race.[2] The printers, too, were determined to do full justice to it, and completed it "with an elegance and beauty of type previously unknown." Yet the version was by no means faultless in the main essential of accuracy. The exposure of this, its weakest point, first devolved on Emser, an accomplished theologian, and, moreover, a scholar profoundly versed in the Greek and Hebrew languages.[3]

[1] Luther's translation of the New Testament was published complete, in September, 1522; and in November that year he commenced his version of the Old Testament, which he finished in 1530. The whole was revised and corrected in 1541, and again in 1545. He was assisted in the work by Melancthon.

[2] Audin's "Life of Luther," ii. 109.

[3] Jerome Emser, theologian, was born at Ulm in 1477. Having studied at Tubingen and Basle, he taught the humanities at Erfurt, and subsequently was appointed Professor of Canon Law in the University of Leipsic. George Duke of Saxony made him his secretary and preacher in the city of Dresden, and engaged him to write against Lutheranism, then beginning to spread in Germany. Emser, previously the friend of Luther, had several conferences with him, hoping to gain him back by friendly remonstrance; but, on these overtures failing, he proceeded vigorously to combat the new doctrines. Emser died at Leipsic, November 8, 1527. He was the author of several learned works. Among these were, "Reasons why Luther's Translation of the New Testament should be forbidden to the Faithful," Leipsic, 1523; reprinted with additions as "Annotations on the Translation of

He detected nearly fourteen hundred corruptions in the text, and numerous misrepresentations in the marginal notes."[1] To Emser's criticism, Luther's reply was invective. "I care not," said he, "for the Pontifical asses. They are unworthy to judge of my labours."[2] Nevertheless, aided by Melancthon, he proceeded to revise and amend his version, and published a new edition. But even this latter was not approved of by several of the most learned Protestants of the time, who pointed out many errors in the work.

More recently, Père Simon, who, however some of his opinions may be dissented from, must be admitted to have been a learned Hebraist and an acute Biblical critic, observes, that Luther understood Hebrew but indifferently, and that, notwithstanding, he accused Saint Jerome of being ignorant of that language—a charge which might more justly be made against himself. He further blames Luther for having undertaken a work, to which he could not devote the necessary time.

And Doctor Döllinger plainly states that, for the sake of the doctrine of Justification by Faith, "Luther deliberately and purposely gave a mistranslation of several passages in the Bible, and especially in the Epistles of Saint Paul, and that it was also to uphold this, his favourite dogma, that the great Reformer interpolated fanciful expressions of his own, that were

the New Testament," etc., Dresden, 1524; "German Translation of the New Testament, to be opposed to that of Luther," Dresden, 1527, Paris, 1630; and several other controversial treatises.

[1] Jer. Emser, "in Præf. Ann." apud Audin, ii. 111, 112: "Hunc fere libris, singulisque prope capitibus, Biblia falsasse, ac fere mille quadringentos errores hæreticos, mendaciaque occultavisse:" and, again, Seckendorf, "Commen. de Luth.," ibidem: "Ipsum non pauca de quibus in notis suis litigat Emserus mutâsse, supplevisse, aut quæ per errorem irrepserant sustulisse." Audin here gives several instances of these errors.

[2] Ibid. "Asinos pontificios non curo. Indigni enim sunt qui de laboribus meis judicent."

foreign to, and altogether undiscoverable in, the original text."[1]

Besides the translation of the New Testament, Luther, while at Wartburg, was engaged in writing several pamphlets against the Church, and in reply to his opponents—all published at Wittenberg and Basle in 1522.

On the death of Leo X., December 1, 1521, his successor Adrian VI. immediately addressed himself to the retrenchment of the expenses of the Papal court, and other salutary reforms of abuses, which had been greatly exaggerated by the enemies of the Holy See, hoping thus to withdraw the German populations from the new doctrines. But the movement had gone entirely beyond his control; so that, at the close of his brief pontificate, he observed, with his dying breath, September 14, 1523, "Alas, how sad is the condition of a Pope, who wishes to do good, but cannot!"

Clement VII., who reigned from November 1523 to January 1534, resolved, immediately on his accession, to deal with the distractions of the Church in a spirit of vigour commensurate with the crisis. He sent his legate Campeggio to the Diet of Nuremberg; but here the legate found the German princes far from favourable to the views of Rome. He therefore exerted himself in another quarter, and brought about an alliance between the previously mutually estranged princes of Austria and Bavaria in support of the Church;[2] but, on the other hand, the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the rulers of Prussia, Mecklenburg, Anhalt, and Mansfeld, united to support Luther.

Not long afterwards Clement committed a serious blunder in siding with Francis I. of France against the powerful monarch Charles V., when the Imperial aid and friendship were of so much consequence to the

[1] Döllinger, "The Church and the Churches," p. 297. London, 1862, Trans. See further, ibid., p. 321.

[2] June 5, 1524.

Church. Twice was Rome besieged, taken and plundered by Charles's forces, the Pope being made prisoner, and treated with marked indignity.

Ere long, Luther's novel theories, as set forth in his sermons and writings, especially in his tracts on Monastic Vows and the Abuse of Masses, were carried by his followers into practical effect. Several of his brethren of the Augustinians, and other friars, left their convents, declaring their religious vows to be null and void; and many of them took wives—a step naturally causing much surprise and disedification. Several of the secular clergy, too, followed the same course. Of these the most prominent was Andrew Carlstadt, Archdeacon of Wittenberg. This man, carried away by the excitement of passing events, became suddenly changed into a violent fanatic. He placed himself at the head of a riotous mob, who burst into the churches, committing gross excesses, overturning altars, and destroying holy pictures and statues. He further, assuming extraordinary ecclesiastical powers, released monks from their convents, and bade them marry, abolished auricular confession and fasting, and capped the climax by administering the Blessed Eucharist to all comers, whether in the state of grace or not![1]

Luther remonstrated, but in vain, with this unruly disciple. Yet the proceedings of Carlstadt and his

[1] Andrew Rodolph Carolstadt, or Carlstadt, whose true name was Bodenstein, was canon, archdeacon, and professor of Theology, at Wittenberg. He gave the doctor's cap to Luther, to whom he was closely bound by the ties of friendship. He shared the opinions of Berengarius, in denying the real presence. He was the first ecclesiastic in Germany who was publicly married. His disciples composed prayers for this occasion, to be sung at the nuptial mass. The first ran thus: "O God, who, after the blindness of the priests, hast deigned to confer on happy Carlstadt the grace to be the first who has the courage to take a wife, without having regard to the laws of the Papacy, we pray," etc. Such were the profanities of some of the self-called Reformers. Carlstadt died at Bâle, in want, in 1541. His several controversial works are held in little esteem by Protestants.

associates were only consistent with Luther's own teaching — his violent invectives against the Church, its visible Head, its bishops, and clergy, and his declaration that the time had come, not only to abolish monastic vows for ever, "but to punish with all severity those who make them, to destroy convents, abbeys, priories, and monasteries; and thus prevent those vows being ever again uttered."[1]

Then his leading principle of justification by faith alone, as he expounded it, when carried out to its inevitable conclusion, even although not so intended, must have had a most pernicious effect with such men. No doubt, the Lutheran doctrine is, that good works are the result and the sign of faith; so that justifying faith is never without good works. But how are we to understand the following propositions?

"As nothing justifies except faith, so nothing sins except unbelief."

"If in faith adultery could be committed, it would not be a sin."[2]

Again, in his treatise, "On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church," Luther says: "Thus then you see how rich the Christian or baptized man is, who, even though willing to lose his salvation by sins ever so great, cannot do so except he should refuse to believe; for no sins can damn him unless unbelief alone. . . . But contrition and the confession of sins, and then satisfaction, and all those practices devised by men will suddenly desert you, and render you more unhappy, if, forgetful of this Divine truth, you fill yourself up with them."[3]

[1] Lutheri "De Votis Monasticis Judicium," Opera ii. 477 b. Scriptum A.D. 1521.

[2] Lutheri "Disputationes," Opera i. 488 b. "Questio, utrum opera faciant ad justificationem?" "1. Ut nihil justificat nisi fides, ita nihil peccat nisi incredulitas." "10. Si in fide fieri potest adulterium, peccatum non esset."

[3] Luther. "De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiæ," Opera ii. 271. Scriptum A.D. 1520. "Ita vides quam dives sit homo Christianus sive

Further, he writes to Melancthon, on the 21st of August, 1521: "Be a sinner and sin boldly; but more boldly believe and rejoice in Christ, who is the conqueror of sin, of death, and of the world. To sin is our lot, as long as we are here. This life is not the habitation of justice; but we expect, says Peter, new heavens and a new earth, in which justice will dwell. It is sufficient that through the riches of the glory of God we have known the Lamb, who taketh away the sins of the world. Sin cannot separate us from Him, even though a thousand times—a thousand times in one day—we should commit fornication or murder."[1] Here, indeed, is a convenient doctrine, likely to make many proselytes among men of loose morals and practical infidelity—a numerous class, it must be admitted, in Luther's day!

It cannot, then, be a matter of surprise to us to hear from a learned German ecclesiastic of the present day, that "the grand 'acquisition' of the Reformation, the Protestant 'Justification' doctrine, is now abandoned by the most distinguished theologians as 'untenable,' and by the exegetists branded as 'unbiblical.'"[2]

It was in the year 1523 that Luther published his remarkable work on "The Secular Magistracy," which was levelled against all authority, and which so inflamed the peasantry, that a large portion of Germany was convulsed by their excesses. He had, in the com-

baptizatus, qui etiam volens non potest perdere salutem suam quantiscunque peccatis, nisi nolit credere. Nulla enim peccata eum possunt damnare, nisi sola incredulitas. . . Contritio autem et peccatorum confessio, deinde et satisfactio, et omnia illa hominum excogitata studia, subito te deserent, et infeliciorem reddent, si oblitus veritatis hujus divinæ in ipsis tete distenderis."

[1] "Esto peccator et pecca fortiter; set fortius fide et gaude in Christo, qui victor est peccati, mortis, et mundi. Peccandum est quamdiu hic sumus. Vita hæc non est habitatio justitiæ; sed expectamus, ait Petrus, cœlos novos et terram novam, in quibus justitia habitabit. Sufficit quod agnovimus, per divitias gloriæ Dei, Agnum qui tollit peccata mundi: ab hoc non avellet nos peccatum, etiamsi millies, millies uno die, fornicemur aut occidamus." See Audin, i. 219.

[2] Döllinger, "The Church and the Churches," p. 322.

mencement of his public career, called for the extermination of Pope, cardinals, and bishops. He now violently inveighed against all political rulers. In this treatise, he writes: "Princes are of the world, and the world is alien from God; inasmuch as they live according to the world, and against the law of God. Be not astonished, therefore, by their furious fighting against the Gospel, for they cannot act contrary to their own nature. From the beginning of the world, a wise and prudent prince has been a *rara avis*, and an honest and upright prince still more rare. They are generally the greatest fools, or the very worst scoundrels living under the sun.[1] . . . Trust them not, my good people."

The feuds of the peasants and nobles had existed before the time of Luther. We read of risings of the former against their "tyrants" in Flanders and along the banks of the Rhine and the Moselle, in 1492. But they had been reduced to submission by the prompt and energetic measures of their spiritual and temporal lords.

All their animosity was now intensified and roused into fatal activity; and this, to a considerable extent, by the language of "the great Reformer," whose doctrines, oral and written, were so enthusiastically received and so widely circulated throughout Germany. That language was enlarged on, to a startling degree, by Carlstadt, Strauss, Muntzer, chief of the "Conquering Anabaptists," and other unruly followers of Luther.[2]

The Black Forest, Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia, and the Palatinate, were the chief scenes of the Peasants' war. It was not without great slaughter that the

[1] "Ab initio mundi rara avis in terra fuit princeps prudentia pollens; multo rarior probus princeps. Ut plurimum, vel maximi sunt moriones, vel nebulones omnium qui sub sole vivunt pessimi." This book on "The Secular Magistracy" was written by Luther, against an Imperial decree prohibiting the circulation of his version of the New Testament, and ordering its suppression. The Emperor's example in this matter was followed by other princes.

[2] Audin, "Life of Luther," vol. ii. chap. 10.

authorities succeeded in suppressing this fanatical outbreak—the numbers slain being computed at not less than one hundred thousand.[1] In the first instance, Luther had by his writings excited the peasants against the bishops, priests, and Catholic princes; but when he found that the ignorant people, assembling in vast numbers, made no distinction, but assailed with equal animosity the Protestant rulers, who so warmly supported the new doctrines, he completely changed his tone, and called on the sovereigns of Hesse, Brunswick, and Saxony to exterminate "those murdering and pillaging peasants." In his "Table Talk," he says: "I, Martin Luther, have shed the blood of the rebellious peasants; for I commanded them to be killed. Their blood indeed is upon my head, but I put it upon the Lord God, by whose command I spoke."[2]

Henry VIII. of England came forward as an opponent of Luther, in 1521. His "Defence of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther," said to have been principally written by Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, is considered a complete refutation of the arguments of the Reformer.[3] In recognition of Henry's services to

[1] Audin, "Life of Luther," vol. ii. chap. 10. In this chapter, Audin gives full details of this fierce but short-lived struggle. At the battle of Mulhausen the peasants' army was utterly routed, with immense slaughter, by Philip Landgrave of Hesse, Henry Duke of Brunswick, and George Duke of Saxony, on the 15th of May, 1525. These princes are said to have taken the field, by the advice of Luther and Melancthon. Shortly after the final battle, Muntzer was taken prisoner at Frankenhausen, brought back to Mulhausen, and beheaded there. In his last moments, he was attended by a priest, having abjured his errors and expressed a desire to be reconciled to the Church, against which he had so grievously offended.

[2] "Table Talk," p. 276, Eisleben edition. In a letter to Nicholas Amsdorf, dated May 30, 1525, Luther wrote, that the peasants deserved no patience, but the wrath and indignation of God and men; and that to justify them, to pity them, to favour them, would be to deny God, to blaspheme, and to wish Him to be torn from heaven. "Nulla patientia rusticis debetur, sed ira et indignatio Dei et hominum. Hos ergo justificare, horum misereri, illis favere, est Deum negare, blasphemare, et de cœlo velle eradicari."

[3] In his book on the "Babylonian Captivity of the Church" (Opera

the Church in this matter, Clement conferred on him the title *Fidei Defensor*, Defender of the Faith, which was most acceptable to Henry, as it placed him, with regard to the Church, on the level of the Kings of France and Spain, styled respectively "the Most Christian King," and "the Catholic King," through the favour of the Apostolic See.

In his book, Henry, alluding to Luther, says: "For he cannot deny, that every Church of the faithful recognizes and venerates the most holy Roman See, as its mother and spiritual ruler, to which neither distance of place nor intervening dangers prevent its having recourse. For even the Indians, separated from us by so many tracts of land, sea, and desert, if those who come from India speak truth, submit themselves to the Roman Pontiff. Therefore, if the Pontiff has acquired so great and so widely diffused a power neither by the ordinance of God nor by the will of man, but usurped it by force, I would have Luther say, when it was that he thrust himself into the possession of such great authority. The origin of so immense a power cannot be obscure, especially if it commenced within the memory of man. But, if he should say that it is further back than one or two generations, let him bring it to our recollection from history."[1]

ii. 360 b), Luther had reduced the number of the Sacraments from seven to three, Baptism, Penance, and the Eucharist, "*Baptismus, Pœnitentia, Panis.*" Henry's work, against this innovation, admired for its pure Latinity no less than for its matter, was styled, "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum, edita ab invictissimo Angliæ et Franciæ rege et domino Hiberniæ, Henrico ejus nominis octavo." Londini, 1521, in ædibus Pynsonianis; Antverpiæ, 1522, in ædibus Michaëlis Hillenii; Romæ, 1543. Several editions were also brought out in France, Holland, and Germany. The manuscript, preserved in the Vatican Library, was presented to the Pope. To it is prefixed the following distich:—

"Anglorum rex, Henricus, Leo decime, mittit
Hoc opus, et fidei testem et amicitiæ."

[1] "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Mart. Lutherum, Henrico VIII. Angliæ Rege auctore," p. 9. Parisiis, apud Gulielmum Desboys, 1562.

With reference to Luther's allegation, that the Pope had acquired his "despotic power" by mere force, Henry continues: "I greatly wonder that he expects his readers to be so simple or so stupid as to believe, that a priest, unarmed, alone, without retainers, supported by no right, relying on no title, ever could have usurped, or possessed himself of, or obtained, so great an empire over so many bishops, his equals, over so many different and widely divided nations, as that one would suppose that all peoples, cities, kingdoms and provinces had been so prodigal of their possessions, rights, and liberties, as to confer on a foreign priest so much power over themselves—a power which he would scarcely dare to wish for." [1]

Towards the end of his work, the King observes: "Thus, then, there is no doctor so venerable, no person so holy, no one of so great eminence in the knowledge of sacred literature, whom this new petty doctor, this diminutive saint, this dwarf of erudition,[2] does not reject, with an air of great authority. Wherefore, since Luther despises everybody, since he believes in no one, he should not be enraged if in turn no one believes in him. For, of what use is it to hold any further controversy with him, who dissents from all others, and does not agree with himself—here asserting one thing, here again denying it; here denying another thing, which he had previously asserted? He despises the ancient doctors of the Church, and from his own exalted position ridicules those of modern times. He assails with abuse the Supreme Pontiff of the Church. He sets at naught Ecclesiastical usages, dogmas, morals, laws, canons, faith, and the Universal Church herself, as if there were no Church save that which he has made of two or three heretics, and of which he is the head." [3]

[1] "Assertio," p. 10.

[2] "Novus doctorculus, sanctulus, eruditulus." Luther is said to have been greatly exasperated by these uncomplimentary expressions.

[3] "Assertio," p. 97, 98.

Luther's reply to Henry was published, both in Latin and German, in 1522. The two texts vary considerably; but both are written in the same abusive style.[1] He unsparingly pours out the vials of his wrath against the King, the Pope, and the Church. Of Henry, he says: "Now when this damnable rottenness and worm purposely and wittingly composes lies against the majesty of my King in heaven, it is my right, for my King, to bespatter the majesty of England with his own filth and dung, and to trample underfoot that crown which blasphemes Christ."[2]

He says further: "If the foolish King so forgets his Royal majesty, that he dares to come forward with open lies, and this, while treating of sacred things, why may it not be excellent for me to cast back into his mouth his falsehoods, so that, if he feel any pleasure in lying against the Divine Majesty, he may lose it in hearing the truth against himself."[3]

And again: "Here I have to deal not with the ignorance and dulness of Henry, but with his obstinate and impudent wickedness. He not only utters untruths here, like the most frivolous scoffer, but in these serious matters he now dares, he now flees, he now corrupts, he now perverts, he says all things, and again he remains silent, entirely through mere caprice; so that, if he does not surpass, he egregiously equals the most worthless scoundrel."[4]

Luther did not remain long unanswered. A reply, admired equally for its elegance of style and cogent reasoning, was written by Bishop Fisher, refuting, at great length, all his arguments;[5] and another rejoinder

[1] I quote from the Latin version. It is entitled, "Contra Henricum Regem Angliæ Martinus Lutherus." "Opera," ii. 516 b.

[2] Luther, "Opera," ii. 518 b.

[3] Ibid., ii. 521.

[4] Ibid., ii. 524 b.

[5] This work is styled "Assertionum Regis Angliæ de Fide Catholica adversus Lutheri Babylonicam captivitatem defensio: Authore R. D. Johanne Roffensi Episcopo." Parisiis, apud Gulielmum Desboys, 1562.

was composed by Sir Thomas More, under the assumed name of "William Ross," in which he attacked Luther in a vein of banter, ridicule, and abuse, perhaps not as appropriate and effective as would have been a more serious tone.[1]

Three years later, Luther addressed a most humble apology to Henry—a circumstance which is by some writers attributed to his having shrewdly discerned certain foreshadowings of the great change which eventually took place in the King's relations with the Holy See. Others ascribe it to the strongly urged suggestion, or rather command, of Luther's patron, the Elector of Saxony.[2]

In October, 1524, Luther threw off the monastic habit, and in the following June he married Catherine Bora, a young Cistercian nun. This lady had fled from her convent at Nimptschen in Saxony to join the Reformer, in 1523. The bride's age was twenty-six, and the bridegroom's forty-one. Luther's marriage came by surprise upon his disciples, none of whom he had consulted on the subject. "He has unexpectedly married," says Melancthon, in a letter to Camerarius. "I shall not venture to condemn these sudden nuptials as a fall and a scandal; although God points out to us in the conduct of His elect faults which we cannot approve. Woe to him who rejects the doctrines because of the sins of the teacher."[3] Luther himself shows an anxiety, on more than one occasion, to explain or justify this step, as one requiring at least explanation. He writes to a friend, "It is indeed true, Amsdorf, that I have married Catherine Bora. I may live some years longer; and I could not refuse my father this proof of filial obedience, in the hope of offspring. It is necessary to strengthen precept by example; there are so

[1] "Eruditissimi viri Gulielmi Rossei opus elegans, doctum, festivum."

[2] Luther's letter is dated Wittenberg, September 1, 1525.

[3] Audin, "Life of Luther," ii. 220.

many weak minds who dare not look the Gospel in the face."[1] Yet this explanation does not appear quite to satisfy himself; for he writes to another friend, Kœppe, who had assisted Catherine to escape from her convent: "You are aware what has happened to me: I am caught in the snares of a woman. It is a perfect miracle; God must have pouted at the world and me," etc.[2] Again, he writes to Spalatinus, "I have made myself so vile and contemptible by this marriage, that I may hope the angels will laugh and all the devils weep."[3] Indeed this and other events in his life appear to have been surprises to himself and others—"things not written in the stars."

"I am a peasant's son," he says, "and my father, grandfather, and great-grandfather were all common peasants. My father went to Mansfeld, where he got employment in the mines; and there I was born. That I should ever become bachelor of arts, doctor of divinity, and what not, seemed not to be written in the stars. How I must have surprised folks by turning monk; and then, again, by changing the brown cap for another! By so doing I occasioned real grief and trouble to my father. Afterwards I went to loggerheads with the Pope, married a runaway nun, and had children by her. Who foresaw these things in the stars? Who could have foretold that they were to come to pass?"[4] Erasmus, who could not resist the opportunity for a sarcasm afforded by the marriage, observes, in a letter to Nicholas Everard, dated December 24, 1525, "The tumults of comedies generally end in marriage. Hence the sudden tranquillity of all things. . . . The Lutheran tragedy seems to be about to have a like ending. A monk marries a nun," etc.[5]

[1] Audin, "Life of Luther," ii. 220. [2] Ibid., ii. 219.

[3] "Sic me vilem et contemptum his nuptiis feci, ut angelos ridere et omnes dæmones flere sperem."

[4] See Chalmers' "Memoir of Luther," prefixed to "Table Talk," p. xxv. London, 1878.

[5] "Solent comici tumultus fere in matrimonium exire; atque hinc

It is stated that sometimes in moments of cool reflection the married pair had compunctious visitings. "One evening, as they walked in their little garden, the stars blazed with extraordinary lustre; the heavens seemed on fire. 'Do you see what splendour those luminous points emit?' said Catherine. Luther looked up, and said, 'What a glorious light! It shines not for us!' 'And wherefore?' returned she. 'Have we lost our right to the kingdom of heaven?' Luther sighed. 'Perhaps so,' said he, 'as a punishment for our having left our convents.' 'Should we not, then, return to them?' said Catherine. 'It is too late; the car is sunk too deep,' replied the doctor, and the conversation dropped."[1]

In 1529, Luther published, in plain language, intelligible to all, his two Catechisms, a greater and a less, for the instruction of the clergy and the people in his tenets. These Catechisms form part of the Symbolic Books of the Lutherans.[2]

As agreed on by both parties at the Diet of Nuremberg, the German princes and prelates, Catholic and non-Catholic, met at the Diet of Spire in 1526, and again in 1529; but no settlement of the controverted points was arrived at. In the latter assembly, in which the Catholics were in a majority, a decree was passed, explaining and confirming the decree of the diet of 1526, which approved of the moderate propositions of the Catholic princes and prelates. Those propositions were: That the Edict of the Diet of Worms should be maintained in those States in which it had already been received; that those who had adopted the new doctrines should be allowed to observe them in quiet until the assembling of a General Council, as any

rerum omnium subita tranquillitas. . . . Similem exitum habitura videtur Lutherana tragœdia. Duxit monachus monacham," etc. Erasmi Epistola ad Nicolaum Everardum, Dec. 24, 1525.

[1] Audin, "Life of Luther," ii. 243.

[2] Symbolic Books are the books containing the symbol, or creed, or profession of faith, of a particular religious communion, or sect.

attempt to prohibit them might lead to a sedition; that the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist should not be preached against; that the sacrifice of the Mass should be continued, and that in those places in which it had been abolished no one should be molested for offering it in private, or for assisting at it; that the clergy should preach the Gospel according to the Church's interpretation, but that controverted points should be avoided until the assembling of the council; and that all the provinces of the Empire should live in peace, committing no acts of hostility against each other. The adherents of Luther in the diet drew up a strong protest against this decree, setting forth their reasons for doing so. This protest was signed by John, Elector of Saxony; George, Marquis of Brandenburg; Ernest and Francis, Dukes of Lunenburg; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; and Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt. Fourteen Imperial cities joined in it, viz. Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Windsheim, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempten, Heilbronn, Isny, Weissenburg, Nordlingen, and St. Gall. It was dated the 19th of April, 1529; and from that day forward those whose opinions it represented were known as PROTESTANTS, "which all the Reformers adopted as a glorious appellation."

Acting on his laudable resolve to leave nothing untried which might reconcile the religious differences prevailing in the Empire, Charles, as Advocate and Protector of the Church, convoked a diet to assemble at Augsburg on the 8th of April, 1530. At Charles's desire, a statement of their Articles of Faith was prepared and presented to him by the Protestants in the diet, on the 25th of June. This symbol, or profession of faith, known as the Confession of Augsburg, *Confessio Augustana*, was drawn up by Melancthon, and is written in a conciliatory tone, characteristic of its author. Melancthon was aided in his work by Luther and other theologians, and some of the German princes; but it was mainly his own composition. When com-

pleted, it met the full approval of Luther, who said: "I am quite pleased with the document. I see nothing in it that requires either change or emendation. I could not myself have written it, having neither the sweetness of temper, nor the self-restraint necessary to the work."

The Confession of Augsburg consists of an introduction and two parts. In the first part, it sets forth what the subscribers believe, comprised in twenty-one articles, "based on the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds;" and, in the second, it states, in seven articles, the "abuses" which they condemn. In the former, will be recognized Luther's principal errors, involved as they are by Melancthon in guarded and subdued language. In the latter, objection is made to Communion under one kind, private Masses, the celibacy of the clergy, monastic vows, the distinction of meats for days of abstinence, auricular confession, and the Ecclesiastical hierarchy as a system of Church government.

On the 25th of June, 1530, the Confession was read to the diet, in the presence of the Emperor, and handed to him. The reply to it, *Confutatio Confessionis Augustanæ*, as drawn up by the Catholic theologians,[1] was read in a public session of the diet, on the 3rd of August, when the Emperor and the Catholic princes expressed themselves satisfied with it.

Luther, being under the ban of the Empire, could not take part in the Diet of Augsburg, but remained at Coburg, near enough for consultation.

Melancthon next drew up, under the direction of Luther, a reply to the Confutation, and styled it "An Apology for the Confession of Augsburg."[2] When this Apology was laid before the Emperor, he rejected it,

[1] Of these the principal was John Faber, afterwards Archbishop of Vienna.

[2] Melancthon published two editions of this Apology, *Apologia Confessionis Augustanæ*, one in quarto, and another in octavo, in 1531. It was immediately translated into German.

along with the Confession. About the same time, appeared the Confession of Basle, composed by Zwingli, in which were stated the points of difference between his opinions and those of Luther on the "Lord's Supper,"[1] and also a Confession of the four cities which adhered to Zwingli's doctrine, namely, Strasbourg, Constance, Lindau, and Memmingen. This last was called *Confessio Tetrapolitana*.[2] Thus early was brought into prominence, to the discomfiture of Luther and his adherents, that divergence of doctrine which necessarily results from the leading principle of the Reformers—the right of private judgment in matters of faith.

In March 1531 a league, offensive and defensive, in support of the new religion, was entered into, at Schmalkalden, by the Protestant princes; and the Emperor, regarding this proceeding as an act of rebellion, called on them, one and all, to immediately abjure their errors. A civil war now appeared inevitable, and would certainly have ensued, but for the attitude of the Turks, who meditated the conquest of Europe. The common danger united those who otherwise would have engaged in fratricidal strife; and negotiations opened at Frankfort were concluded at Nuremberg, July 23, 1532, to the effect: that, until the assembling of a General Council, no hostilities should be entered on by any of the parties; that meanwhile the *status in quo* should be maintained; that religious disputations should cease; and that those who had already received the Confession of Augsburg should be included in the arrangements; the Emperor thus abrogating the decrees of the Diets of Worms and Augsburg.

As the Augsburg Confession is "not only 'the funda-

[1] The first edition of this Confession was printed in German at Basle in 1530.

[2] From the Greek τέτρα, four, and πόλεις, cities. This Confession, drawn up by Bucer, was published at Strasbourg, first in German, and afterwards in Latin; both in 1531.

mental creed of the Reformation,' but also the only one which the great majority of Christ-believing Protestants now acknowledge,"[1] it may be well to refer briefly here to its history and some few of its variations.

The original Confession, presented to the Emperor, was drawn up in German and in Latin; and, by desire of the Protestant princes, the German version was that which was read to the diet. The Emperor retained the Latin copy; and handed that in German to the Archbishop of Mentz. Both are now said to be lost. When Charles dismissed the princes, he exacted a promise from them that they would not publish the Confession without his express permission. Notwithstanding this promise, five editions in German, and two in Latin, were published in the course of that year, all varying more or less from each other.[2]

Melancthon himself issued a new edition towards the close of the year (1530). In the preface he says, "We now publish from a trustworthy copy a new and accurately written out Confession."[3] Even in this will be found variations from the original. How could it be otherwise, when, in each successive edition, an attempt was made to meet the necessarily conflicting views of the leading theologians of the Reformation, each of whom asserted, in practice, his right of private judgment in interpreting the Scriptures?

How futile this attempt, will be seen in a comparison of Melancthon's edition of "the Confession of Augsburg" of 1540, with that which he published ten years before. The earlier is known as the *Confessio invariata;* and the latter as the *Confessio variata*—a very necessary distinction.

In the original Confession, the tenth article says: "Concerning the Lord's Supper, they (the Protestants)

[1] Döllinger, "The Church and the Churches," p. 14.
[2] Audin, "Life of Luther," vol. ii. p. 332.
[3] "Nunc emittimus probe et diligenter descriptam Confessionem ex exemplari bonæ fidei."

teach, that the body and blood of Christ are really present, and are distributed to those eating in the Lord's Supper; and they disapprove of those who teach otherwise." To this article the Swiss theologians objected; and, in order to please them, Melancthon altered it in his *Confessio variata*, by omitting altogether the words affirming the Real Presence, and substituting for them the following: "that the body and blood of Christ are given *with* the bread and wine to those eating in the Lord's Supper."[1] Luther severely censured his friend for his action in the matter. "Who," he asked, "has given you permission to alter a public Confession? The Confession of Augsburg is neither yours nor mine. It is the Confession of all who bear the name of Christians at Wittenberg."[2]

Melancthon here had undertaken the impossible. As well might he have attempted to turn back the Elbe to its source. The three great chiefs of the Reformation, Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, held and professed widely different views on the Lord's Supper. Their views, he felt, could never be reconciled; but he vainly hoped to establish a *modus vivendi* between them. Luther at first held the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as set forth, with his approval, in the tenth article of the original Confession of Augsburg. But eventually, hard pressed by the opposition of the Sacramentarians,[3] he abandoned this doctrine, and substituted for it that of

[1] In the *Confessio invariata*, A.D. 1530, the Latin runs thus: "De cœna Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi *vere adsint* et distribuantur vescentibus in cœna Domini, et improbant secus docentes;" and in the *Confessio variata*, A.D. 1540, thus: "De cœna Domini docent, quod *cum* pane et vino exhibeantur corpus et sanguis Christi vescentibus in cœna Domini." It is asserted by some writers, that, in the original Confession, handed to the Emperor, now not extant, the words "sub specie panis et vini," occurred after "Christi." Audin is positive on this point ("Life of Luther," ii. 351).

[2] Audin's "Life of Luther," ii. 352.

[3] Sacramentarians. So those were called who denied the Catholic and Lutheran doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist.

Consubstantiation, or Impanation, as he called it; viz. that the body of Christ is received *in, under,* and *with* the bread—*in, sub, et cum pane.* Now, Zwingli's doctrine was, that the language of our Lord at His Last Supper was figurative; that the word "is," *est,* or ἐστι, in the text, means "is a sign of," or "represents,"—the import being, not "This is My body," but "This represents My body;" and that the only presence of Christ in the Eucharist is that which exists in the thoughts of a contemplative mind: while Calvin maintained, that nowhere but in heaven is the body of Christ really and substantially present; that the bread and wine are unchanged by the words of consecration; but that at the moment of communion a Divine power emanating from the body of Christ in heaven is communicated to the soul of the believer—that is, that Christ is received spiritually.

Luther, strongly impressed with the Catholic doctrine, had but little patience in his intercourse with the Sacramentarians. In a work which was published in Zurich in 1526, Zwingli complains of his intolerance as follows: "See, then, how these men, who owe everything to the Word, would wish now to shut the mouths of those who differ from them, Christians like themselves. They cry out that we are heretics, who should not be listened to; they proscribe our books, and denounce us to the magistrates. Is not this to do as the Pope did formerly, when truth endeavoured to raise her head!"[1]

"We have Bibles in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German," wrote Luther to his followers in Frankfort, "let the Swiss, then, show us any version in which it is written, 'This is the sign of My body.' If they cannot do this, let them be silent. They are incessantly exclaiming, 'The Scriptures, the Scriptures!' But the Scriptures as loudly and distinctly proclaim, 'This is My body;' and these words defy them. There is not

[1] Audin's "Life of Luther," ii. 304.

a child of seven years old who would give a different interpretation of the text."[1]

Again, with reference to Zwingli's main argument against the real presence, namely, "that it is the doctrine of the Pope," Luther observed, "The Sacramentarians prefer the true bread and wine, in order to show disrespect to the Pope, thinking that they can in this way directly overturn the Papacy. Truly this is a frivolous argument, on which they will base nothing that is good. For, according to it, they would be bound to deny also the Holy Scriptures and the office of preaching; for surely we have all this from the Pope. What folly! Christ found the abuses of the Pharisees in the Jewish people: but He did not in consequence reject what they held and taught. We must acknowledge that under the Papacy is most that is good in Christianity, nay, all that is good in Christianity, which from the Papacy has come to us. For we must confess that in the Papacy are the true Scriptures, true baptism, the true sacrament of the altar, the true keys for the remission of sins, the true office of preaching, the true catechism, as are the Lord's prayer, the articles of faith, the ten commandments. I say moreover that in the Papacy is true Christianity, yes, the nucleus of Christianity."[2] Well indeed might Luther's biographer style

[1] Audin, "Life of Luther," ii. 301; Luther, "Defensio de Cœnâ Domini."

[2] Audin, "Life of Luther," ii. 302. Claude de Sainctes (Sanctesius) "De rebus Eucharistiæ controversis;" Paris, 1575. Luther's words are, "Sacramentarii verum panem et vinum habere volunt in despectum Papæ, arbitrantes se hoc pacto recte subvertere posse Papatum. Profecto frivolum est hoc argumentum supra quod nihil boni ædificaturi sunt. Hoc enim pacto negare eos oporteret totam quoque Scripturam sacram et prædicandi officium: hoc enim totum nimirum a Papa habemus. Stultitia hoc est totum. Nam et Christus in gente Judaica invenit Pharisæorum abusus: non tamen propterea rejecit quod illi habuerunt et docuerunt. Nos autem fatemur sub papatu plurimum esse boni Christiani, imo omne bonum Christianum, atque etiam illinc ad nos devenisse. Quippe fatemur in papatu veram esse Scripturam sacram, verum baptismum, verum sacramentum altaris, veras claves ad remissionem peccatorum, verum prædicandi officium, verum catechismum, ut sunt oratio Dominica, articuli fidei, decem præcepta. Dico

this "a noble admission, which would cause us to rejoice, if soon afterwards, when opposed to the Catholics, Luther was not ready to deny words which he had hurled against Zwingli."[1]

In 1527, Luther reckoned eight different interpretations of the words of Christ: "Hoc est corpus meum." Thirty years later, there were no less than eighty-five.[2]

It is not a matter of surprise, then, that in the disputation on the Eucharist between Luther and Zwingli at the conference of Marburg, in 1529, nothing was done towards reconciling their differences.[3] On the contrary, the breach was widened, and, not only on this, but on other points of doctrine, to Luther's chagrin, it continuously increased until his death, which took place at Eisleben, February 14th, 1546.

In estimating the public life and character of Luther, much depends upon the standpoint from which he is regarded. Whilst Protestants extol him to the skies, Catholics view with horror his virulent attacks on the Church and its Supreme Pastor, its sacred doctrines, and venerable institutions. That he was a leader of vast ability, a man to sway the multitude by his earnest eloquence, cannot be denied; but it is no less true that his impulsive nature, aroused into full activity in maintaining and propagating his own doctrines, and assailing those of the Catholic Church, carried him, on many occasions, far beyond the bounds of ordinary prudence, and betrayed him into the use of language and the propounding of opinions, which, in moments of cool reflec-

insuper in Papatu veram Christianitatem esse, imo verum nucleum Christianitatis esse."

[1] Audin, "Life of Luther," ii. 302. [2] Ibid., ii. 301.

[3] The Conference of Marburg was held by desire of the Landgrave of Hesse, who was anxious to restore peace to his dominions, disturbed by the violent disputes of the two great Reformers and their followers. Luther was accompanied by Melancthon, Justus Jonas, and Creuziger; and Zwingli by Œcolampadius, Martin Bucer, and Gaspard Hedion. Osiander from Nuremberg, Hans Brenz from Halle, and Agricola from Augsburg were also present. The conference opened September 23, 1529.

tion, he might have been expected to regret. Yet, we never meet with any retractation or apology from him, save in the one instance of his penitent letter to King Henry VIII.

Most accurately does he himself contrast his own temperament and that of his best-beloved follower Melancthon, in these words: "I was born to contend with the devil: hence my writings are full of fury. It is my destiny to roll rocks and masses, to eradicate thorns and briars, to fill up marshes, to trace out roads: but Philip has another mission; he walks silently and softly; and builds, plants, waters, and sows, in peace and joy of heart."[1]

Luther came forth as a professed reformer of the doctrine of the Church. Yet he was wanting in the coolness and calm reasoning qualities, which one would naturally expect to meet with in any person entering on so momentous, so difficult, and so delicate a task. All through his voluminous writings, there are to be found force and fervid eloquence, mingled with unmeasured abuse of all those who differed from his opinions, whether Pope or Prince, or prelate or Swiss minister, Catholic or Calvinist—all the same: but we often look in vain for sustained argument, amidst the confusion and din of violent declamation; and the result is, that the searcher after truth is rather confused and bewildered than convinced by the perusal of his works. With justice has it been observed of Luther, that while he has pulled down or destroyed much, he has raised up or built very little on the ruins of his creation.

In his antagonism to particular tenets of the communion of which he was once a consecrated minister, he goes to the uttermost verge of the opposite extreme. This is especially manifest in his treatise on Monastic Vows, and his remarkable Sermon on Marriage, preached

[1] Audin's "Life of Luther," ii. 363.

at Wittenberg in 1522—a discourse which certainly would not meet the approval of any one of his followers at the present day.[1]

Again, in the cause of the Reformation, he sometimes did not hesitate to sacrifice principle to expediency, as is strikingly exemplified in the instance, which will presently be detailed, of his officially sanctioning the bigamy of the Landgrave of Hesse.

In all the relations of private life, Luther is represented as having been kindly and amiable; and further it is evident that he was personally most disinterested. All his days, he was a poor man; and, after his death, his wife and children were steeped in poverty, which latter circumstance was a disgrace to his powerful patrons, whom he had enriched by transferring to them so much Church property, and whom he had elevated, severally in their own dominions, to the supreme headship of the Church.

[1] "Martini Lutheri de Matrimonio, sermo habitus Wittembergæ, anno 1522;" "Opera," v. p. 19, Wittembergæ, 1544. "It is remarkable," observes Audin, "that this sermon is not to be found in subsequent editions of Luther's works" ("Life of Luther," ii. 17).

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE OTHER LEADING REFORMERS.

It is necessary that we should now dwell briefly on the histories of the other leading Reformers, who, although differing from Luther and from each other on several points of doctrine, were unanimous in repudiating the authority, and opposing the teaching, of the Catholic Church.

Of these the first to present himself is Melancthon, who may well be styled the lieutenant of Luther. Philip Melancthon, or Melanchthon, was born at Bretten in Western Germany, on the 16th of February, 1497. At the suggestion of his relative Reuchlin, under whom he made his studies, he altered his name, Schwartz-Erde (black earth) to Melancthon, which in Greek has the same signification—a usage not uncommon among scholars at that day. In 1518, on the recommendation of Reuchlin, he was promoted to the professorship of Greek in the University of Wittenberg, by Frederick, Elector of Saxony. There he became united, in close bonds of friendship, with Luther, who filled the chair of philosophy in the same university. Ere long, the reputation of Melancthon widely spread throughout Germany, and his lectures sometimes numbered over two thousand auditors, including several persons of the highest rank. "Imagine," says one of his cotemporaries, "a thin spare youth, buried in the ample robe of a professor, with hanging sleeves; a scholar apparently but fifteen, who, when he walks scarcely reaches Luther's shoulder, but who is a perfect

giant in learning and languages—a fragile frame which contains we know not what treasures of wisdom and erudition."[1] At the same time his amiability, and that spirit of universal charity, in which, all through life, he yearned for general peace and the reconciling of religious differences, endeared him to all who knew him. But unfortunately he did not possess strength of character to resist the influences by which he was surrounded; and he too readily yielded himself captive to every new doctrine, although he frequently looked longingly back to the ancient Church which he had left.

Melancthon's accomplishments as a scholar and his singular moderation pointed him out as the most suitable one of his party to draw up the Confession of Augsburg in 1530, which, as we have seen, was a most difficult task. His well-known disposition, and his laudable anxiety to restore union among Christians, led Francis I. of France to invite him to a conference with the Doctors of Sorbonne in 1536; but the Elector of Saxony could not spare him. It is said that Francis became doubly anxious for this conference, on perusing the "Twelve Articles," which Melancthon had presented to him. In these will be found the following words, which show how much the writer inclined to a reconciliation with the Church: "First therefore we all unanimously profess this: that Ecclesiastical government is a holy and useful thing; so that there should certainly be some bishops, who would preside over the many ministers of the Churches; again, that the Roman Pontiff should preside over all the bishops. For the Church has need of rulers, to examine and ordain those called to the Ecclesiastical ministry, . . . to supervise the doctrine of the priests: and, if there should be no bishops, such nevertheless ought to be created."[2]

[1] Audin, "Life of Luther," ii. 356.

[2] "Primum igitur hoc omnes unanimiter profitemur, politiam ecclesiasticam rem esse sanctam et utilem, ut sint utique aliqui episcopi qui

Again, as late as the year 1547—the year after Luther's death—when the breach between the Catholics and the Reformers appeared irreparable, Melancthon wrote to the Papal legate, Cardinal Campeggio, "We would acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope and the hierarchy of the bishops, if the Pope would not reject us;" and to the Emperor's chaplain, "We would all be ready to obey the Holy Roman Church, so gracious to us, as she has been in all ages to her children, if she would concede to us a few unimportant points which, however well inclined, we cannot retract."[1]

A remarkable trait in Melancthon's character was his filial piety. We read that, "with an indescribable melancholy," he used to recall the image of his aged father, the smith, a fervent Catholic, whom, in his

præsint pluribus ecclesiarum ministris, item ut Romanus Pontifex præsit omnibus episcopis. Opus est enim in ecclesia gubernatoribus, qui vocatos ad ministeria ecclesiastica explorent et ordinent, . . . et inspiciant doctrinam sacerdotum; ut si nulli essent episcopi, tamen creari tales oporteret." Here, may also be quoted the words of another learned Protestant, Grotius, to the same effect. Writing to the Calvinist minister, Rivetus, he says, "All those who know Grotius are aware how earnestly he has wished to see Christians united in one body. This he once thought might have been accomplished by a union of Protestants; but afterwards he saw that such a union is impossible. Because, not to mention the aversion of Calvinists to every kind of union, Protestants are not bound by any Ecclesiastical government, so that they can neither be united at present, nor prevented from splitting into fresh divisions. Therefore Grotius now is thoroughly convinced, as are many others also, that Protestants never can be united among themselves, unless they join those who adhere to the Roman See, without which there never can be any General Church government. Hence he wishes that the revolt and the causes thereof may be removed; among which causes the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome was not one, as was confessed by Melancthon, who also thought that primacy necessary to restore union" ("Apol. ad Rivetum"). Hugo de Groot, Latinized *Grotius*, was born at Delft in Holland, in 1583. He adopted the legal profession; but was also distinguished as a theologian, historian, and general scholar. He is regarded as the founder of the science of International Law. Having joined Barneveldt and the Arminians against Prince Maurice, he narrowly escaped being executed with his friend and leader, in 1613. Grotius was a truly amiable and pious man. He was the author of several valuable works. He died in 1645, aged sixty-three.

[1] Audin, "Life of Luther," ii. 362.

childhood, he used to see rise from his bed every night, at twelve o'clock, to kneel in prayer to his Creator.[1] It was a touching scene, when Melancthon stood by the death-bed of his mother. "My son," said she, "you see your mother for the last time. I am about to leave this world, and you also must die, and will have to render an account of your actions to the Supreme Judge. You know that I was a Catholic, and that you induced me to abandon the religion of my forefathers. Well, I adjure you by the living God, tell me unreservedly in what faith I ought to die?" To which he replied, "Mother, this faith is the more convenient, the Catholic is the more sure."[2]

Notwithstanding all this, Melancthon himself made no change, holding the new doctrines to the end of his life. He died at Wittenberg in 1560, aged 63. His amiable qualities were marred by indecision and want of firmness; so that, to use the words of one of his biographers, "once he abandoned the bark of Peter, he became the sport of the winds and the waves—

Nunc me pontus habet, jactantque in littore venti."[3]

Next on the scene appears Zwingli, Latinized *Zuinglius*, Luther's co-operator in assailing the Church and her doctrines, and, at the same time, as we have seen, his uncompromising opponent in the tenet of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Ulrich Zwingli was born at Wildhausen, in the canton of St. Gall in

[1] Audin, "Life of Luther," ii. 362. Vinus Winshemius, in the Funeral Oration of Melancthon, says, "Georgius Schwartzer fuit vir pius et pene usque ad superstitionem religiosus; singulis noctibus hora duodecima consuevit e lecto surgere ad usitatarum precum recitationem."

[2] Ibid., ii. 360.

[3] Melancthon's works are "Loci Communes Theologici," "Declamationes," "Epistolæ," and "Vita Martini Lutheri breviter exposita." They have been many times published in several towns of Germany. The first edition was that of Wittenberg, 1561-64, in four volumes folio.

Switzerland, in 1484, the year after the birth of Luther. He made his studies at Berne, and subsequently at Rome, Vienna, and Basle. In 1506, he was appointed pastor at Glarus, and, after ten years' sojourn there, he was promoted to Einsiedeln, a celebrated place of pilgrimage. Thence, in 1517, he removed to Zurich, in the cathedral of which city he had received an appointment. On the preaching of indulgences being opened in Switzerland, Zwingli assailed not only the doctrine of indulgences, but also the authority of the Pope, the sacrament of penance, the sacrifice of the Mass, the tenet of original sin, the effect of good works, the invocation of saints, ecclesiastical laws, religious vows, fasting, and the celibacy of the clergy. He regarded the Holy Scriptures as the one only rule of faith. He denied Free Will; and affirmed that man is *necessarily* incapable of good and hopelessly prone to evil. Not alone as regards the Lord's Supper, but on several other points, did he differ from Luther, whom he and his disciples considered to have stopped very far short of the Reform of doctrine which was required. Hence the Zwinglians and Calvinists called themselves the Reformers, and were known by that name on the Continent, in contradistinction to the followers of Luther.

The majority of the magistrates of Zurich sided with and supported Zwingli.[1] Under his rule, ere long, law and order succumbed to mob-tyranny and riot. Churches were desecrated, altars were overturned, holy pictures and statues were destroyed, the Mass was abolished, and all the ceremonies of the Church were prohibited in the city and district. About this time, acting up to his tenets, Zwingli married a wealthy widow.

Besides Zurich, the cantons of Berne, Schaffhausen, and Basle adopted the new doctrines; and so great

[1] A.D. 1523.

were the disorders consequent thereon, that a civil war broke out between the Catholic and Protestant cantons. With gloomy forebodings that his last hour was at hand, Zwingli, as chief pastor of Zurich, marched out to battle reluctantly, at the head of his followers, twenty thousand strong. They were signally defeated on the field of Cappel, and their leader fell mortally wounded, on the 11th of October, 1531, at the age of forty-seven. After Zwingli's death, his followers generally became Calvinists. In mental powers and acquirements, he was far inferior to Luther, Melancthon and Calvin. His works were published in Zurich, in 1581, in one volume folio. In his confession, addressed to Francis I., he ranks Hercules, Theseus, and other Pagans, among the Elect!

Œcolampadius, who was to Zwingli what Melancthon was to Luther, was born at Weinsberg in Suabia, in 1482. His name was Haussheim (House-light), which he altered to its equivalent in Greek. He became a Bridgettine monk in the Abbey of Saint Laurence, near Augsburg; but, after a short time, he abandoned the cloister, and retired to Basle. Here he met Erasmus, who was taken by his highly cultivated mind and store of learning. When the new doctrines of Luther and Zwingli were broached, he immediately adopted them, preferring the opinion of the latter to that of the former on the Eucharist. He was then pastor of Basle, and published a work, maintaining his own and Zwingli's interpretation of the words of Christ, "This is My body." The Lutherans replied to this in a work styled "Syngramma," on which he published a rejoinder, "Anti-Syngramma." He also wrote treatises against Free Will, the Invocation of Saints, and other Catholic tenets, as well as Commentaries on several books of the Bible.

After the example of Luther and other Reformers, Œcolampadius took a wife, to the great disappointment of Erasmus, who wrote about his friend's marriage in

terms still more severe than those which he applied to the union of Luther and Catherine Bora. In 1529, Œcolampadius and his adherents, in abolishing the Catholic religion, committed in Basle and other cantons excesses similar to those perpetrated by the Zwinglians in Zurich. He died of the plague, at Basle, in 1531, the year of Zwingli's death. On his tomb in the Cathedral of that city, may be read the inscription: "Auctor evangelicæ doctrinæ in hac urbe primus, et templi hujus verus episcopus."[1]

John Calvin, or Cauvin, who is generally regarded as the second chief of Protestantism, was born at Noyon, in the department of Oise, on the 10th of July, 1509. His father was a cooper in that town, and afterwards became notary and procurator-general to the bishopric. Calvin studied at Orleans and Bourges; and at the latter place he was imbued with the new doctrines by his Greek Professor, the Lutheran Melchior Wolmar. Thence he passed to Paris, where he became known by his Commentary on the two books of Seneca, "On Clemency." This work was evidently written to mitigate Francis I.'s persecution of his Protestant subjects; and was published in 1532. Calvin, who had for some time been preaching and expounding the new creed, was now regarded as the head of the Reformation in France. Ere long, for his own safety, he was obliged to flee from France; and he settled in Basle, where he had a cordial welcome from the Protestant party. Here he published his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," a summary of his doctrine, dedicated to the King of France. This work appeared in French in 1535, and in Latin the following year. In subsequent editions it was considerably modified.

In the beginning of 1537, Calvin, then in his twenty-eighth year, settled at Geneva, on the urgent solicitation of Farel, an ardent promoter of the Reformation in that

[1] "The first author of evangelical doctrine in this city, and of this temple the true bishop."

city. Two years afterwards, in consequence of a dispute with the civic authorities, on the administration of the Lord's Supper, he and Farel were banished, Farel going to Neufchatel, and Calvin to Strasbourg. Recalled in 1541, Calvin passed the remainder of his life in Geneva. It was during his sojourn at Strasbourg that he was married to Idelette, the widow of the Anabaptist, Störder, whom he had converted.

Calvin established in Geneva an extraordinary theocratic system of government, civil and religious, which was carried on through his agents and secret police with extreme severity. A word against him or his doctrines was liable to be visited with signal punishment—imprisonment, exile, or even death. The most remarkable case was that of Michael Servetus, a physician, whom he ordered to be burnt alive for heresy about the Holy Trinity; which sentence was carried out at Champel, near Geneva, on the 27th of October, 1553. It is right to add, that the apologists of Calvin contend that such Draconian measures were necessary at the time, in order to check the riots and outrages caused and perpetrated by the Anabaptists and other dissenters from his doctrines. But might not the Anabaptists and other disturbers of the public peace have justly pointed to the example so recently set them by the Swiss Reformers themselves, in the desecration of churches, the overturning of altars, the destruction of church furniture, and the persecution of Catholics, by which strong measures they sought to enforce the profession of their own particular tenets—tenets owing their existence to the exercise of that right of private judgment, which in theory they challenged for all Christians, but in practice they rigorously denied to all those who dissented from their views? It is painful to behold, in a visit to the Cathedrals of Berne, Geneva, and other Protestant cities of Switzerland, the bare, neglected interiors of those venerable structures, covered with dust and cobwebs—dark and gloomy solitudes, unfre-

quented by daily worshippers, and exhibiting not a single emblem or memento of Christianity. Surely, according to the same principle of the right of private judgment, the Catholics, by whose piety those churches had been erected and adorned, ought to have been left in peaceable possession of them, to worship God in the manner they deemed best and most conformable to His will.

It must be admitted, even by those who altogether dissent from his teaching, that Calvin, like Luther, was a man of great genius, a leader of almost irresistible force of character. Not only did he adopt the first principle of Zwingli, that Luther's reformation of the doctrine of the Church required a still further reform; but, to a very great extent, he remodelled Zwingli's own tenets. We have already examined the difference of Zwingli and Calvin on the Eucharist. Then, Zwingli would make the clergy subject to the civil power. Calvin would have them independent of such control; his maxim being, *Ecclesia est sui juris*. Moreover, Calvin conceived and successfully carried out the idea, that Geneva should be the mother and mistress of all the Reformed Churches—that she should be to them what Rome had ever been to the Church Catholic. With this object, he induced the Senate of Geneva to establish an Academy in that city, under his presidency; and, owing to his erudition, accomplishments, and mental powers, and the gifts of the learned men whom he had attracted around him, students from France, Germany, and other Continental nations, as well as from England and Scotland,[1] flocked to the new institution, imbibed there the Reformed principles, and returned to propagate them in their native countries.

We have seen how widely divergent were the views of Zwingli, Calvin, and the other Swiss Reformers,

[1] The celebrated Scotch Reformer, John Knox, who twice visited Geneva, and spent a considerable time in that city, was the firm friend and active associate of Calvin.

from those of Luther, on the Eucharist. Varying in degree, and from different standpoints, Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin severally denied the Catholic dogma of Free Will in man; as did their pioneers, Wycliffe and the earlier innovators. This denial necessarily led to the doctrine of absolute Predestination, which may be regarded as the most prominent, and indeed the characteristic, feature of Calvin's creed—a doctrine affirming that, "by an eternal decree, God preordains what shall be the lot of each individual." The tendency, if not the necessary consequence, of this belief appears to be, to discourage its professors from any effort to please God; for, according to it, no matter whether their acts are good or bad, whether they lead the holiest of lives, or commit every conceivable sin, it will be all the same, as regards their eternal happiness or reprobation—their lot having been absolutely preordained by God! Could a more gloomy or a more dangerous creed be conceived?

"I have been thoroughly plagued and tormented with such thoughts of predestination," says Luther: "I would needs know how God intended to deal with me," etc. "But at last, God be praised, I left them; I took hold again on God's revealed word."[1] Yet Luther's favourite doctrine, that man is justified by faith alone, even though he should lead the most wicked life,[2] may be regarded as likely to conduce to similar results; with this difference, that it substitutes presumption for despair. Certain it is, that neither doctrine accords with "God's revealed word," as expressed in the Old and New Testaments.[3]

Calvin's followers have long since altered or qualified nearly every one of his tenets. They now commonly

[1] Luther's "Table Talk," p. 279.

[2] Vide supra, p. 324.

[3] Gen. xxii. 16–18; Psa. xvii. 21–24; Isa. i. 16; Ezek. xviii. 21–23; Dan. iv. 24; Matt. v. 16, x. 42, xvi. 27, xxv. 34–46; John xiv. 21; 1 Cor. iii. 8; James i. 22–27; ii. 24.

hold the view of Zwingli on the Eucharist, namely, that it is only a sign of the body of Christ; and a great many of them reject the doctrine of absolute predestination. As was the case with Luther, Calvin had reason to lament the divisions inevitably arising, in his own lifetime, from the right of private judgment in interpreting the Scriptures. In a letter to Melancthon, towards the end of the year 1552, he says, "Truly it is of no little importance, that there should not go down to posterity the suspicion of any discord having arisen amongst us. For it is more than absurd that we, who have been compelled to break with the whole world, should in the very beginning fly apart from one another."[1]

Calvin's system would abolish all external worship, sacred ceremonies, festivals, Pope, bishops, and priests. For them it would substitute a severe discipline, consistories, conferences, synods, elders, deacons, and superintendents. Like Lutheranism, it admits but two sacraments—baptism, and the Lord's Supper.[2]

Calvin died at Geneva on the 27th of May, 1564, in his fifty-fourth year. His entire works were published at Amsterdam, in 1671, in nine volumes folio. They are principally composed of his commentaries on the Scriptures.

Theodore Beza, the principal adherent and the successor of Calvin, was born at Vezelai, in Burgundy, in 1519. He made his studies in Paris and Orleans, and finally at Bourges, where his professor, Melchior Wolmar, gained him over to the new doctrines, then

[1] "Joannis Calvini Epistolæ et Responsa," p. 108, Genevæ, 1575. "Calvinus Melancthoni, Genevæ, 4 Calend., Decemb., 1552. Nec vero parvi refert ne quæ ad posteros exeat ullius inter nos exortæ discordiæ suspicio. Plusquam enim absurdum est, postquam discessionem a toto mundo facere coacti sumus, inter ipsa principia alios ab aliis dissilire." To this volume is prefixed Calvin's Life by Theodore Beza.

[2] At first, Luther reduced the number of Sacraments from seven to three. Subsequently, he further reduced them, by discarding Penance.

exciting so much attention on the Continent. On his return to Paris, he freely entered into the gaieties of that capital, and his society was much prized, on account of his personal graces and accomplishments, as well as his mental gifts. At this time he led a dissolute life; and published a collection of licentious poems, styled "Poemata Juvenilia," which were admired by his young companions, as much for their immoral tone as for their classical elegance. Tired of the dissipations of Paris, he went to Geneva, in 1548, and there he became the intimate friend of Calvin, whose tenets he adopted, and, on whose death, in 1564, he succeeded to the government of the Reformed Church. In 1571, Beza presided at the Conference of Rochelle, at which all the Calvinist Churches of France were represented. He was a violent controversialist, and is accused of having excited civil war in France, and of having instigated the murder of the Duke de Guise.

When advanced in life, he republished his juvenile poems, deprived of their licentious passages, under the new title of "Poemata Varia." He also published a Life of Calvin, a translation of the New Testament, a Confession of Faith, a History of the Reformed Churches, a treatise asserting the Right of Magistrates to punish Heretics, and other works. In his old age, he married a young girl, with whom he lived in a state of extreme poverty, depending altogether on private charity. He died in Geneva, in 1605, aged eighty-six.

CHAPTER XXIV.

INTRODUCTION OF THE REFORMATION INTO ENGLAND.

In 1534, Luther had the gratification of witnessing the rupture of Henry VIII. with the Pope, and the extension of the Reformation to England by that monarch. These were events little expected some ten years before, when the King and the great Reformer fought out their controversial battle *à l'outrance*, and the Holy Father then reigning conferred on the former the highly prized title of Defender of the Faith. It was on the 22nd of April, 1509, that Henry, then in his eighteenth year, succeeded his father on the throne. On the 9th of June following, he was married, with great pomp, to Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Catherine, who was in her twenty-sixth year, was the widow of his elder brother Arthur, with whom her brief union had produced no issue.[1] The married life of Henry and Catherine continued apparently unclouded until 1527, Catherine having borne the King three sons and two daughters, all of whom had died in childhood, except the Princess Mary, afterwards Queen of England.

When eighteen years of their union had passed, and Catherine's charms began to wane, Henry became deeply enamoured of one of her ladies of honour, Anne Boleyn, whom he wished to substitute for her, as Queen. He now, for the first time, spoke of scruples which he

[1] A dispensation from Pope Julius II. had removed all difficulty about this first marriage, which, according to Catherine's solemn declaration, had never been consummated.

entertained about the validity of his marriage with his brother's widow; and, after much consultation with his ministers and the bishops of his kingdom, he applied, in the year 1527, to Pope Clement VII. to pronounce the marriage invalid. Clement bestowed the most careful consideration on the cause, and referred it to a commission in England, composed of his legate, Cardinal Campeggio, and Henry's powerful minister, Cardinal Wolsey. But Catherine entered a protest against this commission; first, because it was composed of the King's subjects;[1] and secondly, because, being held in England, it was directly under the King's control.

Meanwhile, on the suggestion of Cranmer, the Universities of Europe were consulted. In Oxford and Cambridge, the royal influence prevailed; and those learned bodies pronounced against the marriage. But the Universities of Germany, France, and Italy, were entirely in favour of its validity. Indeed, in France and Italy, the decision was, that, in the case, a divorce was impossible, as the first marriage, that of Arthur and Catherine, had never been consummated.

The matter was now referred by the Pope to a congregation of cardinals, and the proceedings were necessarily very protracted; certainly not too much so, as will appear, when the importance of the interests involved are taken into account. Besides, Clement hoped that the delay would lead Henry into a better frame of mind. This, however, was not the case; for, while the cause was yet pending, Henry repudiated Catherine, and on the 25th of January, 1533, he privately married Anne Boleyn, who was crowned, with all circumstances of magnificent display, at Westminster, on the 1st of June following.

In May that year, Cranmer, whom Henry had recently appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, held a

[1] Cardinal Campeggio had recently been presented by Henry to the episcopal see of Salisbury.

court at Dunstable, in which, on the 23rd, he pronounced the King's marriage with Catherine invalid and null; and on the 28th, in a court which he held at Lambeth, he declared the royal marriage with Anne Boleyn valid and lawful.

In March, 1534, Clement, acting on the all but unanimous opinion of the cardinals,[1] made his final decision, refused to grant the King's suit, declared his marriage with Catherine valid, and required him to take her back, as his wife.

Henry now resolved to break altogether with the Pope, and to prohibit all communication between his own subjects and the Holy See. Accordingly, his Parliament passed statutes, to order, "utterly renouncing, refusing, relinquishing, and forsaking the Bishop of Rome, and his authority, power and jurisdiction," declaring the King to be Supreme Head, on earth, of the Church in England and Ireland, and framing, and making obligatory on all the subjects of the realm, an oath affirming the Royal Supremacy.[2] Henry, however, although he thus severed himself and his kingdom from the Church, was neither Lutheran nor Calvinist, but adhered to the Catholic doctrines—transubstantiation, auricular confession, communion under one kind, and other tenets, which he had formerly defended against Luther. For denying any of these, he burned or beheaded his Protestant subjects; while, for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, the Catholics likewise suffered. Among these latter victims were some of the first men of the kingdom—notably Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher.

Sir Thomas More was born in London in 1480. He was the son of a judge, and stood high in the favour of

[1] Dr. Lingard states that, out of two and twenty cardinals, nineteen decided for the validity of the marriage, and three only proposed a further delay. ("History of England," vi. 202.)

[2] Statute 25 Henry VIII., caps. 19, 20, and 21, for England; and 28 Henry VIII., caps. 13 and 19, for Ireland.

Cardinal Wolsey, on whose suggestion he was made privy councillor, in 1516. At this time he had been for some years a member of Parliament, and had gained a high reputation by his eloquence and independence. King Henry VIII. formed a very favourable opinion of him, cultivated his society, constantly consulted him on affairs of State, and employed him on embassies. In 1521, he was knighted and promoted to the office of Treasurer of the Exchequer. In 1523, he was elected Speaker of the Parliament convoked that year. On the 25th of October, 1529, he was appointed Lord Chancellor, in succession to Wolsey; but, strongly disapproving of Henry's repudiation of Queen Catherine and his intended marriage with Anne Boleyn, to which his official assent would necessarily be looked for, he resigned his exalted post in 1532, and retired into private life. However, his retirement from public affairs, his past services, as valuable as they were disinterested, his noble character, and the esteem in which he was held in every European country, did not save him from Henry's unrelenting tyranny. He was impeached and condemned for his conscientious refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy, and was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 6th of July, 1535. Writers of all creeds concur in pronouncing Sir Thomas More to have been one of the greatest men produced by England, in any age.[1]

Well worthy to stand beside his friend, the ex-chancellor, was the venerable Doctor Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. John Fisher, born at Beverley, in 1459, was preceptor to Henry VIII., in his youth; and had ever been a devoted friend and servant of that monarch and his royal father. He was distinguished alike for piety and learning, and was one of the first controver-

[1] Sir Thomas More was an accomplished scholar and writer. His principal work, "Utopia," was written in Latin, and was published at Basle in 1518; and was almost immediately translated into English, French, Italian, and other European languages.

sialists of his day. He, no less strongly than Sir Thomas More, disapproved of Henry's treatment of his lawful wife, and his unhallowed second marriage. For this offence, and for his refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy, he suffered a long and painful imprisonment in the Tower, and was beheaded on the 22nd of June, 1535, in his seventy-seventh year. When Henry heard that the Pope was about to send the aged bishop a cardinal's hat, he said: "Well, let the Pope send him a hat when he will, Mother of God, he shall wear it on his shoulders then, for I will leave him never a head to set it on."[1]

After three years, Henry preferred against Anne Boleyn a charge of infidelity as his wife, which would be equivalent to the crime of high treason. Anne appears to have been guilty of some levity; but, on her trial, no adequate evidence was adduced of more serious crime. She was unaided by counsel, and was attended only by her ladies-in-waiting—a cruel act of injustice, even though she were guilty! She was convicted, and sentenced to be beheaded. On hearing her sentence, she exclaimed, "O Father and Creator! O Thou who art the way, the truth, and the life! Thou knowest that I do not deserve this death." Then, turning to her judges, she said, "My lords, I do not arraign your judgment. You may have sufficient reasons for your suspicions; but I have always been a true and faithful wife to the King." She was executed at the Tower, on the 19th of May, 1536; and in her last moments displayed admirable firmness, resignation, and fervour. Her last words were, "O Lord God, have mercy on my soul," which were scarcely uttered when, at one stroke, her head was severed from her body.

Some writers allege that the real cause of the accusation against Anne Boleyn was that Henry wished to

[1] "Life of Dr. John Fisher," by the Rev. John Lewis, A.M. ii. 178. Doctor Fisher's works were published at Wurtzburg, in one volume folio, in 1597.

replace her by Jane Seymour, one of her maids of honour. Of this there can be but little doubt, as, on the morning after Anne's execution, Henry was married to Jane Seymour.

Cranmer, who, in obedience to the King's wishes, had annulled the Royal marriage with Catherine, and pronounced that contracted with Anne to be valid, was now called upon by Henry to revoke his former decision, and to declare that the King's marriage with Anne had ever been null and void. This was a painful and humiliating position for the archbishop; but, as non-compliance would have cost him his head, he pronounced the decree, two days before Anne's execution.

In 1537, Jane Seymour died in childbirth, leaving a son, who succeeded his father, as Edward VI. For two years Henry remained a widower; and then he married Anne, sister of the reigning Duke of Cleves. On meeting this lady, on her arrival at Dover, Henry was sadly disappointed with her appearance, with respect to which he had been misled by a highly flattering portrait of her by Hans Holbein. However, he could not then find any decent pretext for withdrawing from the marriage; and, moreover, he could not afford to array against himself the hostility of the German Protestant Princes. A few months later, Anne reluctantly consented to a divorce, a bill for which was, by the King's order, passed by the Lords and Commons;[1] and the much-wronged princess retired into private life, on a pension of £3000 a year—a condition being that she should reside within the realm of England.

On the 8th of August, 1540, Henry's fifth marriage took place—his choice having fallen upon Catherine Howard, niece of the Duke of Norfolk. This unfortunate lady was arraigned on the same charge as Anne Boleyn, and was condemned and executed at the Tower, on the 14th of February, 1542. The balance of evi-

[1] This Bill received the royal assent on the 24th of July, 1540.

dence appears to incline in favour of her innocence of the charges made against her; but, under the despotic sway of Henry VIII., the King's accusation of any of his subjects, no matter how exalted their rank, or how insufficient the evidence, was equivalent to a conviction.[1]

Henry's sixth queen was Catherine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer. The marriage was celebrated privately at Hampton Court, on the 12th of July, 1543. Catherine favoured Luther's doctrines; and, one day, she had the temerity to uphold some of them against the King's opinions, in a polemical discussion. Henry, who at the time was suffering from a painful illness, construed the Queen's argument as a grave offence against the Royal Supremacy; and he commanded the Lord Chancellor and the Bishop of Winchester to have articles of impeachment prepared against her. A friendly hint communicated to Catherine was immediately acted upon by her. She hastened to the King's cabinet, and assured His Majesty that his learned arguments had, since their conversation, been working in her mind, and had completely converted her, and she apologized for the pain she had caused him. Henry was alike flattered and mollified. "Is it so, sweetheart?" said he. "Then we are friends again." Next morning a guard arrived to convey the Queen a prisoner to the Tower; but they were dismissed without her. Catherine, it need hardly be observed, was careful not to offend again; and she survived Henry, who died on the 28th of January, 1547.[2] Such was the founder and first

[1] With reference to Catherine Howard, Doctor Lingard observes: "On a review of the original letters in the state-papers, of the act of attainder, and of the proceedings in Parliament, I see no sufficient reason to think her guilty." ("History of England," vi. 317, n. London, 1844.)

[2] Henry settled the succession of the crown on his own three children, and their issue respectively; first, on Edward, his son by Jane Seymour; next, on Mary, his daughter by Catherine of Aragon; and, next, on Elizabeth, his daughter by Anne Boleyn—and this, notwith-

supreme head of the Reformed Church in England—a heartless voluptuary, a monster of cruelty and injustice!

Further on, we shall have occasion to consider the Anglican religious Articles, drawn up by Royal authority, the suppression of monasteries by Henry and his successors, and the effects thereof on the condition of the people.

If Clement VII. was reluctant to dispense with the laws of Christian marriage, at the request of Henry VIII., Luther was far more compliant in the celebrated case of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, which arose in 1539. This Prince was a main pillar of the Reformation in Germany. He had been sixteen years married to Christina, daughter of George Duke of Saxony, during which time that Princess had borne him eight children. He now became enamoured of Lady Margaret de Saal, maid of honour to his sister, the Princess Elizabeth, and he desired to wed her, still retaining Christina as his wife. He addressed to Luther and his colleagues at Wittenberg, a letter, drawn up by Martin Bucer, under his own supervision, asking for permission to have two wives.

It is unnecessary, as it would be undesirable, under any circumstances, to quote at length from this revolting document; but it may be mentioned, that, in the course of it, the Landgrave cites, as a precedent in his favour, the fact that "Luther and Melancthon advised the King of England not to put away his first wife,

standing his repudiation of Queen Catherine and Queen Anne. In default of issue of his own children, he further settled the succession on the descendants of his younger sister Mary, wife of Louis XII. of France, to the exclusion of the line of his elder sister Margaret, wife of James IV. of Scotland. This latter arrangement was set aside by Elizabeth, who, when dying, was asked, who was to succeed her. "Who," she replied, "but my cousin James (VI.) of Scotland?" In any case, James was her legitimate heir, and had, with the aid of Cecil, the Queen's prime minister, privately made all necessary arrangements to successfully resist any attempt to dispute his right to the throne on the death of Elizabeth.

but to take another wife besides her."[1] The concluding paragraph is remarkable for its undisguisedly hypocritical tone: "In fine, I repeat," says this sensualist prince, "my petition is, that Luther, Philip, and Bucer will disclose to me, in writing, their opinion on this affair; in order that afterwards I may be able to amend my life, to approach the Sacrament with a good conscience, and to transact all the business of our religion more freely and more confidently."

The reply, an elaborate composition, comprised in twenty-four articles, was favourable. It granted the Landgrave the desired licence to have two wives; but, at the same time, it pointed out that the case was especially exceptional; and that it should not be taken as a precedent; and that, for this reason, and moreover to prevent scandal, the marriage should be strictly private; and that all who took part in it should be bound to secrecy under the seal of confession. This letter was dated Wittenberg, the Wednesday after the feast of Saint Nicholas, 1539, and was signed "by the obedient subjects and servants of his Highness," Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, Martin Bucer, Antony Corvinus, Adam, John Leningus, Justus Winther, and Denis Melander.

The marriage was privately celebrated at Rothenburg on the Fulda, on the 3rd of March, 1540, Melancthon and Bucer being present. But the secret was not kept, as the bride and her family were directly interested in the matter being set in its proper light. The result was painful dissatisfaction in the Landgrave's own family, and much of that scandal which had been apprehended by Luther and the other doctors of Wittenberg.

[1] "Item scio Lutherum et Philippum regi Angliæ suasisse ut primam uxorem non dimitteret, sed aliam præter ipsam duceret."

CHAPTER XXV.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

A GENERAL Council had now for a long time been desired, in order to settle, if possible, the religious differences that distracted Europe. At one period, Luther himself appealed from the Pope to a Council; and several of his followers expressed the same sentiment, in the early days of their secession from the Church. But great difficulties interposed—especially, wars, riots, and dissensions, in the several States, mainly arising from one cause, the introduction of the new doctrines. Anxious as the Popes were to re-establish Christian peace and union, they were deterred by these difficulties. Moreover, the Protestants refused to acknowledge their authority; and insisted that, if a General Council were to assemble, it should be convoked, not by the Pope, but by the Emperor and the other Christian princes.

At length, the Nineteenth Œcumenical Council, convened by Pope Paul III., assembled in the cathedral of the city of Trent, in the Tyrol, within the geographical boundaries of Italy, on the 13th of December, 1545; and it continued, though with several interruptions, through twenty-five sessions, under that Pontiff, and his successors Julius III., Paul IV., and Pius IV., under whom it concluded its labours in 1563.

Its objects were: to examine and condemn the numerous errors taught by Luther and the other innovators of the day; to explain the faith of the Church on the various points of doctrine then contested; to

defend her worship, which the Protestants attacked as superstitious and idolatrous; to propagate Catholic doctrine; to restore peace and union among Christians; to promote the reformation of morals; and to overthrow the enemies of the Christian name.

Its decrees, which were carefully examined and discussed by the most able canonists and theologians, are admittedly drawn up with admirable clearness, precision, and wisdom. They were signed by two hundred and fifty-five Fathers, including the four Papal legates, and were confirmed by Pope Pius IV., in his Bull, *Benedictus Deus*, on the 26th of January, 1564.[1]

The Pope ordered a Profession of Faith of the Council to be drawn up, which is a summary of its dogmatical decrees, and is known as the "Tridentine Profession of Faith," or the Creed of Pope Pius IV. It commences with the Creed, which is recited after the first Gospel at Mass, and which, in Catholic prayer-books, is styled the Nicene Creed.[2] After this, it expresses a firm belief in the Apostolical and Ecclesiastical *Traditions*, and the other observances and constitutions of the Church; also in the *Sacred Scriptures*, according to that sense which has been, and is, held by the Holy Mother, the Church, whose office it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures. It professes also that *there are truly and properly seven sacraments*, Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Matrimony; and that these confer grace: and that Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders cannot be repeated without sacrilege. It receives and embraces all and singular the definitions and declarations of the Council of Trent concerning *Original Sin and Justification*. It professes

[1] One English and three Irish Bishops assisted at the Council of Trent. The English prelate was Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph's; and the Irish were, Thomas O'Herlihy, Bishop of Ross; Donat Mac Congail, Bishop of Raphoe; and Eugene O'Hart, a Dominican, Bishop of Achonry. An Englishman, Cardinal Pole, was one of the Papal legates presiding.

[2] Vide supra, p. 94.

that *in the Mass is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice* for the living and the dead; and that *in the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist the Body and Blood of Christ, together with His soul and divinity, are truly, really, and substantially present;* and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the Body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the Blood, which conversion the Church calls Transubstantiation. It confesses also, that *under either species the whole and entire Christ, and the true sacrament, is received.* It firmly holds, that there is a *Purgatory*, and that the souls there detained may be aided by the suffrages of the faithful: likewise that *the Saints reigning with Christ may be venerated and invoked;* and that they pray to God for us, and that their relics are to be venerated. It asserts that the images of Christ and of the ever Virgin Mother of God, as well as of the other saints, are to be kept and venerated. It affirms that *the power of Indulgences has been left by Christ in the Church, and that their use is, in the greatest degree, salutary to the Christian people.* It acknowledges the Holy Catholic and Apostolical Roman Church to be the Mother and Mistress of all the Churches; and it promises true obedience to the Roman Pontiff, the successor of Saint Peter and the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Finally, it undoubtingly receives and professes all other things, handed down, defined, and declared, by the sacred Canons and Œcumenical Councils, and chiefly by the most holy Council of Trent; and, at the same time, it equally condemns, rejects, and anathematizes all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever condemned by the Church. This it declares to be the true doctrine of the Church, indispensable to salvation.

It was enacted that this Profession of Faith should be made by all those thenceforward entering on any Ecclesiastical office or charge, or obtaining any academical degree, as well as by those who should

abjure heresy, and return to the Church. It need hardly be observed that its doctrine is no less obligatory on every Catholic Christian.

The "Catechism of the Council of Trent," drawn up by the Pope's orders, at the request of the Council, is a precise and comprehensive statement of all that Catholics believe. It is sometimes called "The Roman Catechism," and *Catechismus ad Parochos.*

Not unnaturally, the Protestants, at all times, have decried the conduct and the decrees of the Council of Trent. Down to the year 1540, they blamed the Pope for his delay about convoking a council; but, immediately on the Bull of Convocation being issued by Paul III., in 1542, Luther published several writings, to deter his adherents from taking part in it, or accepting its decisions. In 1547, the year after Luther's death, Calvin strongly opposed it, in his "Antidote to the Council of Trent." Again, in 1549, in a second diet at Augsburg, when the Lutheran princes were asked by the Emperor if they would submit to the decrees of the Council, Maurice, Elector of Saxony, said that he would acquiesce in them only on three conditions: first, that the points of doctrine already decided in it should be discussed anew; secondly, that the Lutheran theologians should be admitted, and should have a deliberative voice, and that their votes should count as those of the bishops; thirdly, that the Pope should not preside, either personally or by his legates. This was taken as a formal refusal.

In 1560, when Pius IV. issued his Bull for the resumption and continuation of the interrupted sessions of the Council, the German Lutheran princes published their "Grievances" against its decrees. The work first appeared in German, and was immediately translated into Latin, with the title, *Concilii Tridentini Decretis opposita Gravamina.* These grievances have been repeated and enlarged on, and the proceedings of the Council of Trent have been misrepresented, by several

Protestant authors and their copyists, and notably by Fra Paolo Sarpi, an excommunicated Servite friar,[1] and Le Courayer, an apostate Augustinian, his translator and annotator.[2]

To refute Fra Paolo, Cardinal Pallavicino wrote his celebrated "History of the Council of Trent," which is the Catholic standard work on the subject.[3]

The decrees of the Council of Trent on *faith* were received by all Catholic nations. Certain governments,

[1] Peter Paul Sarpi, better known as Fra Paolo, was born in Venice, in 1552. Having become a Servite friar, he attained the rank of provincial in that order, in 1579, although only twenty-seven years old. The differences between the republic of Venice and Pope Paul V. brought into prominence Fra Paolo's sentiments, which were anything but dutiful to the Holy See. On being summoned to Rome, he refused to obey the Papal citation, and was excommunicated in consequence. In 1617, his "History of the Council of Trent" was published in London, in Italian, under the assumed name of "Pietro Soave Polano," an anagram of "Paolo Sarpi Veneto," by Marc Antonio de Dominis, with a dedication to James I. He was the author of several other works. He was styled by Febronius "the Hater of the Papacy and of the Popes, the disciple of Luther and Calvin." He died in 1623, aged seventy-one.

[2] Peter Francis Le Courayer was born at Rouen, in 1681. He became a Canon Regular of Saint Augustine, and was appointed Librarian of Saint Genevieve's, Paris. Ere long he manifested Jansenist sentiments; and, not content with this, he went still further, and professed Anglican views, as expressed in his "Dissertation on the Validity of Anglican Orders," published at Brussels in 1723. This work having been condemned by the Ecclesiastical authorities in Paris, he passed over to England, where he was hospitably received. He died in 1776. Among his works is "The history of the Council of Trent of Fra Paolo, translated from the Italian into French, with critical, historical, and theological notes." London, 1736, 2 vols. folio; and Amsterdam, 1736, 2 vols. quarto.

[3] Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino was born in Rome, in 1607. Although the head of his noble family, he chose to abandon the world and its honours for a religious life; and, in his thirtieth year, he entered the Society of the Jesuits. He was employed by Innocent X. in several important affairs; and Alexander VII. promoted him to the Sacred College. His principal work, "The History of the Council of Trent," written in Italian, was published in Rome in 1656–1657, in two volumes folio; and in a second edition, in Rome, in 1664, and in a Latin version, in 1670; each in three volumes quarto. In this work, he convicts Sarpi of no less than 360 errors in names, dates, and facts. He died on the 5th of June 1667.

especially that of France, objected to some of its decrees on *discipline*, as not being in accordance with the laws of the kingdom. The difficulties on this head have long since, to a considerable extent, been adjusted.

Under all the circumstances above referred to, it was, humanly speaking, impossible that the Protestants should be reconciled to the Church, even by a General Council, at this particular period. Angry passions were in the ascendant; the temporal interests of princes and nobles were deeply involved; and the conflict of creeds was intensified by violent political antagonism. Hence, there unhappily ensued a series of wars, which lasted until 1648, when peace was restored by the Treaty of Westphalia,[1] guaranteed by all the European powers, and affairs were placed in pretty much the same position as they stand in at the present day.

[1] Sometimes spoken of as the Treaty of Munster, or of Osnaburg, as it was signed at those places.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SYMBOLIC BOOKS OF THE PROTESTANTS.

WHILE Paul III., hoping to reconcile, by a final effort, the existing religious differences, was making the necessary arrangements for convoking the General Council described in the last chapter, the Protestant German Princes, and the leading ministers of the Reformation, assembling at Schmalkalden, in February, 1537, assumed an attitude of determined opposition to the laudable endeavours of the Holy Father. At their meeting, on the suggestion of the Elector of Saxony, it was resolved that a formulary of belief, to constitute the unalterable basis of their doctrines, should be drawn up; and this work was entrusted to Luther, Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Creuziger, Bugenhagen (Pomeranus), Armsdorf, and Agricola. This formulary, known as "the Articles of Schmalkalden," was couched in language very different indeed from the conciliatory tone which Melancthon had adopted in drawing up the Confession of Augsburg. It altogether denied the spiritual rights of the Pope; affirmed that his office ought to be abolished; and asserted that he was the true anti-Christ. In subscribing it, Melancthon did so with the following reservation: "I, Philip Melancthon, approve of the above articles, as true. But, as regards what concerneth the Pope, I am of this opinion: If he will admit the Gospel, then for the sake of peace and public concord, on account of the Christians who are now under him and may be under him in future times, the superiority over the bishops, which he holds otherwise,

by human right should be conceded to him by us also."[1] Melancthon's pacific views, on this as on other occasions, were overborne, to his bitter disappointment.

The Confession of Augsburg, the Apology for that Confession, the Articles of Schmalkalden, and Luther's Greater and Less Catechisms constitute the Symbolic Books of the Lutherans. Besides these, there is "The Form of Concord," or "The Book of Torgau," drawn up at Torgau, in 1576, with the object, as the name imports, of reconciling the differences of the several Lutheran Churches, and of guarding them against the erroneous doctrines of the Reformers, or followers of Zwingli and Calvin, on the Lord's Supper. This formulary has been adopted by some of the Lutheran Churches, and rejected by others.

There are certain Confessions of Faith, which may be classed with the Symbolic Books of the Lutherans; for, although they vary from each other and the Confession of Augsburg on some points, they mainly agree with the Lutheran doctrines. These are, the Saxonic Confession, prepared by Melancthon, at the desire of Maurice, Elector of Saxony, styled by its author "A Repetition of the Confession of Augsburg," presented to the Council of Trent in 1551, and published in Latin and German in 1552; the Confession of Würtemberg, drawn up in Latin by Brentzen,[2] in obedience to

[1] "Ego Philippus Melancthon hos articulos supra positos probo tanquam veros. Ad pontificem autem quod attinet sic sentio: Si admittere velit Evangelium, quod tunc pacis et publicæ concordiæ gratiâ propter Christianos qui sub ipso jam sunt et futuris temporibus esse forsan possunt, superioritas in episcopos, quam alioquin habet, jure humano per nos illi sit quoque concedenda."

[2] Johann Brentz, or Brentzen, was born at Weil in Suabia, in 1499, and was a canon of Würtemberg. On the persuasion of Luther, he became his follower. However, he did not on all points adopt his doctrines. Brentz held that "the body of Christ was not only in the Eucharist with the bread, but everywhere, like His divinity, since the Ascension." Hence his adherents in this opinion were called "Ubiquitarians." On Luther's death he succeeded to the head of the Lutheran party. He died at Tübingen, in 1570. His works consist of Disputations in favour of Lutheranism, in eight volumes folio.

Christopher Duke of Würtemberg, presented to the Council of Trent, in January, 1552, and published the same year; and those of Mansfeld, Suabia, Pomerania, Antwerp, and Copenhagen.

We have next to glance at the Confessions of Faith, or Symbolic Books of the Calvinist, or Helvetic, or Reformed, Churches. The first of these is the Confession of Basle, first printed, in German, in 1530. The next is "The Summary and General Confession of Faith of the Helvetic Churches,"[1] dated 1536, and presented to the Council of Trent. The third is the Helvetic Confession, drawn up by Henry Bullinger, under the supervision of the Elector Palatine, in 1566, and adopted by all the Protestant cities of Rhætia and Switzerland, save Basle.[2] The ministers of Basle refused to sign it, not that they disapproved of its doctrine, but because they considered their own Confession of 1530 sufficient.

Calvin's tenets, once established in Geneva, ere long penetrated into France; and were adopted in preference to Lutheranism by the great majority of those who in that kingdom had abandoned the Church. In 1561, at the Conference of Poissy, the Confession of Faith of the French Reformers, drawn up by Theodore Beza, Calvin's principal assistant and successor, was presented to Charles IX. It was signed by the Queen Dowager of Navarre, her son Henri de Bourbon, King of Navarre, afterwards Henri IV. of France, the Prince de Condé, the Count of Nassau, the Admiral Coligni, and other influential persons.

There was also the Belgic Confession, adopting

[1] This is a second and improved edition of the Confession of Basle. It is styled "Ecclesiarum per Helvetiam Confessio Fidei Summaria et Generalis."

[2] This is the Helvetic Confession, *par excellence*. It is styled "Confessio et Expositio simplex orthodoxæ fidei et dogmatum catholicorum sinceræ religionis Christianæ, concorditer ab ecclesiæ ministris, qui sunt in Helvetiâ, Tiguri, Berni, Scaphusii, Sangalli, Curiæ-Rhætorum, et apud confederatos Mylhusii, item et Biennæ, quibus adjunxerunt se et Genevensis ecclesiæ ministri, editæ."

Calvin's tenets, drawn up in 1561 for the Reformed Churches of Flanders, approved of in synod in 1579, and confirmed by the Synod of Dort in 1619. The Dutch, who previously had professed adhesion to the Lutheran Confession of Augsburg, subscribed the Belgic Confession, on being freed from the Spanish yoke.

Arminius,[1] a professor of theology in the University of Leyden, having dissented from Calvin's severe doctrines on the five points of Free Will, Predestination, Justification, Perseverance, and Grace, a violent controversy arose thereupon among the Dutch Reformers. To settle their differences, there was held, in 1618, 1619, the celebrated Synod of Dort, under Prince Maurice, which was attended by delegates, not only from all parts of the Netherlands, but from Switzerland, the Palatinate, Hesse, Bremen, and England. This synod upheld Calvin's doctrines, excommunicated the Arminians, adopted the Belgic Confession, and drew up canons concerning the five articles controverted in the Belgic Churches. These canons were promulgated on the 6th of May, 1619.[2]

The Arminians, according to Mosheim, maintained their opinions with so much spirit, courage, and eloquence, that "a great number of persons were convinced of the justice of their cause." Four provinces of

[1] James Harmensen, Latinized *Arminius*, was born at Oudewater in Holland, in 1560, studied for some time at Geneva, and was, for fifteen years, a minister at Amsterdam. In 1603, he was appointed to the chair of theology at Leyden. He suffered much hardship and persecution, on account of his opinions. He died in 1609. His works were published at Frankfort, in 1631, in quarto. His followers were called Arminians, or Remonstrants, from a remonstrance, which they presented to the States General of Holland, against the decrees of the Synod of Dort, in 1619. Arminius's principal opponent was Gomar, his colleague at Leyden, who upheld the Calvinist doctrine. The followers of the latter were called Gomarists, and sometimes Anti-Remonstrants.

[2] The canons of the Synod of Dort were published with the following title: "Judicium Synodi nationalis reformatarum ecclesiarum habiti Dordrechii anno 1618 et 1619, de quinque doctrinæ capitibus, in ecclesiis Belgicis controversis: Promulgatum VI. Maii MDCXIX."

Holland refused to subscribe the canons of the Synod of Dort. This synod, moreover, was regarded with little favour in England; "for the English preserved respect for the ancient Fathers, not one of whom dared to set bounds to the Divine mercy." In the Churches of Brandenburg, Bremen, and even of Geneva, Arminianism held its ground.

On the death of Prince Maurice, the Arminians were permitted to return to Holland, when they gradually built churches and established schools; and in time they ventured to found a college at Amsterdam, for the dissemination of their religious tenets. Their Confession of Faith was composed by Arminius's chief adherent, Episcopius, who was the first professor of theology in this college. It was published in 1622. The ministers of the Established Church of Holland wrote a Refutation of it, which the Arminians replied to, in their Apology, in 1626.

The Symbolic Books of the Church of England are the Thirty-nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer. To these may be added the "English Theological Oaths," as embodied in certain Acts of Parliament. Of these oaths, some affirm the Royal Supremacy and Jurisdiction in matters spiritual; and others are declarations against Transubstantiation, the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the Invocation of Saints.

In July, 1536, Henry VIII., in order to remedy the evil of the diversity of doctrine preached in the pulpits of England, addressed a circular to the bishops, commanding that preaching should cease until Michaelmas next ensuing; and meanwhile he had "Ten Articles of Religious Credence" drawn up, and submitted to Convocation, by which body they were unanimously adopted. These Articles comprised the Sacraments of Baptism, Penance, and the Eucharist, as well as the

[1] The Arminian Confession of Faith is styled, "Confessio sive Declaratio sententiæ Pastorum, qui in Federato Belgio Remonstrantes vocantur, super præcipuos articulos Religionis Christiani MDCXXII.

doctrine of Transubstantiation, Auricular Confession, and the Invocation of Saints; leaving the tenet of Purgatory at least doubtful. These were followed up by the "Statute of the Six Articles" of the year 1538, which were all in unison with the tenets of the Church of Rome.

Next came a further reformation of the doctrine of the Church of England, in the "Forty-two Articles of Edward VI.," which were called "Articles agreed upon by the Bishops and other learned men, in the Convocation held at London in the year 1552, for avoiding diversity of opinion and establishing consent touching true religion, published by the King's authority." These were mainly the work of Archbishop Cranmer, and were in substance all but the same as the Thirty-nine Articles of Elizabeth, by which they were soon afterwards superseded.

The Thirty-nine Articles were drawn up by Archbishop Parker, and were submitted to, and unanimously approved of by, the Convocation of Canterbury in 1562. They were the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI., reduced to thirty-nine, with some alterations. They were confirmed by Parliament in 1566, and again in 1571, with some further variations. In the Act entituled "An act to provide that the Ministers of the Church will be of sound religion," A.D. 1571, it was enjoined that all Ecclesiastical persons should subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles, which are described in the Act as "the Articles of religion comprised in a book, imprinted, entitled Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops and the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London, in the year of our Lord God 1562, according to the computation of the Church of England, for avoiding of the diversities of opinions, and for establishing of consent, touching true religion, put forth by the Queen's authority."

There is great uncertainty, and there has been much controversy, as to which is the *imprinted book*, here

mentioned, as in the several printed copies, English and Latin, anterior to 1562, and in the manuscript copies, in both languages, down to the same year, there are several various readings.

The Thirty-nine Articles profess the Catholic doctrine of the Unity and Trinity of God, the Incarnation, Death, Descent into hell, Resurrection, and Ascension of Our Saviour, and the Final Judgment. They also profess the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, "proceeding from the Father and the Son." They hold the dogma of Original Sin; and affirm that "the baptism of young children is to be retained, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ." They hold, that those who fall into sin after baptism may by repentance rise again and amend their lives. They receive as canonical all the books of the New Testament; but of the Old Testament, while the greater part is adopted, they set forth certain books, namely, Tobias, Judith, a portion of the Book of Esther, the Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus or Jesus the Son of Sirach, Baruch the Prophet, and the two Books of Machabees, which they state, "the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners, but yet doth not apply to establish any doctrine"—all which books are received as canonical by the Catholic Church.[1]

[1] Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, and the two Books of Machabees, are called by Catholic writers the deutero-canonical books; not as being of less authority than the other books of the Old Testament, which are called proto-canonical, but because they were inserted in the Canon of the Scriptures at a later period. Writings which are not recognised by the Church as Divine are styled apocryphal. The following is the List of the Sacred Books, annexed to its Decree concerning the Canonical Scriptures by the Council of Trent; session iv., April 8, 1546; signed by 255 Fathers, December 4, 1563, and confirmed by Pope Pius IV., January 26, 1564: The Old Testament, 45 books; viz. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Josue, Judges, Ruth, I. Kings or Samuel, II. Kings or Samuel, III. Kings or I., IV. Kings or II., I. and II. Paralipomenon or Chronicles, I. and II. Esdras, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticle, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Isaias, Jeremias and Lamentations, Baruch, Ezechiel, Daniel, Osee, Joel, Amos,

Again, the Thirty-nine Articles hold, that all doctrine taught by Christ and His Apostles is contained in the Scriptures; whereas Catholics believe that many things taught by Christ and the Apostles are not recorded in the Scriptures, but are known to us only by tradition. They receive, with the Catholics, the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian, Creeds. They profess that man is justified by faith alone, against the Catholic doctrine of faith that worketh by charity (Saint James, chapter ii.). Article xvii. professes the doctrine of Predestination and Election.

Articles xxv. to xxxi., inclusive, treat of the Sacraments, which they reduce from seven to two; viz., "Baptism and the Supper of the Lord." They affirm that the communion should be administered under both kinds; and they condemn the Sacrifice of the Mass in language most irreverent, and rash, and, to Catholic ears, blasphemous.

According to Article xxi., "General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes: and, when they be gathered together, they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God."

Article xxii. condemns the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory, the veneration of Images and Relics, and the Invocation of Saints.

Article xxxvii. declares, that the Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this Realm of England, and other her dominions, in all causes Ecclesiastical or Civil, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign

Abdias, Jonas, Micheas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachy, and Machabees I. and II.: The New Testament, 27 books; viz. The Gospels of Saints Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, the Acts of the Apostles, by Saint Luke, Epistles of Saint Paul, to the Romans, I. Corinthians, II. Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians I. and II., Timothy I. and II., Titus, Philemon, and Hebrews, the Epistles of Sts. James, Peter I. and II., John I., II. and III. and Jude, and the Apocalypse or Revelations of Saint John.

jurisdiction; that "we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word or of the Sacraments;" and that "the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction within this realm of England."

The Book of Common Prayer forms the Liturgy of the Church of England. In the year 1546, Henry VIII. published the King's Primer, which contained the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and several hymns and collects.

Edward VI.'s First Prayer Book, published in 1549, was an enlargement of the King's Primer. Its title was, "The Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church: after the use of the Church of England. Londini in officina *Edouardi Whitchurche. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.* Anno. Do. 1549, *Mense* Martii." [1]

The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., called "The Book of Common Prayer," was published in 1552. It has several variations from that of 1549.[2]

Queen Elizabeth's "Book of Common Prayer" was published in 1559;[3] and that of James I.

[1] There were six various "imprints" of Edward VI.'s First Prayer Book, all in 1549, besides that above mentioned; viz. two more by Whitchurche, one in May, and one in June; three by Richard Grafton, the King's printer, London, in March; and one by John Ofmœn, in Worcester, in July. The colophon of the first edition ran as follows: "Imprinted at London in Fletestrete, at the signe of the Sunne ouer againste the conduyte, by EdVVarde VVhitchurche. The seventh daye of Marche, the yeare of our Lorde, 1549." In some copies, is found, at the end, the following list of prices, varying according to the impression: "The Kinges Maiestie, by the aduyse of his moste deare uncle the Lorde Protector and other his highnes Counsell, streightly chargeth and commaundeth, that no maner of person do sell this present booke unbounde, aboue the price of ii. shyllynges & ii. pence the piece. And the same bounde in paste or in boordes, not above the price of three shyllynges and viii. pence the piece. God saue the King."

[2] Of Edward VI.'s Second Prayer Book there were four "imprints," in 1552; two by Edward Whitchurche, and two by Richard Grafton.

[3] Of Queen Elizabeth's "Book of Common Prayer," there are three "imprints," in 1559: two by Richard Grafton, and one by Richard Jugge and John Cawode.

in 1604;[1] each varying more or less from the preceding.

The "Book of Common Prayer" of the Scottish Episcopal Church was published in 1637,[2] and has several variations, especially in the office for the Communion.

In 1662, was published the "Book of Common Prayer" of King Charles II.,[3] revised by both houses of Convocation, and sanctioned in its present form by Act of Parliament.

In the dogmatic division of the Symbolic Books of the Church of England, the old and new religions prevail in very different proportions from those in which they will be found in the liturgical section. Indeed it has often been observed that, while the Thirty-nine Articles, or Creed, are more Protestant than Catholic, the "Book of Common Prayer," or Liturgy, is more Catholic than Protestant.

Next in authority to the Thirty-nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer, are the Homilies, which are a collection of plain sermons, approved of by the State, in order that one of them may be read out in church on every Sunday on which there is no sermon. The first book, attributed to Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Ridley and Latimer, was published in the reign of Edward VI.; and the second was added, by order of Convocation, in the reign of Elizabeth.

It is unnecessary here to refer to the Symbolic Books of the Socinians and others of the minor sects that arose very soon after Luther and Calvin had led the great secession from the Church.

[1] James I.'s "Book of Common Prayer" was "imprinted at London, by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, Anno 1604."

[2] The Scotch "Book of Common Prayer" was printed in Edinburgh by Robert Young, Royal printer, 1637.

[3] "The Book of Common Prayer" of King Charles II. was printed in London in 1662, by His Majesty's Printers. All the editions above mentioned were published *Cum privilegio.*

The more we consider these several Confessions of Faith, all varying from one another, and some of them diametrically opposed to others, on important points of belief, the more clearly have we brought before us the necessary consequences of the exercise of the "right of private judgment" in the interpretation of the Scriptures. Here indeed is a striking contrast with the unity of the Church Catholic, of which all the members, in every clime, profess one and the same doctrine, in union with their one Supreme Pastor and Teacher, Saint Peter's Successor in the See of Rome.[1]

[1] For the substance of the Symbolic Books of the Catholics, see the "Tridentine Confession of Faith," in chap. xxv., on the Council of Trent.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE RELIGIOUS CENSUS OF EUROPE.

It is a generally admitted fact, that, within the first fifty years of its existence, the Reformation attained its fullest development. It was then firmly established in England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and Switzerland, a small portion of France, and the greater part of Germany; and it seemed likely to comprise still further provinces of the Continent of Europe. But here, contrary to all human calculations, its progress ceased. Nay, it commenced to recede; and, in the contest thenceforward, the Church of Rome was triumphant on every point, regaining much of what she had lost—a triumph "to be chiefly attributed, not to the force of arms, but to a great reflux in public opinion."[1]

Moreover, not only was there more zeal among the Catholics than among the Protestants, but the whole zeal of the Catholics was directed to one common object, the maintenance and extension of their common faith; "while almost the whole zeal of the Protestants was directed against each other."[2] At the same time that Jesuit and other missionaries, with the sanction and blessing of the Holy See, "overspread Europe, eager to expend every faculty of their minds and every drop of their blood in the cause of their Church, Protestant doctors were confuting, and Protestant rulers were punishing, sectaries who were just as good Protestants as themselves."[3]

[1] Macaulay's Essay on Ranke's "History of the Popes."
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

"As the Catholics in zeal and in union had a great advantage over the Protestants, so had they also an infinitely superior organization. In truth, Protestantism, for aggressive purposes, had no organization at all. The Reformed Churches were mere national Churches. The Church of England existed for England alone. It was an institution as purely local as the Court of Common Pleas, and was utterly without any machinery for foreign operations. The Church of Scotland, in the same manner, existed for Scotland alone. The operations of the Catholic Church, on the other hand, took in the whole world." [1]

Perhaps the best idea of the geographical distribution of Catholicism and Protestantism respectively in Europe, not alone at present but in past times, may be formed from the following statement of the actual number of Catholics and of Protestants of all communions, in the several European countries. It is necessary, in submitting it, to direct attention to the circumstance, that in Catholic States, nearly the whole, if not the whole, population is Catholic, while in the principal Protestant countries, the Catholics constitute a large proportion, being an average of considerably over one-third, of the whole population of those countries, inclusive of Great Britain.

In France, by the census of May, 1872, there were enumerated 35,387,703 Catholics, being 98·02 per cent. of the total population, 580,757 Protestants, or 1·6 per cent., 49,439 Jews, and 85,022 members of other sects.

In Belgium, in 1879, the population was 5,536,654, nearly all of whom were Catholics. The Protestants do not amount to 13,000, while the Jews number less than 1500.

In Austria-Hungary, of a population of 37,754,792,

[1] Macaulay's Essay on Ranke's "History of the Popes." The organization of the Catholic Church, here so highly lauded by this distinguished Protestant writer, is fully treated of in another chapter—that on the Hierarchy.

in 1880, fully two-thirds, or 67 per cent., were Catholics, about 20 per cent. were Greeks, 10 per cent. were Protestants, and 3 per cent. were Jews and other sects.

In Spain, with a population of 16,625,860, on the 31st of December, 1877, the entire, save 60,000 persons, were Catholics. Of these 60,000, about one-fifth may be taken as Protestants, according to the returns laid before the Cortes, in July, 1876.

In Portugal, with a population of 4,348,551, on January 1, 1878, the whole may be said to be Catholic —the number of Protestants, mostly foreigners, not exceeding 500.

In Italy, of a population of 26,801,154, in the census of 1871, 99¾ per cent. were returned as Catholics, Protestants 0·15, and Jews 0·11.

In European Russia, inclusive of the Russian provinces of Poland, in 1879, besides 64,000,000 "Orthodox" Greeks, 3,000,000 Jews, and 2,600,000 Mahometans, there were 8,355,000 Catholics (including 55,000 United Greeks and Armenians) and 2,950,000 Protestants.

In Greece, at the census of 1879, there were 1,635,698 members of the "Orthodox" Greek Church, 14,677 other Christians, "mainly Roman Catholics," 2652 Jews, and 917 Mahometans. Here, the Catholics may be fairly estimated at 13,000.

In European Turkey there are no accurate statistics of the various religious denominations; but, according to "a rough estimate" made over twenty years ago, the number of Catholics, in communion with the See of Rome were, at that time, 640,000. These may now be safely taken as over 1,000,000, as there has been, within the last twenty years, a great increase in their numbers.[1] Of Protestants of all kinds, 10,000 may be considered a liberal estimate.

Let us now take the Protestant European countries:—

By the census of December 1, 1875, the German

[1] Inclusive of United Greeks and Armenians in communion with the See of Rome.

Empire numbered 26,718,823 Protestants, 15,371,227 Catholics, 116,735 of various other Christian sects, and 520,575 Jews. This shows 62·5 per cent. of Protestants, and 36 per cent. of Catholics.

In Sweden and Norway, by the census of 1875 and that of 1879 respectively, the total population was 6,270,266, all of whom were Lutherans except 13,676. Of these, there were about 2000 Jews, and of the remainder 8000 may be estimated as Protestant dissenters, and 3600 as Catholics.

In Denmark, according to the census of 1880, the population was 1,969,454. Of these, all were Lutherans, except 9093 persons, comprising 3946 Jews, 3000 Catholics, and the remainder were Protestant dissenters, some Mormons, and some of no creed.

In the Netherlands, by the census of 1880, the number of Protestants is given as 2,469,814; of Catholics, as 1,439,137; of divers other Christian denominations, as 22,049; and of Jews, as 81,693.

In Switzerland, according to the census of 1880, the Protestants are 1,667,109, and the Catholics, 1,160,782, being respectively 59 per cent. and 41 per cent. of the population. There were also 7373 Jews—a small item, not affecting these proportions.

In Great Britain and Ireland, on the 4th of April, 1881, the total population was 35,246,562. In Ireland, the Catholics were 4,141,933, and in Great Britain and the Channel Islands they are estimated at over 2,000,000. Deducting these from the total population, and making allowance for the Jewish body, which may be taken as 52,000, of whom 40,000 reside in London, we may estimate the Protestants of the United Kingdom at nearly 29,000,000, and the Catholics at 6,200,000.[1]

[1] For all the above figures, respecting the total population, and the numbers of the various religious denominations of the several European States, I am indebted to "the Statesman's Year-Book for 1882," by Frederick Martin. They are borne out by Hübner's statistical tables,

All the above figures are comprised in the following synoptical table :—

	Catholics.	Protestants.
France	35,387,703	580,757
Belgium	5,522,154	13,000
Austria-Hungary	25,295,716	3,775,479
Spain	16,565,860	12,000
Portugal	4,348,051	500
Italy	26,734,151	40,000
European Russia	8,355,000	2,950,000
Turkey in Europe	1,000,000	10,000
Greece	13,000	1,677
German Empire	15,371,227	26,718,823
Sweden and Norway	3,600	6,256,590
Denmark	3,000	1,960,361
The Netherlands	1,439,137	2,469,814
Switzerland	1,160,782	1,667,109
Great Britain and Ireland	6,200,000	29,000,000
Total	147,399,381	75,456,110

Here it will be seen that the Catholic is to the Protestant population of Europe very nearly in the proportion of two to one.

The principal divisions of Protestantism are primarily Lutherans and Calvinists. Of the former, some Churches adopt, while others reject, episcopal government.

The district of Lutheranism is Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Prussia, Hanover, Saxony, Würtemberg, and others of the smaller German States, and the Baltic provinces of Russia. It is also professed, to some extent, in Hungary, and other parts of the Austrian Empire.

Calvinism prevails in Holland, in the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, in the Duchy of Nassau, in

and the numbers set forth in the Deutsche Reicheszeitung. In not making a religious census, England is an exception to the general rule. It was estimated, in the middle of the year 1878, that in England and Wales 13,500,000 persons claimed membership with the Established Church, and 11,000,000 were Protestant dissenters. "There are altogether 140 religious denominations in Great Britain, the names of which have been given in to the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages."

Hesse, Anhalt, and Lippe in Germany, to some extent in a few of the Southern departments of France, and in Hungary, Transylvania, and Prussia, in Scotland and the North of Ireland, and partially in England.

Although the Arminians do not now form distinct Churches, their opinions, opposed to and moderating the severe tenets of Calvin, are extensively held by Protestants, especially in England and Holland.

The Anglican Church, which is Episcopalian in government, is quite distinct from, although akin to, Lutheranism and Calvinism, modified by the doctrine of Arminius. It is almost entirely confined to England and her colonies.

Making full allowance for the great increase of population during the past three centuries and a half, and for the fact that, as a rule, children, in each successive generation, follow the religious opinions of their parents, we cannot but regard the 75,000,000 Protestants in Europe in our day, as a powerful proof of the extent and enduring character of the revolt from her authority, which all but rent the Church in twain in the lifetime of Luther, and, to mere human apprehension, appeared to threaten her existence. Yet, sustained by her Divine Founder, she not only survived the ordeal, coming forth from it purified and strengthened, but, in due time, regained much of what she had lost at home; and, further, conquered in the New World many a province in lieu of those of which she had been bereft in the Old. Then, from her bosom went forth—to edify and instruct, to revive a spirit of holiness in Europe, and to evangelize, in far remote regions, multitudes who sat in darkness and the shadow of death—that gallant band, the Society of Jesus, numbering in its ranks Ignatius of Loyola, its holy founder; Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies; Francis Borgia, still more illustrious for his humility and zeal for God's honour than for his noble descent; Aloysius Gonzaga and Stanislas Kotska, eloquently preaching to the youth of all

nations, even down to this day, by the example of their stainless young lives; John Francis Regis, a truly Apostolic missionary,—all enrolled in the calendar of the saints; and their no less devoted associates, Faber, Salmeron, Bobadilla, Laynez, Rodriguez, and others, each dedicating his life and labours, his every thought and aspiration, to the promotion of "God's greater glory,"[1] and the salvation of souls; so that, ere long,

> "India repaired half Europe's loss;
> O'er a new hemisphere the Cross
> Shone in the azure sky;
> And, from the isles of far Japan
> To the broad Andes, won o'er man
> A bloodless victory."

In a similar spirit, were founded, about the same time, with the cordial approval of the Holy See, the following other orders of Clerks Regular:[2] the Theatins, established in 1524 by Saint Cajetan of Thienna, and John Peter Caraffa, Archbishop of Theate, afterwards Pope Paul IV.—the scope of the institute being the revival of the spirit of holiness in the clergy and people;[3] the Clerks Regular of Somascha, instituted by Saint Jerome Æmiliani, in 1530—their chief object being the training of young clergymen and the instruction of youth; the Clerks Regular of Saint Paul, or Barnabites, founded also in 1530, with a view to forming the lives of Christians after the model prescribed in the Epistles of Saint Paul, and to providing ministers for the confessional, the pulpit, the education of youth in colleges and seminaries, and the conducting of missions;[4] the

[1] "Ad majorem Dei gloriam," the motto of the Society.

[2] The Clerks Regular are clergymen living in community, following a rule and taking vows, in order to devote themselves to the functions of the sacred ministry, the instruction of the people, the aiding the sick, the conducting of missions, and other similar works.

[3] The Theatins were so named from Caraffa's diocese of Theate, the archbishop having been chosen the first general of the order.

[4] The Barnabites were so called from the church of Saint Barnabas at Milan, which was given to them on their institution. Their founders

Clerks Regular, Assisting the Sick, even those affected by the plague, founded by Saint Camillus de Lelis in Rome, in 1584, and the Clerks Regular, Minors, instituted in Naples in 1588, for the exact fulfilment of all the duties of the Ecclesiastical state, and the promotion of holiness in all classes.[1] Besides these, there were the Congregations, composed each of a number of secular priests, living in community, and following a rule; such as that of the Oratory, founded by Saint Philip Neri in Rome, in 1564; and the Oblates[2] of Saint Ambrose, now called of Saint Charles, instituted by Saint Charles Borromeo, Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, in 1578. All these associations, no less by their example than by their untiring labours, largely promoted the reaction, or "reflux in public opinion," that so strongly set in, about fifty years after the commencement of the Reformation. The ancient orders, moreover, reanimated by their pristine fervour, contributed their share to the movement.

And so it has continued ever since. The Clerks Regular of the Scholæ Piæ and of the Mother of God, and the Congregations of the French Oratory, the Lazarists or Fathers of the Mission, the Eudistes, the Sulpiciens, the Passionists, the Redemptorists, and the Fathers of Charity have been instituted; as well as many a congregation of religious women, and many a brotherhood of monks, for charitable, educational, and missionary purposes. The great College of the Propaganda, the French Association of the Propagation of the Faith, the Society of the Foreign Missions, and

were three Italian gentlemen of good family, Antonio Maria Zachari, Bartoloméo Ferrari, and Giacómo Antonio Morigia. They were specially favoured by Clement VII. and Saint Charles Borromeo.

[1] The founders of the Clerks Regular, Minors, were Giovanni Augustino Adorno, a Genoese gentleman, and his friends Augustino and Francisco Caraccioli.

[2] The Oblates are organized under the bishop of a diocese, and bound to him by a simple vow of obedience, or an *oblation*, to be employed, as he may direct, in labouring for the salvation of souls.

other kindred institutions, have also been unceasingly engaged: and the Universal Church, notwithstanding grievous persecution at home, even within the capital of Catholic Christendom, is now as full of vigour and activity, and as strong in the adhesion of her children in all parts of the globe, as she has been at any period of her existence.[1]

[1] This is especially the case in all parts of the British dominions, throughout which the practice of their religion by Catholics is free and unfettered. In the Canadas and Australia, the condition of the Catholic Church, its growth and prosperity, are all that could be desired. Alike remarkable is the position of Catholicism in the United States, brought into prominence by the Plenary Council of Baltimore, celebrated last year. In 1783, there were in the newly formed North American Republic, about 27,000 Catholics, of whom nine-tenths were in Maryland and Pennsylvania. Now, there are in the United States more than 7,000,000 Catholics. The numbers given in the decennial census of 1880, viz. 6,143,222, are not considered accurate by those likely to be best informed. The numerical increase would have been much greater but for the suddenness and vast proportions of the influx of Irish Catholics, after the years 1847–1849, when the existing ecclesiastical and educational arrangements were quite unequal to so great and rapid an accession of numbers—a want which has since been amply provided for by the Holy See. In 1790, there was only one Catholic Bishop in the Republic—Doctor Carroll, the first Bishop of Baltimore, consecrated in England, that year. Now there are in the United States a Cardinal, twelve Archbishops, sixty-one Bishops, and a Prefect Apostolic.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

EFFECTS OF THE REFORMATION IN PROTESTANT STATES.

AGAIN and again, in these pages, has it been proved, even on Protestant testimony, and many a historical fact has been cited in illustration thereof, that, in the Middle Ages, the Church was ever the champion and protector of the lowly and the oppressed against the tyranny of those in high place. When, however, many fair provinces in central Europe were withdrawn from her spiritual jurisdiction by the revolt of Luther, an undeniable change for the worse ensued in the social condition of the masses.

The learned Doctor Döllinger, himself a German, and one who is generally regarded as a reliable and indeed an unimpeachable witness as to facts, bears very unfavourable testimony to the immediate effects of the Reformation on the personal liberty and the well-being of the populations of the several German States. In doing so, he gives, in all cases, exact references to his authorities—nearly all of them German writers of high repute.

It was a natural result of the movement in Germany, that the increased power of the temporal prince, now supreme head of the Church in his own dominions, should be accompanied by a corresponding diminution of the freedom of the lower grade of nobles and of the humbler classes.

In Mecklenburg, on the establishment of the new doctrine, the order of prelates ceased to belong to the Diet. Since the year 1552, only two orders appeared

therein, the *Ritterschaft*, or Equestrian order; and the *Landschaft*, or Provincial Estates. The nobles had seized their share of the Church property, and the peasants, whose interests were now no longer represented in the national assembly, as they had been by the clergy, were subjected to a system of tyranny and plunder, under which their labour was appropriated by the nobles, and they were expelled from their farms by the process called *Legan*, or laying—the tillage lands being converted into large manors and pastures. Indeed, the peasantry were treated by their lords "like the most abject slaves," and they attempted, whenever they could, to make their escape even into Russia. It was only in 1820 that serfage was abolished in Mecklenburg.[1]

In Pomerania, where Protestantism was established in 1534, the fate of the peasantry was the same. Here the oppression of the tillers of the soil became such, that "even those who still held farms fled the country." In the peasant law of 1616, they were "declared to be 'serfs without any civil rights,' and preachers were compelled to proclaim fugitive peasants from the pulpit."[2]

In the territories of Brunswick and Hanover, the new absolute Ecclesiastical power of the princes (simultaneously with the substitution of the Roman law for the German, which took place after the Reformation) was attended with results detrimental equally to the towns and the rural districts. The habits of extravagance engendered and encouraged by the robbery of the Church property, the disorder of the finances of the principalities, the debasing of the coinage by the nobles, and the annihilation of the ancient freedom and independence of the Estates, all conduced to aggravate the lamentable state of affairs.[3]

In the Brandenburg and Prussian dominions, "the

[1] Döllinger, "The Church and the Churches," p. 92; London, 1862. Trans.

[2] Ibid., pp. 93, 94.

[3] Ibid., pp. 94, 95.

condition of the peasants had become more and more miserable since the Church had fallen, and the nobles and princes were the only powers in the country." After the seventeenth century, the monarch usurped all power; the estates were not convoked; and taxes were imposed at the King's pleasure. "Military executions, formerly quite unknown in Germany, became frequent, especially for non-payment of imposts." So oppressive were the taxes levied by the Royal head of the Church, that the peasants left their farms in troops and turned robbers, and numbers of them fled into Poland, leaving twelve thousand farms uncultivated. Under Frederick William I., "the Lutheran clergy had to drink to the very dregs the bitter cup of monarchical Church supremacy." The Church and the State were reformed by the King in the same ignorant and arbitrary spirit, and were ruled as he ruled his army. "He dictated to the Lutheran clergy, as their spiritual head, what subjects they were to preach about, and what they were to avoid, as well as which ceremonies were to be observed in divine service, and what was to be omitted." [1]

In the Electorate of Saxony, in Hesse, Würtemberg, and the smaller States, it was all the same: so that Arnold the historiographer of the King of Prussia observes, "It cannot be denied that, since the Reformation, tyranny, injustice, and extortions had risen to the highest point." [2]

In Denmark and Sweden, purely Lutheran countries, the dwellers on the great estates of the Church were obliged to exchange the mild rule of the clergy for the oppressive yoke of the nobles. They became mere thralls. At this day, the clergy are all slaves to the King, their temporal and spiritual head.

Similar results were produced in England by the introduction of the Reformation, under Henry VIII.

[1] Döllinger, "The Church and the Churches," pp. 95–98.
[2] Ibid., pp. 98, 99.

Here, commencing with Henry, and continuing through subsequent reigns, there was carried out by the State a system of suppression of monasteries and sequestration of Church property, familiar to all readers of history. It is needless to dwell on the sufferings of the members of religious communities, male and female, who were thrown penniless on the world, or on the great change effected in the condition of the mass of the population, who had previously received instruction, and relief in their corporal necessities, from the monastic institutions which dotted the land. Then, the tillers of the soil on the domains of the Church were transferred from the kindly sway of the clergy and monks to the reckless tyranny of rapacious nobles, residing at a distance; tillage was extensively superseded by pasture; and cattle and sheep were substituted for human beings. One fact speaks volumes for the mischief done, and the necessity created; and that is, that, as far back as the reign of Elizabeth, a Poor Law was enacted, and thus was "free Christian charity degraded into a legal obligation, and a compulsory oppressive tax substituted for a willing gift."[1]

As regards the Calvinistic or Reformed Churches, they were far less pliant than the Lutheran, and by their resistance to secular authority, from time to time, they drew down on themselves grievous persecution. Calvin, as we have seen, would make the ministers of his own Church at Geneva independent of the civil power; and in this, through the concurrence of the civil magistrates, he succeeded. But what was thus effected in certain cantons of Switzerland, was not to be accomplished in larger states. Influenced by Calvin, the Protector, Somerset, in a marked manner favoured the doctrines

[1] Döllinger, "The Church and the Churches," p. 150. The learned author, viewing our Poor Law from a Continental standpoint, alludes to the Workhouses, added in more recent times, and observes that "their arrangements, by the separation of husband and wife, parents and children, are completely un-Christian, and in their present state a disgrace to the country."

of Geneva in England, in the reign of Edward VI.;[1] and in Scotland, Holland, and some of the German principalities, they met with the like acceptance from the ruling powers. Yet in every instance the sovereign maintained unimpaired his own rights and jurisdiction, as supreme head of the Church.

But if the Calvinists suffered persecution themselves, they no less carried out, and suggested, the persecution of others. "The Calvinistic religion," says Niebuhr, "has everywhere, in England, in Holland, as in Geneva, set up its blood-stained scaffold as well as the Inquisition, without its possessing a single one of the merits of the Catholic."[2] The burning alive of Servetus in Geneva, and the judicial murder of Barneveldt in Holland are notable examples. But it must be admitted that, with the exception of the first mentioned, the political element entered largely into all such cases; and all Christian communions at the present day will doubtless unite in reprobating such proceedings as these, and the martyrdom of More and Fisher, the fires of Smithfield, the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, and the cruelties of the Spanish Inquisition, in all of which the sacred name of religion was prostituted to political purposes.

This is especially apparent in the cotemporary records of the Massacre of the French Calvinists in Paris, on Saint Bartholomew's day, the 24th of August, 1572. That lamentable act was entirely political. The Church had no connection with it whatever. The Calvinists had plotted against the King's life; had levied war against him; had met his troops in several pitched battles; had introduced foreign soldiers into his dominions; and had detached several towns from his obedience. The massacre, an extreme measure which

[1] See the long letter, of seven closely printed pages folio, from Calvin to "the Protector of England," dated Geneva, October 22, 1546 "Ioannis Calvini Epistolæ," p. 65; Geneva, 1575.

[2] Niebuhr, apud Döllinger, "The Church and the Churches," p. 100.

no circumstances could justify, was forced on the youthful monarch[1] by his mother Catherine de Medicis, and his councillors, who represented to him, that, if such immediate action were not taken against the leaders of the plot, he would lose not only his kingdom but his life, and the other members of the Royal family would also fall victims.

It has been urged against the Catholics that Pope Gregory XIII. publicly returned thanks to God, when he heard of the event! This false charge carries its own contradiction, in its absurdity. The facts simply are, that Charles wrote to all the sovereigns in Europe, including the Pope, that he had detected and cut short the plot against his life; and the Pope rendered thanks to God for the King's safety—not for the massacre.

But what is, and has long been, the result of the complete subjugation of the Church, in matters spiritual, to the civil authority, in the several Protestant States of Europe? We are informed, that "there are now in Germany about thirty-eight Protestant Churches, each of which is independent of the other, and has its own organization; and since in each of the States the Church has been degraded into a mere branch of the Administration—has been inserted as a wheel in the great State machine—it has come to pass that all the threads of Ecclesiastical government come together, and are united in the hands of a single Government official, the Minister of Public Worship."[2]

Hence the Royal Supreme Heads of the Church, in their several dominions, have long acted as they pleased in matters Ecclesiastical; as they act at this day. True, they are said to consult their theologians; but those theologians may be changed at any time, according to the Royal pleasure. The "Union," which, for

[1] Charles IX. of France was born June 27, 1550, ascended the throne December 15, 1560, his mother acting as Regent. He died May 31, 1574, aged twenty-four.

[2] Döllinger, "The Church and the Churches," p. 275.

State reasons, was begun in Prussia and was imitated elsewhere, "has, since 1817, amalgamated the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches, and given an essentially different form to German Protestantism."[1] The new Church thus constituted by Royal command, is called "Evangelical," which name, in the present day, we are told, is used in official documents, as, "*a collective term to express opposition to Catholicism.*"[2] Genuine Calvinism, as represented by the decisions of the Synod of Dort, and the old Lutheran Church, have almost died out in Germany.[3]

To any one remembering how widely apart were the opinions of Luther and those of the first Swiss Reformers, on the Lord's Supper and other essential tenets, it will not be difficult to draw accurate conclusions, as to the results of the compulsory amalgamation of conflicting creeds, and other similar measures, enacted by the civil power. Not only are the several Churches reduced to a state of slavery, and deprived of that freedom of thought which was the proud boast of the first Protestants; but the abandonment of cherished tenets, the laying aside of fixed opinions, the open profession of doctrines inwardly ignored, the system of give-and-take, enforced by the State, must necessarily conduce to the extensive prevalence of indifference, and rationalistic principles, culminating in materialism.

To enslave in like manner the Catholic Church, has been the aim of the *Culturkampf*, and of all the German anti-Catholic enactments in our day—an attempt which happily has been rendered futile by the constitution of the Church, and the steadfastness of her sons. This particular subject will be fully treated in the next chapter.

It has frequently been asserted that the atmosphere of Catholicism is unfavourable to material progress and the industrial arts. Italy and Spain are pointed

[1] Döllinger, "The Church and the Churches," p. 276.
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 277.

to, in support of this allegation, and, on the other hand, England, Prussia, and other Protestant States are instanced, as nations which occupy foremost places in industrial progress, under the influence of Protestantism. Superficially regarded, this may appear to some to be a correct view of the case. But a calm investigation of actual facts will show that it is altogether erroneous. The question is geographical rather than religious—one of climate and material resources, rather than of creed. Thus, there is not in the world a more successful nation in every branch of human industry than Belgium. In agriculture, she occupies the first place; in her iron manufacture, she closely presses England; in other branches of industry she has attained a high position; and yet, perhaps, not excepting Ireland herself, there is no more Catholic country. Then there is Catholic France, second to none, if not first of all, in the industrial arts and material prosperity. This was proved, if proof were necessary, in her rapid rise, after the payment of five milliards of francs, or two hundred million pounds sterling of indemnity to Prussia, at the close of the Franco-German war. England herself would have found it a very difficult task to discharge this huge liability, on the termination of a costly campaign. France appears to have scarcely felt it. Of this fact, the subjoined note, from the columns of our leading journal, affords an apposite illustration.[1]

[1] From the *Times* of December 28, 1880:—

"*Paris, Monday, December the 27th*, 9.30 *p.m.*

"Ten years have passed since one of the severest and most costly struggles which France ever had to fight, and the country and its people seem now more prosperous that they ever were before. The heavy burden of the war debt, the immense amounts spent to repair the ravages sustained, have been borne with an ease only paralleled in America, and the greatly increased taxes have been paid without apparently depressing industry and commerce. The increase in revenue has been such, indeed, that this year 120,000,000f. of taxes have been taken off without endangering the equilibrium of the Budget. Indeed,

Again, in some of the prosperous Protestant countries mentioned, the Catholic population is an important element. For instance, in the German Empire, of a population of forty-two millions, twenty-six millions are Protestant, and fifteen millions are Catholic.

it may be fairly said that France has never been so prosperous, and that no real poverty exists in the country. The workhouse is unknown; public and private charity largely relieves the wants of those who, mostly by their own fault, have to seek for help. And yet France has had to face severe losses in different branches of her industry. The deficiency in the wine crops, due to the phylloxera, may be estimated at hundreds of millions of francs a year, and the silkworm has nearly disappeared from the southern Departments. France, as well as England, has had to face the competition of America. What is the explanation of this superiority over other countries? It seems to have three fundamental causes: the geographical frontier of France and its more evenly distributed resources from agriculture and industry, the extreme thriftiness of her people, and her democratization of credit. There is no doubt that in the organization of her transport system, in the development of her industry, France has been more systematic than other countries. More pains have been taken to protect existing interests and avoid over-production; the principle of Free Trade, even when introduced, has been handled with extreme care; and fiscal laws have been made when it was thought necessary to nurse industry after the severe shock of 1870. The consequence is that iron and coal have been able to hold their own. All the great manufacturers have their hands full, and the French railways are obliged to go abroad for part of their immediate wants. Thus the North of France Railway had to order some fifty engines from Vienna. The traffic on all French railways has greatly increased, and the Government has always favoured their development. When unprofitable lines have been built, the Government has eventually taken them up, so as to protect this important branch of national industry. Again, the farmer seems to have been better able to stand competition. Hard-working, economical in the extreme, and sober, he gets all that the land can yield. He always complains, and every year lays something by. There is no over-population and, therefore, no emigration. Thus production and consumption are more evenly balanced, and when one source of revenue momentarily fails it is replaced by another.

"The sense of economy and thrift of the French people is especially striking to those who have lived much in other countries. Nearly everybody possesses something in this country. If anybody does not, you may be pretty sure it is his own fault."

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CULTURKAMPF, AND CATHOLIC ORGANIZATION.

THE German *Culturkampf*,[1] or civilization-fight, as its illustrious chief promoter is said to have named it, may equally well be styled the religion combat, or education strife; and practically it is the same lamentable warfare as is now being so fiercely waged against the Church in several other countries of Europe.

The arena of the Culturkampf in Germany is, strictly speaking, Prussia and Hesse Darmstadt—pre-eminently the former. According to the last census, taken December 1, 1880, the population of Prussia is 27,278,911. Of these, the Protestants are 17,645,462, being 64·7 per cent., and the Catholics 9,205,136, or 34·1 per cent., of the total population. The remainder are principally Jews, amounting to 363,790, or 1·334 per cent.

It was on the 9th of January, 1873, that Dr. Falk, Minister of Public Worship, first introduced into the Prussian Diet the bills, which were afterwards to be known as the May Laws.[2] These laws, which, for the future, were to regulate the relations of Church and State, purported to apply to the Evangelical or united Protestant State Church of Prussia, described in the

[1] *Culturkampf*: composed of the German *Cultur*, derived from the Latin *cultura*, culture, figuratively applied to the mind—that is, its education, or training intellectual, moral and religious, and the German *Kampf*, combat, fight, conflict, struggle.

[2] May Laws: so called because they were generally passed in the month of May, although in different years.

last chapter, as well as to the Catholic Church. Their professed main objects were: first, to insure greater liberty to individual lay members of those Churches; secondly, to secure a German and national, rather than an "Ultramontane" and non-national, training for the clergy; and, thirdly, to protect the inferior clergy against the tyranny of their superiors—which simply meant, as proved in the sequel, the withdrawal of priests and people, in matters spiritual, from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and the separation of Catholic Prussia from the Centre of Unity; thus substituting a local or national Church, bound hand and foot, under State regulation, for a flourishing branch of the Universal Church. To promote these objects, it was provided, that all Ecclesiastical seminaries should be placed under State control; and that all candidates for the priesthood should pass a State examination in the usual subjects of a liberal education;[1] and it was further provided, that the State should have the right to confirm or to reject all appointments of clergy. These bills were readily passed: and all the religious orders and congregations were suppressed, with the provisional exception of those which devoted themselves to the care of the sick; and all Catholic seminaries were closed. In vain did the Catholic deputies protest against these unconstitutional measures; and when they appealed to the existing law of the Prussian constitution, which, in articles 15, 16 and 18, guaranteed the free exercise of their religion to the Catholics, in common with other denominations, that law was, on the motion of ministers, immediately repealed.

The Bishops refused to obey the new laws, which in conscience they could not accept; and they subscribed a collective declaration to this effect, on the 26th of May 1873. On the 7th of August following, Pope Pius IX. addressed a strong letter of remonstrance to

[1] Subsequently changed to the production of a certificate of having attended a course of University lectures thereon.

the Emperor William; but entirely without effect, as may be seen in the Imperial reply of the 5th of September.

In punishment of their opposition, several of the Bishops and great numbers of their clergy were fined, imprisoned, exiled, and deprived of their salaries. Especially notable among the victims of persecution, were the venerable Archbishop of Cologne, Primate of Prussia, the Bishop of Munster, the Prince Bishop of Breslau, the Bishop of Paderborn, and Cardinal Ledochowski, Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen, on whom, then in prison, a Cardinal's hat was conferred by the Pope, in March 1875, as a mark of sympathy, encouragement, and approval by His Holiness of the constancy and devotion of the whole episcopate of Prussia. The previous month, the sentiments of Pius IX. had been expressed to those confessors of the faith in an Encyclical—a letter in every respect worthy of so grave a crisis.[1]

The determined spirit in which those retrograde laws were carried out by the Government, and the hardships thereby inflicted on the entire Catholic population—being 34·1 per cent. of the total inhabitants of Prussia—will, in some degree, be realized, on a perusal of the following figures. The fifteen Catholic dioceses of Prussia comprised, in January 1873, a Catholic aggregate of 8,711,535 souls.[2] They were administered by 4627 parish-priests, and 3812 coadjutor-priests, or curates, being a total of 8439 clergy. Eight years later, owing to the operation of the May Laws, there were exiled or dead, without being replaced, 1770 of these clergy, viz., 1125 parish-priests, and 645 coadjutor-priests; and there were 601 parishes, comprising

[1] Encyclical of February 5, 1875.

[2] The Prussian Catholic dioceses are, Cologne, Münster (Prussian portion), Paderborn, Treves, Hildesheim, Osnabrück, Fulda, Limburg, Ermeland, Gnesen-Posen, Culm, Breslau, Prague (Prussian portion), Olmutz (ditto), and Freiburg (ditto).

644,697 souls, quite destitute of clerical care, and 584 parishes, or 1,501,994 souls, partially destitute thereof.[1] Besides these 1770 secular priests, dead or exiled, and not replaced, there were the regular clergy (the members of religious orders), all of whom had been expelled.

All through from the commencement, the clergy have been well seconded by the laity. In the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, and, more especially, in the Reichstag of the Imperial Parliament of Germany, there has been formed a powerful and admirably organized party of Catholic deputies, under the able leadership of Herr von Windthorst. This party, known as "the Centre," actually holds the balance of power between the Government and the opposition; and can, by a solid vote, on any question, ecclesiastical or other, turn the majority in favour of whichsoever side it supports. Happily for the peace and prosperity of the Empire, this all-powerful party is conservative, in the true sense of the word; and it acts with judgment, patriotism, and a wise regard for law and order. The result is, that, after a gallant struggle of twelve years, all within the limits of the constitution, the cause of civil and religious freedom has been considerably advanced. By the bills of July 14th 1880 and May 31st 1882, Government made some concessions; and these were followed up by the Church Bill of June 5th 1883, of which the subjoined brief particulars may be here stated.[2]

This bill, amending the May Laws, contains six clauses. By the first clause, Bishops are no longer obliged to notify to the Government the appointment to parishes of priests who may be unconditionally

[1] Abridged from a Return communicated to the members of the chamber of Deputies of the Prussian Landtag, as a *pièce justificative* in connection with the Bill introduced by Herr von Windthorst for exempting in future from punishment the celebration of Mass and the administration of the Sacraments. January 1881.

[2] These measures were brought in by Herr von Puttkamer, Dr. Falk's successor.

recalled, viz., coadjutor-priests or curates; but clause 2 enacts that this concession does not extend to the cases of priests entrusted with the administration of parishes, *i.e.*, parish-priests. Consequently, the spiritual wants of vacant parishes may now at once be supplied through curates or vicars appointed at the discretion of the Bishops. Clause 3 declares that the Ecclesiastical Court is no longer the highest tribunal of appeal for the clergy against the decisions of the Government authorities in matters regarding appointments, the discipline of clerical seminaries, or episcopal rights in vacant dioceses. Such appeals now lie to the Minister of Public Worship, whose decision is final. By clause 4, the Government authorities are entitled, as heretofore, to oppose the appointment of any candidate who shall appear to be unfit for an ecclesiastical office, on account of his civil or political position, or whose education has not been completed according to the existing laws. The reasons for opposing the appointment of a candidate are always to be given, and the Ecclesiastical authorities are allowed to appeal against the Government decision to the Minister of Public Worship, the highest Court of appeal. Clause 5 enacts that the Holy Sacraments can be administered by missionary priests in all vacant parishes, as well as in those in which the priests have been forbidden to conduct religious services, under the May Laws. Clause 6 repeals all former legislation which is contrary to the above five clauses. The bill, as remodelled in committee, was passed, on the third reading, in the Lower Prussian Chamber, by 224 votes against 107, being a majority of over two-thirds.[1] In other respects, too, the operation of the May Laws was mitigated, even where they had not been altered, but they remain in reserve, to be used, as occasion may arise.

So inconvenient had the attitude of the Centre party

[1] On June 25th 1883.

proved to the Government, that in the year 1879, Prince Bismarck opened negotiations with the Vatican, through the Papal nuncios at Munich and Vienna; but without any agreement being arrived at. Prussia urged that the Holy See should declare its approval of the May Laws. This the Vatican refused; but it expressed its willingness to discuss those laws seriatim, and to make some concessions, while it insisted on the reservation to the Bishops of the right to nominate parish priests; the amnesty and restoration of the Bishops and priests in exile; and an assurance that the Prussian Government would make its legislation conformable to the principles of the Catholic Church, which require the free exercise of the sacred ministry, the education of the Catholic clergy, and the religious instruction of Catholic children.[1]

Notwithstanding these and subsequent negotiations, the Catholics of Prussia still suffer under several heavy grievances. What those grievances are, will be seen in the following Syllabus drawn up by the Committee of the Catholic Union of Rhineland, and submitted to the Congress of that Union, in May 1884:—

1. The Archbishops of Cologne and Posen have been superseded, and the other prelates of Prussia remain liable to be superseded at any time.
2. Upwards of 1000 parishes are bereaved. In the archdiocese of Cologne alone, as many as 300 are without priests.
3. In the archdiocese of Posen, the priests are still deprived of their stipends.
4. All the seminaries for priests have been closed.
5. The Royal Ecclesiastical Court continues to exist, as a monument of the oppression of Catholics.
6. Priests are still liable to be turned out of the country, at a minute's notice.
7. Most of the religious orders have been suppressed. The few remaining are oppressed.

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[1] Despatch of Cardinal Nina, Papal Secretary of State, dated March 23rd 1880, and read by Cardinal Jacobini to Prince von Reuss, in Vienna, on March 29th.

Further, in their address with reference to the approaching elections, the Deputies of the Centre party in Germany say, in September 1884:—

The so-called *Culturkampf* is by no means at an end: it is true that its waves are calmed down, but its waters remain as they were. Let the Catholics beware if those waters become stagnant: they would poison the national life much more than they did when the tempest was at its height. This is the real wound, the most dangerous wound, from which Germany suffers. To close and heal it, is our chief and most patriotic task.

Still later, the actual condition of the Church in Prussia, in March 1885, is described as follows by the Episcopate, in their reply to the letter of sympathy addressed to them by the Prelates of the late Plenary Council of Baltimore, on the persecution they endured. That reply, signed, on behalf of his venerable brethren, by Paul, Archbishop of Cologne, and dated March 10th 1885, says:—

"Unfortunately we are far from seeing the end of our afflictions. The chain of the May Laws, which fetters the rights and the liberty of the Church, still weighs upon us; our seminaries and our monasteries still remain suppressed; thousands of parishes are still desolate or deprived of their pastors. The Religious Orders and Congregations are still expelled and banished from their native land. The discipline of the church, the discharge of the episcopal office, and the administration of ecclesiastical property are subject, in many respects, to the management and control of the Government, which claims, moreover, to manage the schools. Ecclesiastics and even priests are bound to serve in the army. The Archbishops of Prussia still languish in exile under a foreign sky. We are thus deprived of many precious graces, which, in the midst of the struggle and the danger, we need, to aid us to preserve intact and inviolable our unity and constancy to the end."

In addition to their united Parliamentary action, and with a view to render that action still more effective, because more thoroughly identified with popular feeling, the Catholic party in Germany hold great annual meet-

ings, in which are discussed all topics, religious, civil, economic, and political, bearing on Catholic interests. Last year's meeting (September 1884) was held at Amberg, in Bavaria; and the chair was occupied by Herr von Heune, a member of the German Parliament. The Archbishop of Salzburg and several other prelates were present. The principal speaker was Herr von Windthorst; and it is hardly necessary to observe, that his eloquent, wise, and patriotic utterances are watched with the deepest interest by the whole Empire. The utilization for Catholic purposes of the well-known system of the German "Burschenschaften" or student societies, and the condemnation of State socialism and of secularized public instruction, were among the leading subjects under discussion; and, as might well have been expected, the Catholic population of every province of the German Empire was represented in that great meeting.

Throughout their struggle, the German Catholics have had the sympathy and cordial co-operation of a great number of enlightened Protestants, themselves sufferers by the *culturkampf*. The following account of the disastrous effect of such legislation on the Protestant Church of Prussia, taken from one of the leading German Protestant papers, the *Reichsbote*,[1] contains a lesson well worthy of the attention of the statesmen of every land:—

> The Evangelical Church has suffered grievously from the *culturkampf*. . . . Indifference and hatred towards the Church and Christianity have increased to an astounding degree, and the unchristianized masses of the humbler classes have ranked themselves in tens of thousands in the army of social democracy. As a result of the putting aside of the Church and of Christianity, and of the impious doctrine that "everything is nature," which has been the outcome, immorality has increased, and the number of crimes is being multiplied to an appalling extent. The bonds

[1] October 1878.

of social order are being dissevered, because the moral factors, authority and religion, have been long since put on one side, and replaced by rationalistic commercialism, so that we find ourselves in face of the most serious complications in the social, moral, and ecclesiastical order. Of all the promises which were made at the commencement of the *culturkampf*, not only has not one of them been realized, but the reverse has happened in every direction. Instead of peace, there are everywhere disorder and disunion.

Unhappily, it cannot be denied, that the twelve years' persecution of the Church in Prussia has operated somewhat similarly, but, let us hope, not to so great an extent, among the Catholic population. The two metropolitan sees vacant, the bishops of other sees discharging their duties in daily apprehension of being superseded, a large number of parishes without an adequate supply of priests, the ecclesiastical seminaries closed, the number of ecclesiastical students alarmingly diminished, the expulsion of the religious orders, and all Catholic education most seriously interfered with —these causes combined, as we are assured by well qualified witnesses, have necessarily driven many Catholics into the ranks of Indifferentism or Unbelief.

On the other hand, however, there is much that is reassuring in the gallant bearing and position of the Centre party in Parliament, sustained as it is by the fifteen million Catholic subjects of the German Empire and by many sympathizers of other creeds. That party and its supporters have thus far successfully asserted, against formidable odds, the freedom of their altars and their inalienable right to educate their children in the religion of their fathers; and there is good reason to hope for the ultimate triumph of their loyal and constitutional efforts. They have moreover afforded an invaluable example to Catholic populations oppressed, wronged, and despoiled by well-organized minorities in other Continental states, and they have practically demonstrated how Catholic France and Catholic Italy, if only

true to themselves, can, by combined constitutional action, accomplish the same results as are now being achieved by a Catholic minority in Fatherland.[1]

[1] The success of Belgium in this respect, which, notwithstanding some passing demonstrations of angry feeling on the part of the defeated minority, appears to be permanently assured, and the satisfactory results of united Catholic action in the Municipal elections in Rome and other cities of Italy are fully referred to in the concluding chapter. In Holland, the Catholic members, heretofore divided, have now resolved to unite in one compact body, and, combining with the Right or Conservative party, they will constitute a majority in the Lower House.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE ART OF PRINTING AND THE BIBLE BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

HERE, it will not be out of place to refer to the off-hand assertions of certain Protestant writers, that, for the great activity and extension of the newly invented art of Printing, the world was mainly indebted to the Reformation, and that Luther was the first to give the Bible, in their own language, to the people.

We have seen that it was on the 10th of December 1520 that Luther publicly burned the Pope's Bull at Wittenberg, and that he completed his German version of the New Testament in 1522, and of the Old Testament in 1530. The art of Printing was invented, some seventy-five years before, by John Gutenberg at Mentz, and was rapidly perfected by him, in conjunction with John Fust and Peter Schœffer,[1] Fust's son-in-law. The three partners appear to have contributed, each his own share, to the completion of the invention. Gutenberg's first attempt, about A.D. 1440, was cutting out types from blocks of wood. Schœffer, ere long, invented the casting of metal type and punches, and also the manufacture of printer's ink; and Fust, a goldsmith of considerable wealth and great skill in working metals, effectively co-operated by his means and experience. They published three editions of *Donatus*, said to have been the first books printed entirely with movable type, probably in 1450; and, five years later, bearing the

[1] Sometimes written "Schoiffer."

date of 1455, *Litteræ Indulgentiæ Nicolai V. Pont. Max.*, simply one page. About the same time, they brought out the celebrated Mazarin Bible, *Biblia Sacra Latina*, in two volumes folio.

Fust and Schœffer separated from Gutenberg in 1455, and continued their work, in partnership, at Mentz, publishing several books, in their joint names, for eleven years.[1] Amongst these was the Psalter of 1457, *Psalmorum Codex*, printed in large type of three-eighths of an inch high, beautifully executed, the capitals being finished in three colours, blue, red, and purple, in the style of cameos. It is the first book which bears the printer's name, with the date and place of printing. A second edition followed in 1459, in the same type. On the 16th of October 1459, they published one of their most remarkable works, with a new fount of type and all their improvements, *Durandi Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, and, in 1462, their second Latin Bible, the first edition of the Bible published with a date, two volumes folio, a justly admired example of their art.[2]

[1] There are no books extant, in which Gutenberg's name appears conjointly with those of Fust and Schœffer. In the earliest printed books, the name, and the date and place of printing, are, as a rule, omitted; but occasionally they appear at the end of the book. The character was invariably Gothic until the year 1467, when Roman letters were first introduced. At the beginning of sentences, blanks were left for the capitals, which were afterwards supplied by the illuminator. There were also several contractions of words. The only points used, were the colon and full stop; and sometimes only vertical strokes at the end of sentences.

[2] The high value set upon these splendid specimens of early typography has been recently exemplified at the Syston Park Library sale, which took place in London, in December, 1884. Among the books sold was a copy of the Mazarin Bible, above referred to, and described in the catalogue as follows:—"Biblia Sacra Latina e Versione et cum Præfatione S. Hieronymi, two vols., the first edition of the Bible, and the earliest book printed with metal types, by the inventors of printing, splendidly bound in blue morocco, a magnificent copy folio. Sine Nota, sed Moguntiæ, per J. Gutenberg et J. Fust, circa, 1450–55. This excessively rare edition, of which a copy sold in the Perkins sale for £2690, has been designated the Mazarin Bible ever since the discovery by Debure of a copy in the library of Cardinal Mazarin. It is printed in double columns, in large letters similar to those used by

Fust died in Paris in July 1466, a victim of the plague, which in August and September of that year, carried off several thousands of the inhabitants of the capital. Schœffer survived his partner and father-in-law thirty-six years, having published a great number of books up to his death in 1502. Meanwhile the art had been carried on and widely diffused by many other master printers, in various cities and countries, as we shall presently see.

Well indeed may the Germans be proud of the invention of this justly styled "almost divine art:" and equally are they entitled to the world's admiration and gratitude for its immediate wide diffusion. The account of their wondrous activity and energy in developing their great invention is best given by one of themselves, Doctor Janssen of our day, to whose standard work, "The History of the German Nations since the rise of the Middle Ages,"[1] I am indebted for the interesting and valuable facts and figures which follow in this chapter.

On the conquest of Mentz by its Archbishop Count Adolphus of Nassau, in 1462, the new invention, ere long, became widely dispersed. In what may be called the infancy of the art, Mentz numbered five printing offices, Ulm six, Basle sixteen, Augsburg twenty, and

scribes for church missals and choral books, and for firmness of paper, brightness of ink, and exact uniformity of impression, it has never been surpassed by any other work." This remarkable book was sold for the unexampled sum of £3900. Still more wonderful was the amount subsequently obtained for a copy of the Psalter of Fust and Schœffer, *Psalmorum Codex*, folio, also above described, the edition of 1459—namely £4950. Another Bible by the same printers, *Biblia Sacra Latina*, Moguntiæ 1462, two volumes folio, beautifully printed on vellum, also mentioned in the text, sold for £1000.

[1] "Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters." Von Johannes Janssen. Freiburg im Breisgau 1883. It is to be hoped that French and English translations of this invaluable work will ere long be published. At the great meeting of the Catholics of Germany, at Amberg, in September 1884, alluded to in the last chapter, a special vote of thanks was passed to Doctor Janssen for his admirable book.

Cologne twenty-one. From the year 1470, the celebrated Antony Koburger worked no less than twenty-four presses in Nurenberg, and he had establishments also in Basle, Strasbourg, and Lyons. Hans Shönsperger in Augsburg, and John Amerbach, Wolfgang Lachner, and John Fröben, master printers in Basle, were no less active than Koburger. In 1471, Conrad Schweynheim began to print maps from metal plates; and in 1482 he initiated the printing of architectural and mathematical figures; and Erhard Oeglin invented the printing of music with movable type, about the same time.[1]

The art was extended to Subiaco and Rome by Scheynheim and Pannartz, in 1465; to Venice in 1469; to Milan, the same year; and to Siena, Foligno, Perugia, Florence, Modena, Ascoli, Urbino, Naples, Messina, and Palermo, all by German printers, about the same date. At the close of the fifteenth century, Italy numbered over one hundred master printers. At that date, Spain had over thirty, all Germans; and there were some in Portugal also.[2]

The art of printing was planted in Buda in 1473; in London in 1474, by William Caxton;[3] in Oxford in

[1] Janssen, "Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes," vol. i., pp. 10, 11.

[2] Ibid. i. 11.

[3] William Caxton was born in Kent in 1412, his father being a wool merchant. He was apprenticed to a mercer; and he resided in the Netherlands for several years, as agent of the London Mercers' Company. In 1464, he visited the Low Countries again, as one of the Deputies of Edward IV., to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, with reference to a commercial treaty; and, on the occasion of the marriage of the King's sister Margaret with Charles Duke of Burgundy, he went over as a member of the princess's household. When on the Continent, Caxton translated from the French, the "Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye by Raoul le Feure," which he printed at Strasbourg. From that city he removed to England, and established his press at Westminster. Here he published the first book printed in England, the Game of Chess, bearing date 1474. He published altogether sixty-two works. He died in 1491, in his eightieth year. When removing from the Continent, he brought over with him Wynkyn de Worde, a native of Lorraine, who acted as his foreman, and became his successor. De Worde was a very enterprising and energetic printer, and published a great many works. He died in 1534. Theodoric Rood, the first

1478, by Theodoric Rood; in Denmark in 1482; in Stockholm in 1483; in Moravia in 1486; and in Constantinople in 1490.

The Church took an active and enlightened part in promoting and encouraging the new invention; for the clergy regarded it as a powerful agent in advancing missionary activity, and extending the faith, and, along with this, all science and education. The Brothers of Common Life at Rostock, in one of the first publications of their printing press, A.D. 1476, call Printing "the mistress of all arts for the good of the Church;" and they style themselves "priests who preach not only by word of mouth, but by the press." On every side, in the monasteries, printing presses were established; as, for instance, in the Aargau monastery at Beromünster, in the year 1470; in the Benedictine monastery of Saints Ulrich and Afra at Augsburg, in 1472; with the Benedictines of Bamberg, in 1474; and those of Blaubeuren, in 1475; with the Premonstratensians of Schussenreid, in 1478; with the Austin Hermits of Nurenberg, in 1479; and the Benedictines of Saint Peter's of Erfurt, the same year.[1]

The Minorites and the Carthusians were the most zealous helpers of Johann Amberbach at Basle; the Doctors of Sorbonne, in the year 1470, introduced the first printers into Paris, namely, "the Alemannic Brethren," Ulrich Gering, Martin Crantz, and Michael Friburger, already mentioned, whom they cordially supported; and so, in like manner, was the art of printing extended to Leipsic and Tübingen, through the zeal of ecclesiastics.[2]

In Italy, the German printers Conrad Schweynheim and Arnold Pannartz found their first welcome from the Benedictine Monks at Subiaco; and, later on, they continued their publications at Rome, under the direction

printer of Oxford, was another friend of Caxton's, and probably came over from the Continent on his suggestion.

[1] Janssen, i. 13. [2] Ibid. i. 14.

of Bishop Giovanni Andrea d'Aleria, Librarian of Pope Sixtus IV. The master printer Ulrich Hahn of Ingolstadt was invited to Rome by Cardinal Turrecremata in 1466; as was George Lauer of Würzburg by Cardinal Caraffa in 1469. In 1475, that is, forty-five years before the commencement of the Reformation, Rome had twenty printing establishments; and up to the close of the century there were published therein no less than nine hundred and twenty-five works, chiefly through the exertions of the clergy. Indeed, the principal encouragers of the new art were ecclesiastics, who were also the largest purchasers of books.[1]

Doctor Janssen gives interesting details of the early days of German bookselling, which was a continuation and extension of the manuscript traffic that had long been growing, and at the time of the invention of printing had attained considerable development. Besides the transcribers in the monasteries, there was a numerous class of copyists in the large towns, who laboured not alone for the learned, but for the general wants of the people. The books were sold by itinerant dealers, who had previously distributed their catalogues. After the invention of typography, bookselling followed in the same course, and so rapidly increased and flourished, that towards the end of the century, or five and twenty years before the commencement of the Reformation, it embraced the whole of civilized Europe. It was at the fair of Francfort that booksellers principally met and exchanged their works. This great fair had attained large proportions in this traffic in the year 1510.[2]

Peter Schœffer, Gutenburg's early associate, established a book store in Paris as early as the year 1475. The Koburgers of Nurenberg also opened a house in Paris; and in the year 1500 they had sixteen shops for their flourishing book trade in Hungary, the Netherlands,

[1] Janssen, i. 14. [2] Ibid. i. 15.

Italy, especially Venice, Poland, and other countries. In the classic publications of the Italian presses, Koburger rivalled the Fröben Lachner firm, whose waggon-loads of classics of the best Aldine editions, from Venice,[1] were so eagerly sought after, as sometimes to cause a scuffle amongst the anxious crowd of purchasers. Franz Birkmann of Cologne was no less energetic in pushing an active trade in Germany, France, the Netherlands, and especially in England.[2]

Among the productions of the Press, above referred to, the Bible took the first place in Germany, and, for over a century, occupied more than any other work the printers of Europe. Down to the year 1500, the Vulgate was printed over one hundred times. The Latin Bible, brought out by Fust and Schœffer in 1462, was followed by Koburger's German Bible of 1483, a fine work, furnished with more than one hundred wood engravings by Michael Wolgemut. Of this work, down to the end of the century, there followed fifteen editions

[1] Aldine Editions. Aldo Pio Manuzio (Latinized *Aldus Pius Manutius*) was born at Bassiano, a village in the Duchy of Sermoneta in the Papal States, in 1447. In 1488 he settled in Venice, where he lectured on the Greek and Latin languages, and opened a printing office. In 1494, he published his first book, a poem, *Hero and Leander*, and, soon afterwards, several other works, including his much praised edition of Aristotle. Down to his time, books were generally published in the large folio size; but he struck out a new course, by printing the classics in a smaller and more convenient form, and in a new writing-like type which he devised, known as the *Aldine* or *Italic*. In this work he was aided by several literary friends, including Erasmus, and with these he formed the Aldine Academy. His first publication in this style was a Virgil, Venice, 1501. The early Aldine classics are highly prized by book collectors. The reader will have noticed the press-mark in their title pages—a dolphin coiled round an anchor. Aldus was about to publish the Bible in three languages, when he died, A.D. 1515. His son Paolo, born in Venice in 1512, was summoned to Rome by Pope Pius IV., in 1561, to establish and direct the Papal printing office. He left several learned works. He died in Rome in 1574; and was succeeded in the direction of the Apostolic press by his son Aldus junior, who was born in Venice in 1547. The latter was a distinguished scholar and author, and was, in every way, worthy of his father and grandfather. He died in Rome in 1597.

[2] Janssen, i. 16.

from the same publishers, and nine editions from the Amerbach press at Basle, in the years 1479–1489.[1]

Besides the several translations of the whole Bible before the Reformation, there were versions of books of the Old and New Testaments, in themselves, printed in great numbers. Of these, there can be mentioned, in our day, eleven German editions of the Psalms down to the year 1513, and twenty-five editions of the Gospels and Epistles down to 1518; and, down to the commencement of the Lutheran secession, there are known, at least, fourteen complete Bibles in High German, and five in Low German. Among the former, are the beautiful Augsburg editions of 1477, 1480, 1487, 1490, 1507 and 1518, and those of Nurenberg of 1483, and of Strasbourg of 1485. The quick succession of impressions, and the circumstantial testimony of cotemporaries, quoted by Doctor Janssen, conclusively establish the fact, that the German translations of the Bible spread far among the people.[2]

Thus it will be seen how different from the real state of affairs are the possibly unintentional misrepresentations of certain uninformed non-catholic writers, as to the Bible having been withheld from the people before the days of Luther. That the whole Bible should not be given indiscriminately and without interpretation to the ignorant and the young, is and has ever been the rule of the Church—a rule based on the principle that the Scriptures are to be interpreted, not by each individual reader or hearer, but by the infallible Church. On the other hand, the Protestant doctrine is, that each person is entitled to interpret the Scriptures for himself, the evils of which system, as we have already seen in these pages, have been deplored by several learned Protestants.

After ecclesiastical subjects, the publishers next devoted their labours to the printing of the old classics.

[1] Janssen, i. 17. [2] Ibid. i. 51–54.

Besides those above named, Gottfried Hittorp of Cologne, and the brothers Leonhard and Lucas Alantree of Vienna are especially deserving of honourable mention in this department. Prayer books, catechisms, popular works, and books of natural and medical science, all chiefly composed by the clergy, were also printed and sold in large numbers.[1]

From the multiplication of works at the time, that is, down to the year 1500, we can form an idea of the avidity with which books were received and read. Generally each edition was of 1000 copies. Of the Bible, there were over one hundred editions: of the writings of Jacob Wimpheling, for the instruction of youth, there were thirty editions in twenty-five years: and, down to the year 1500, there were no less than fifty-nine editions of "The Imitation of Christ."[2]

The great energy and success with which the primary and intermediate schools and the universities were conducted in Germany, mainly through, and with the co-operation of, the clergy, notwithstanding the tepidity of some of the prince-bishops, are fully detailed by Doctor Janssen. The evidence on this subject, ad-

[1] Janssen, i. 18.

[2] Ibid. i. 19. The authorship of this universally prized book, "De Imitatione Christi," according to Fontenelle, "The most excellent book ever produced by man, the Holy Scriptures being of Divine origin," is, and has long been, a subject of controversy. By some it is ascribed to John Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, about A.D. 1400, and by others, again, to John Gersen, a Benedictine Abbot at Vercelli, who lived in the thirteenth century; but it is most generally regarded as the work of Thomas à Kempis, of whose life the following brief particulars may be given here. Thomas Hämmerlein or Hämmerchen (Latinized *Malleolus*) was born, of poor parents, in the village of Kempen, near Dusseldorf, in 1380. He first studied under the Brothers of Common Life at Derventer; and afterwards he entered the monastery of the Canons Regular of Mount Saint Agnes, near Zwoll in Overyssel. Here he was ordained priest in 1413. He gave the greatest edification to the whole community by his sweetness of disposition and holy life. His principal employment was copying manuscripts, especially the Bible. He wrote several works of piety, of which the best edition is considered that of Sommalius the Jesuit; Antwerp, 3 vols. 8°., 1600 and 1615. He died in 1471, aged ninety-one.

duced by him, presents a powerful array of facts, which disprove the assertion that, before the days of Luther, the wants of the people in this regard were but ill attended to; and it further reminds us that, in investigating questions of this kind, we must be on our guard against vague general assertions, unsupported by specific facts, and unauthenticated by reliable authorities.

CHAPTER XXXI.

PIUS VI.

"Nemo est in mundo sine aliqua tribulatione vel angustia, quamvis Rex sit vel Papa."—THOMAS À KEMPIS.

WHEN France was visited by the fatal Revolution, which eventually overturned alike the altar and the throne, necessarily violent and fundamental changes were to be expected in the Ecclesiastical affairs of the country. At first, the National Assembly decreed, that all Church property should be sequestered, as it belonged to the State—subject, however, to the expenses of Divine worship, the maintenance of its ministers, and the relief of the poor.[1] In lieu of tithes, now abolished, and the vast property in Church lands taken possession of by the State, small stipends were fixed for the support of the clergy, whose numbers were computed at over 100,000. The scale of payment, it need hardly be observed, was extremely low,[2] and, consequently, a very large balance accrued to the national exchequer. Every chapter in the kingdom protested against the alienation of the property of the Church; but their protests were as unavailing as the passing wind.

Next followed the enactment of "the Civil Constitution of the clergy."[3] By this law it was decreed, that

[1] December 19, 1789.

[2] The stipend set down for a *curé*, or parish priest, was from 1200 to 2000 livres (£48 to £80) a year, according to the population of the parish; and for a *vicaire* or curate, 700 livres (£28); with the use of a house and garden for both.

[3] July 12, 1790.

promotions to all Ecclesiastical benefices should no longer take place according to the provisions of the existing Concordat with Rome, but that they should be elective, the bishops and priests being chosen by the Departmental electoral assemblies, without any reference to the Pope—not only every sect of Christians, but even Jews and Infidels, being entitled to vote on the occasion. The episcopal sees were reduced from one hundred and thirty-six to eighty-three, being a bishopric for each of the new departments into which France was divided; religious orders were abolished; the Pope's confirmation of appointments of Bishops was interdicted; but it was provided that new Bishops might, as a simple matter of courtesy, inform the Holy Father, by letter, of their appointment; the reception of a Papal bull or brief, unauthorized by Government, was made a criminal offence; and all the clergy were required to take the oath to observe this constitution, under pain of forfeiture of their offices and of the emoluments attached thereto. Only four bishops, out of one hundred and thirty-six, and a very small minority of the priests, gave in their adhesion to the new law, which was rejected by the great majority, who preferred exile and poverty to the sacrifice of their sacred obligations.[1] Several of the nonjuring priests, however, remained in France, secretly ministering to the faithful, at the risk of their lives.[2] In the course of the following year, many hundreds of these devoted men were massacred in Paris, Meaux, Châlons, Lyons, and other cities, with circumstances of revolting cruelty.

Pius VI.,[3] who then governed the Church, issued

[1] The four bishops who acted so unworthily were Loménie de Brienne, Archbishop of Sens; Jarente, Bishop of Orleans; Savines, Bishop of Viviers; and the celebrated Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun.

[2] Those who took the oath to observe the Civil Constitution of the Clergy were called Assermentés, or Jurors, and those who refused to take it were styled Insermentés, or Nonjurors.

[3] Pope Pius VI., John Angelo Braschi, was born at Ceseno in 1717. He governed the Church A.D. 1775–1799. He expended very large

monitory letters, and a brief, against this flagrant violation of the rights and jurisdiction of the Apostolic See. In these documents, he emphatically condemned the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy," severely censuring the ecclesiastics who had given in their adhesion to it, and highly commending those (the great majority) by whom it had been rejected.[1] The intrepid bearing and decisive action of the Holy Father in this crisis had considerable effect in the provinces of France, and caused much disappointment and annoyance to the revolutionary party in the capital. It was intimated to him, that, if he expected to be allowed to remain in peaceful possession of his territories, he should at once revoke his edicts, and accept the Civil Constitution. To this he firmly replied, that as Vicar of Christ he could not be false to his trust. "I have prayed to God," said he, "for aid and light, and inspired, as I believe I am, by the Holy Spirit, I refuse to accede to these conditions." The French Directory appeared to acquiesce. Their hands were full. They had more than enough to occupy them in other quarters. Their quarrel with the Pope could be adjourned.

Meanwhile, anarchy and infidelity swept over France with resistless force. The King, the Queen, and other members of the Royal family, were ruthlessly murdered,[2] together with a vast multitude of the friends

sums on the drainage of the Pontine marshes and other improvements. This Pope was distinguished for learning, piety, prudence, and sublime resignation under affliction. He suffered from the hostility of Joseph II., Emperor of Germany, and of Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, as well as from the wrongs and outrages inflicted by revolutionary France.

[1] April, 1791.

[2] Louis XVI. was guillotined on the 21st of January, 1793. This amiable but most unfortunate prince was attended in his last moments by the Abbé Edgeworth, who, on the fatal axe descending, uttered the sublime words, "Fils de Saint Louis, montez au ciel." Marie Antoinette was executed on the 16th of October following, the infamous Duke of Orléans, "Egalité," shortly afterwards, and the King's sister, the Princess Elizabeth, on the 10th of May, 1794. On the 8th of June, 1795, the youthful Dauphin, Louis XVII., died in the prison of the Temple, the victim of cruelty and neglect.

of religion and social order, of every condition of life;[1] Christianity was proscribed; the Sabbath was abolished; the National Convention decreed, that the only deities in France should be Liberty, Equality, and Reason; the Churches were desecrated; the sacred vessels were polluted, and carried off by profane hands; holy pictures and statues were destroyed; the church bells ceased to toll; the pulpits were deserted; the administration of the sacraments ceased; and the doctrine was promulgated, that "there is no God," and that "death is an eternal sleep." For over seven years, this sad state of affairs continued—namely, from the decree of the Convention, abolishing Christianity, 7th of November, 1793, to the re-establishment of religion by Napoleon, then First Consul, in 1801, and his Concordat with the Pope, the same year.

In the month of June, 1796, having disposed of more pressing affairs, General Bonaparte, with his victorious army, entered the Papal States, taking possession of Ferrara, Bologna, and Urbino. The Pope, completely at his mercy, immediately entered into negotiations with the conqueror, for a cessation of hostilities. Bonaparte, having surmounted every obstacle, thus far, in his career of universal conquest, and acting on the principle of might constituting right, dictated the following most onerous and humiliating terms, which the Holy Father had no choice but to accept. In consideration of an armistice, the Pope was to cede

[1] The following particulars are given by Prudhomme, in "Les Victimes de la Révolution." There were guillotined, under the sentences of the Tribunals, 2028 of the nobility of both sexes, 1467 wives of workmen, 1135 priests, 350 nuns, and 13,623 of the humbler classes; being a total of 18,603. To these must be added 3748 women who died in premature labour or from grief; the 32,000 victims of the inhuman monster Carrier at Nantes, comprising 1400 nobles, and 5300 artisans drowned, 300 priests shot and 460 drowned, 500 children shot and 1500 drowned, and 264 women shot and 500 drowned; 31,000 killed at Lyons; and 900,000 men, 15,000 women, and 22,000 children, slaughtered in La Vendée, where so gallant a stand was made in behalf of religion and order. Thus the number of victims amounts to 1,022,351!

to the French the cities of which they had taken possession, as well as Ancona, which would give them the command of the Adriatic; to pay them twenty-one millions of livres (£875,000), besides the contributions to be levied on the cities they had taken; to set at liberty all political prisoners; to separate himself from his former allies, and to close his ports against them; and to deliver up to his conquerors one hundred pictures, busts, vases, and statues, and two hundred manuscripts—all to be selected, from the treasures of his capital, by commissioners, who were to be sent from Paris to Rome for the purpose.

Of these conditions, alike ruinous and unjust, Pius naturally deferred the fulfilment, as long as the fortunes of war were undecided between the French and Imperial armies. This the French general saw with indignation; and, having completely subdued the Austrians in Northern Italy, he decided once again to invade the States of the Church, with the avowed object of punishing the Pope for his temporizing policy.

Early in February, 1797, the French entered the Romagna; dispersed the Papal troops, capturing one thousand prisoners and all their cannon, and took possession of Imola, Faenza, Ravenna, Forli, Cesena, Urbino, and Ancona; thus becoming masters of the entire tract from the Apennines to the Gulf of Venice. On the 12th of February the Pope dispatched Cardinal Mattei and other plenipotentiaries, to negotiate a treaty of peace. That treaty, dictated by Bonaparte, was signed on the 19th, at Tolentino; and its conditions were still more disastrous and humiliating than those of the armistice of the previous year. The Pope was compelled to cede to the French the provinces of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna, and further to formally confirm to them Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin, of which they had already taken possession;[1] to pay fifteen

[1] As decreed by the National Assembly, September 14, 1791.

millions of livres (£625,000), besides the twenty-one millions to be paid according to the terms of the armistice, and a further sum of three hundred thousand francs, compensation to the family of Basseville, the French ambassador, murdered a short time previously by a riotous mob in Rome; to leave the French in possession of Ancona, and the provinces of Macerata, Umbria, Perugia, and Camerino, until the entire thirty-six millions of livres should be paid; and to confirm the articles as to the release of the political prisoners, and the transfer of pictures, works of sculpture, and manuscripts, to the French Republic.

Not content with these concessions iniquitously wrung from a helpless and unoffending State, the French Directory now resolved, that the temporal sovereignty of the Popes should cease to exist. Already French revolutionary and atheistical principles had been widely disseminated in Italy and in Rome itself. Thus, unhappily, was the way prepared. Towards the close of the year 1797, Joseph Bonaparte was sent ambassador from the French Republic to the Pope. Immediately on his arrival, he demanded the liberation of all political prisoners, a reduction in the numbers of the Papal army, the expulsion of all French refugees, and the dismissal of the Austrian general, Provera, from the Pope's service. Although maintaining an appearance of moderation, he seems, from the commencement, to have favoured the revolutionary party. His residence, the Corsini palace, and its enclosure, were entirely outside the control of the Papal government. Here the disaffected used to assemble, wearing the tricolour cockade, and, issuing forth, used to erect poles, surmounted by the cap of liberty, in various quarters of the city.

On the 28th of December a large body of insurgents assembled in front of the Corsini palace; and, after listening for some time to the inflammatory addresses of violent demagogues, they attacked the Pontifical

troops, who were sent to disperse them. Joseph Bonaparte, General Duphot, and other French officers came out of the palace to preserve peace, when Duphot was accidentally shot by a sub-officer of the Papal Guards. This unlucky occurrence gave their opportunity to the French Directory. Their ambassador was withdrawn. No explanation would be listened to. The French army, under Berthier, marched on Rome. By the Pontiff's orders, no resistance was offered to their advance. They entered the city, and immediately took possession of the Castle of Saint Angelo, liberating all the prisoners, and thus adding to the revolutionary elements abroad. Under the protection of the French flag, the populace assembled in great numbers in the Campo Vaccino, on the 15th of February, 1798, and there, planting the tree of liberty, proclaimed the Roman Republic. The same day Berthier marched, in military pomp, to the Capitol; and, not only by his presence and countenance, sanctioned these proceedings, but further participated in them, by delivering the following inflated address:—

Shades of Cato, of Pompey, of Brutus, of Cicero, and of Hortensius, accept the homage of the emancipated French, in the Capitol, where you have so often defended the rights of the people, and added new glories to the Roman Republic.

The descendants of the Gauls, bearing olive branches, now repair to this august spot, to restore the altars of liberty erected by the elder Brutus.

And you, Romans, who have recovered your legitimate rights, remember the monuments of glory that surround you, resume your pristine greatness, and emulate the virtues of your ancestors.

Thus was celebrated the anniversary of the Pope's accession, in his own capital! The Holy Father was, at the time, engaged in his devotions in the Sistine chapel, when Haller, the French Commissary General, abruptly entered, and announced to him that his reign was at an end. Several attempts were made to induce him to flee: seemingly friendly advice, threats, even

insults, were resorted to, but all in vain. Then force became necessary: the room in which he sat was plundered in his presence; the few trifling articles required for his personal comfort were withdrawn; even the Fisherman's ring was taken off his finger; and when the venerable Pontiff, then in his eighty-second year, asked to be allowed to die where he was, he received the curt and brutal answer that he could die anywhere. On the 20th of February he was removed, a prisoner from the Vatican, and, under an escort of French cavalry, was compelled to travel towards France. A fatiguing journey of five days brought him to Siena. After a brief sojourn there, with the monks of Saint Barbe, he was removed to the Chartreuse, about two miles from Florence. Here he was visited by the exiled King of Sardinia, Charles Emanuel IV.,[1] and his queen; and, in reply to their expressions of condolence, he remarked: "In this world all is vanity. No one can say so with more truth than we can. Yes, all is vanity, but to love and serve God, the giver of every good. Let us, then, raise our eyes to Heaven, where thrones are prepared for us, of which men cannot deprive us." During his residence in this monastery, and wherever else he sojourned on the route, his fortitude and resignation commanded the sympathy of all—even his captors.

Towards the end of March, an order arrived from the Directory, that the Pope should be transported into France. Crossing the Alps in very severe weather, he suffered much from cold and fatigue. When this circumstance was deplored by his attendants, he observed, "It is the will of God. Let us go wherever they please." At Gap, Grenoble—every city, town, and hamlet on the way—the inhabitants crowded around him to obtain his blessing, and to testify their profound sympathy and veneration. Owing to the advanced years and broken

[1] Charles Emanuel IV. was dispossessed by the French of his capital, Turin, and his continental dominions, in 1798.

health of the august prisoner, three months are said to have been occupied in this dreary journey. Shortly after his arrival at Valence, his destined place of detention, his over-tasked strength entirely gave way, and the brief illness supervened which was to put a period to all his earthly troubles. When administering the holy viaticum, the officiating priest asked him if he forgave all his enemies. "From the bottom of my heart," was the reply; and thus, with the most edifying sentiments of resignation to God's will, and charity to all mankind, on the 29th of August, 1799, he peacefully yielded up his soul to the Divine Master, whom he had so faithfully followed in the rugged path of suffering.[1]

After the deposition of Pius VI. from his temporal throne, his spiritual authority continued to be exercised by his vicar in Rome; while the temporal government devolved on a body of consuls, senators, tribunes, questors, and other officials of the ancient classic model, created under a new and cumbrous constitution, framed in Paris for the occasion. Under this constitution it was enacted, that the French General should have a veto, for ten years, on all laws passed by the governing body in Rome.

A natural consequence of this revolution was a widespread system of confiscation and pillage. All the Papal domains, and the properties of religious communities and of the Roman nobles were sequestered; churches and palaces were plundered; paintings, statues, and other objects of art—the accumulated treasures of centuries—were borne away by the invaders, or sold by them to brokers, chiefly wealthy Jews, who, jackal-like, followed in the track of spoliation. The total amount of spoil thus gathered by the French, whether in the shape of plunder, confiscations, or exactions, is roughly estimated by cotemporary writers at two

[1] In 1802 the remains of Pius VI. were removed from Valence to Rome, and interred there, with great pomp, by his successor Pius VII., assisted by eighteen cardinals.

hundred millions of livres, or £8,500,000 of our money.[1]

Meanwhile French revolutionary ideas were zealously propagated in Italy; a Jacobin Club was established in Rome; the Sabbath was declared abolished, the priesthood was proscribed; and, in order to carry out the principle of "equality," the Colonna, and other princes and nobles, were compelled to serve as private soldiers in the ranks.[2]

In the adjoining towns and hamlets, the work of pillage was likewise carried on. In a few instances, French soldiers were killed by the infuriated people; and the result was, that numbers of the peasantry were massacred, in retaliation.

[1] Such was the rapacity of the French, that they carried off thirty-six sets of type, of the several characters of as many different languages, from the great missionary college of the Propaganda. This was a wanton act; for, it need hardly be observed, these types could not be of any use whatever to the plunderers.

[2] After some time, substitutes, for payment, were permitted.

CHAPTER XXXII.

PIUS VII.

"Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus."—HORACE.

ON the death of Pius VI., a prisoner and in exile, there was great joy among the Infidel party in France; while in Protestant England, naturally enough, the question was asked: "How can a successor to the deceased Pontiff be elected? The cardinals are dispersed; Rome is in the hands of the spoiler; close by 'the Threshold of the Apostles,' an altar of Liberty has been set up; the priesthood is annulled, the Sabbath abolished. Has the Papacy ceased for ever to exist?" Even to many a sincere Catholic it appeared as if the spirit of revolutionary France had permanently settled down, in darkness and desolation, on the Eternal City; and, but for the Divine promise, it would have seemed that the gates of hell had at length prevailed against the Church.

But here, as on many a former occasion, when human hope had well nigh become extinct, God's providence intervened in behalf of His Church. Under the protection of Austria, the Sacred College assembled at Venice, and there, on the 13th of March, 1800, elected Cardinal Chiaramonti, who assumed the name of Pius VII.[1] On the 3rd of July following, the new Pope entered his capital, amidst the joyous acclamations of

[1] Pius VII., Gregory Barnabas Chiaramonti, born at Ceseno, in 1740, governed the Church from A.D. 1800 to 1823.

the people—the city having been restored to him by the successes of the Austrians and Russians, under Suwarrow, against the forces of the French Republic.

Napoleon, now First Consul, plainly saw that the experiment of Atheism in France was an utter failure. Infidelity had had its trial, as a substitute for Christianity, and had miserably broken down. The worship of the goddess of Reason and other similar absurd profanities had no hold on the masses. The great heart of the nation was far from altogether unsound. Therefore he resolved to restore Catholic worship in France; it may have been not so much on account of his innate love for religion as because he felt that his doing so would be in accord with the sentiment of the great majority of Frenchmen, and because, moreover, he had learned from experience that good Christian men are those most likely to make good citizens and good subjects. Accordingly, on the 15th of July 1801, he concluded a Concordat with the Pope, who was represented by his special delegate Cardinal Consalvi, to the effect, that the Government of the Republic acknowledged the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion to be the religion of the great majority of French citizens; and that the hierarchy was to be constituted of ten archbishops and fifty bishops, who were to be nominated by the First Consul, and were afterwards to receive canonical institution from the Pope, according to the usage under the lately suppressed monarchy. To carry out this arrangement, it was agreed upon that the Pope should call upon the lawful bishops of the old dioceses to resign their sees, in the interests of peace and unity; and that, before entering on office, the bishops should take an oath of fidelity to the First Consul, who was recognised by the Pope, as possessing the same rights and privileges as the late King; and it was provided, by articles 14 and 15, that the State should make a suitable annual grant for the support of the bishops and clergy; and should facilitate the making of fresh

endowments by French Catholics, who desired to do so. The Concordat was signed in Paris on the 16th of July 1801, and was ratified by the Pope on the 15th of the following month. The pontiff further published a bull, to the same effect, on the 29th of November.

It was with the deepest regret that Pius VII., bowing to the necessities of an extraordinary emergency, called upon all the canonically instituted bishops of France, now in exile, to resign their sees, deposed those who refused to do so, abolished the ancient dioceses, and erected sixty new sees to replace them. Of the eighty-one prelates then surviving, forty-four immediately obeyed the Holy Father, as did fourteen bishops of new territories recently annexed to France; but thirty-seven refused to resign, and were deposed by the Apostolical authority.[1] Cardinal Caprara was sent to France by the Pope to give canonical institution to the new bishops.[2]

The Concordat was laid before the legislature by Portalis, minister of ecclesiastical affairs, on behalf of the First Consul, on the 5th of April 1802, when, without consultation of the Pope, several enactments, called Organic Laws, were passed, to regulate details.

Of those enactments, the principal were: that no

[1] As regards the fifty-nine "Constitutional" bishops appointed by the State, on its throwing off the Papal authority, the Pope could not take cognizance of them. These had simply to retire, in obedience to the civil power.

[2] The action of Pius VII., on the conclusion of the French Concordat of 1801, affords, as observed by Dr. Döllinger, "the most conspicuous instance of an extraordinary application of the highest Church power, because the weal of the Church urgently required it." "With a stroke of the pen (by his Bull of the 29th of November of the same year), he deprived of their dignity thirty-seven French bishops who had refused to resign. He, too, abolished all the Episcopal Churches for ever, with their chapters and privileges; and he erected, at the same time, ten metropolitan sees and fifty bishoprics. A proceeding so unprecedented, such an abolition of well-founded rights, was only to be justified by the most extreme necessity—by the imperative duty of creating a new system of order out of the deeply convulsed Church of France." ("The Church and the Churches," p. 47.)

bull, brief, or other official document of the kind from the Pope, should be received or acted on in France, without permission of Government; that bishops should be amenable for misdemeanours to the Council of State; that professors in seminaries should teach the Four Articles of the Declaration of the French clergy; that no synod should be held in France without permission of Government; that parish priests should give the nuptial benediction only to those who can prove that they have been already married before a civil magistrate.

These enactments which materially altered the substance and spirit of the Concordat agreed upon, were a flagrant breach of good faith. Pius VII., in a secret Consistory, on the 24th of May 1802, protested against them, observing that, in promulgating the Concordat, the French Government had added several articles, of which he had no knowledge whatever.[1]

On the promotion of Napoleon to the Empire by the Senate, in 1804, Louis XVIII. issued a protest, at Warsaw, against his assumption of a title and dignity, conferred on him by a body having no legal existence. Louis further protested against all acts that followed therefrom; and he stated that, making this protest in the presence of all the sovereigns of Europe, he acted in their interests as well as his own. To meet this move, by obtaining what had long been regarded as the highest sanction and confirmation of the Imperial dignity, Napoleon resolved that he should be crowned by the Pope. Acting differently from Charlemagne and other monarchs, who had repaired to Rome on similar occasions, he insisted, in his arrogance, that the Holy Father should come to Paris, to crown him. The Pope felt extreme reluctance to depart thus from the ancient usage. In fact, he considered it derogatory to his exalted office, that he should be asked to do so.

[1] The publication of the Concordat took place in Paris, April 18, 1802, when there was a solemn religious ceremony, attended by the three Consuls and the public bodies.

Moreover, he entertained grave apprehensions of the fatigues of the journey, in his enfeebled state, and greatly feared that he might never see Rome again. In a secret Consistory, held a few days before his departure, the Holy Father gave expression to all these anxieties and doubts; adding, however, on the other hand, that he rejoiced at the opportunity, now afforded, of substantially testifying his gratitude to Napoleon for the restoration of religious worship in France, and that he hoped, in a personal interview, to obtain further advantages for the Church. Therefore it was that he determined to go.[1]

The Holy Father set out for Paris on the 2nd of November, 1804; and was met by a guard of honour on the French frontier. In his progress through France, he was received with all marks of veneration by the people; and his heart was gladdened, as he on several occasions observed to the members of his suite, by the evidence afforded, on all sides, that the efforts of infidelity to eradicate the faith of Christ in the provinces had met with but little success.

On the 2nd of December, the ceremony of the coronation took place, with great pomp, in the cathedral of Notre Dame, in presence of the Senate, the Council of State, the Legislative body, the high officials of the Empire, and the Foreign Ambassadors. In the actual coronation, however, Napoleon departed from all ancient precedents, and broke through the programme that had been agreed on; for, when the Pontiff was about to place the crown on his head, he seized it, and crowned himself; and he also placed her crown on the head of the Empress. Of this unworthy slight Pius deemed it advisable, as it was more dignified, to take no notice at the moment; but a shade of displeasure was observed to pass over his countenance.[2] Finally, the Emperor,

[1] Allocution in the Secret Consistory of October 29, 1804.

[2] In acting thus, Napoleon probably wished to show the world, that he considered it was to himself alone he was indebted for the Imperial

wearing his crown, and with his right hand upon the Book of the Gospels, took the oath of fidelity to the constitution, and bound himself to respect, and to cause to be respected, the laws of the Concordat; and to have no object in governing but the maintenance of the interests, the happiness, and the glory of the French people. After this, the chief herald made proclamation in these words: "The most glorious and most august Emperor Napoleon, Emperor of the French, is crowned and enthroned. Long live the Emperor." The acclamations of the people and salvos of artillery concluded the grand and solemn ceremony.

Not only on this, but on several other occasions, Napoleon showed but little respect for his venerable visitor; thus presenting a striking contrast with the conduct of Charlemagne, and other Imperial princes, crowned by the Popes. It may be that he felt his newly fledged honours required more self-assertion than the inherited rank of the Emperors of ancient lineage. But, in any case, he had long since proved himself to be strangely indifferent to all Christian principles and obligations, whenever these appeared to stand in the way of his ambitious projects. This was painfully evinced in his extraordinary proceedings, with the object of conciliating the followers of Mahomet, during his campaign in Egypt, some six years before. And now it was deeply to be regretted that the undoubtedly great services which he rendered, in subjugating anarchy and communism to law and order,

dignity. A writer of our day, who assuredly is no friend of the Papacy, observes, "This unruly will of a *parvenu*, always anxious to establish his title, could not but deeply wound the Pope, who had come from Rome to Paris to perform a ceremony of which he appeared to be thought no longer worthy. He complained of this alteration of the programme, and gave notice that if the *Moniteur* reported the fact, he should be under the necessity of reminding Napoleon that he had broken his word. Hence the silence, so long unexplained, of the official journal on this imposing ceremony, and the incidents which had marked it." ("The History of Napoleon I.," by P. Lanfrey, vol. ii. p. 407. Trans., London, 1872.)

and re-establishing religious worship in France, were obscured by his unworthy treatment of the Pope, who had, at the cost of so much personal inconvenience and of so much violence to his own feelings, come from Rome to crown him. "I will say nothing," writes the able minister of His Holiness, Cardinal Consalvi, referring to this period, "of the humiliations that were heaped upon Pius VII. My memory and my pen alike refuse to dwell upon such narratives."

In visiting Paris, to crown Napoleon, Pius VII., as we have seen, hoped to be able to secure important advantages to the Church. On that occasion, he strongly urged the Emperor to follow the example of his predecessor Charlemagne, and to restore to the Holy See the provinces of which it had been bereft. "I recognize in his coming to Paris for my coronation," says Napoleon, "the act of a holy prelate; but he has asked me to resign the Legations to him."[1] This, of course, was quite out of the question. The ambitious policy of the conqueror of Continental Europe tended in quite the opposite direction. Italy must be made a province of the Empire; and its viceroy, a member of the Imperial family, must date his decrees from Rome. Such was the programme, which he had laid down, to be carried out when practicable. Even as early as the period of his coronation, he pressed the Pope to remove his court to Paris or Avignon. Thus would the Papacy have become a powerful instrument in his hands, to subjugate the nations to the Imperial sway. "Abroad," said he, in his conversations with Las Cases at St. Helena, "the Pope was bound to me by Catholicism, and with my influence and our forces in Italy I did not despair, sooner or later, of obtaining the direction of the Pope for myself; and then what an influence, what a lever of public opinion in the rest of the world should I not have possessed! . . . I should have made

[1] Napoleon's letter of July 22, 1807.

an idol of him: he would have remained near my person. Paris would have become the capital of Christendom, and I should have governed the religious as well as the political world."[1] But these speculations were baffled by the firmness of Pius, who insisted on returning to his capital, and plainly told the Emperor, that before leaving Rome he had provided for the contingency of his detention in France, by executing a formal act of abdication, which was deposited at Palermo, then under the protection of the British fleet, and which would be promulgated, immediately on its becoming necessary.

On this, the Pope was permitted to depart peaceably; but it was not for a moment to be supposed that Napoleon had changed his plans. In his aims at universal empire, he was not to be discomfited by the feeble ruler of a fourth or fifth-rate state. Thenceforward, the relations of the cabinets of the Tuileries and the Vatican became far from cordial; and several serious misunderstandings arose. The Emperor's brother, Prince Jerome, had contracted marriage with an American lady, Miss Patterson. The marriage had been annulled by the Imperial law of succession, and the Emperor requested the Pope to annul it likewise. The Pontiff, in terms conciliatory but firm, refused to do so; assuring His Majesty that, all the circumstances considered, his conscience forbade his compliance. Napoleon, it need hardly be observed, could ill brook such independence, even in the Head of the Church; especially as it entered into his designs that the Papacy should become the passive instrument of his ambition.

In February, 1808, Tuscany, Parma, and Piacenza having been annexed to the Empire, the French army, under General Miollis, entered the Papal territories; and, wholly regardless of the energetic protests of the Government, took possession of Rome; imprisoning or

[1] "Memorial of St. Helena."

banishing the cardinals attached to the person of His Holiness, as well as the Papal officials in the city and the provinces; occupying the Post Office in order to examine the correspondence passing through it; seizing on the printing presses, particularly those of the Camera Apostolica and the Propaganda; searching with violence for papers and writings of all kinds in the offices of the Pontifical magistrates, not even excepting the cabinet of the Prime Minister; absorbing the Papal troops in their own ranks; and disbanding the noble guard.[1] These acts were followed by the plunder of ecclesiastical property; the abolition of religious houses; the expulsion of holy virgins from their cloisters; the profanation of the churches; the loose rein given to libertinism; the despising of ecclesiastical discipline and the sacred canons; the promulgation of a code, not only contrary to these same sacred canons, but even to the precepts of the Gospel and the Divine law; the persecution and degradation of the clergy; the subjecting of the sacred power of the bishops to the lay power; the violence done in many ways to their consciences; their forcible expulsion from their cathedrals; and other similar wicked and sacrilegious attempts against the liberty, the immunity, and the doctrine of the Church.[2]

Pius, now a prisoner in his palace, witnessed, day after day, the rapidly growing evils resulting from this gross violation of his sovereign rights, and sacrilegious contempt of his spiritual authority; but, all through, he displayed the most edifying resignation and dignity, under circumstances so humiliating and afflicting. Protracted diplomatic negotiations ensued; but with no benefit whatever to the weaker party. The fable of the wolf and the lamb was fully realized. After con-

[1] From the Bull of Excommunication of Napoleon and his abettors by Pope Pius VII., published and posted up in Rome, June 10, 1809.

[2] Ibid.

siderable pressure, the Pope had reluctantly given in his adhesion to the Berlin and Milan decrees;[1] but, when Napoleon further insisted that he should actively join in hostilities against England, the Holy Father positively refused to do so; stating that for no consideration whatever would he take part in the warlike operations against that power; that he ought not to be called upon to regard the enemy of another as his enemy; that he was the Universal Pastor, the common Father of all, the minister of peace; and that the proposals submitted to him, in the name of the Emperor, were most abhorrent to his feelings. Finally, he made a solemn protest against the spoliation of the territories of the Church.

Little heeding the remonstrances or the protest of the Holy Father, Napoleon forthwith published a decree to the following effect: "Whereas the temporal sovereign of Rome has refused to make war against England, and the two kingdoms of Italy and Naples ought not to be divided by a hostile power,[2] and whereas the donation of territories, made by our illustrious predecessor Charlemagne to the Holy See, was for the benefit of the Church, and not for the good of the enemies of our holy religion; We therefore decree, that the duchies of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino be for ever united to the kingdom of Italy."[3] To this it was

[1] The Berlin decree, dated 21st November, 1806, and that of Milan, dated 17th December, 1807, constituted what was called "the Continental System." By these decrees, Great Britain was declared in a state of blockade; and all the Continental nations adopting them, at the instance of Napoleon, closed their ports against British commerce; and all trading with Britain, and the use of British goods were strictly prohibited.

[2] At this time, all Northern Italy, down to the boundary of the Papal States, formed the Kingdom of Italy, under Napoleon; and the Kingdom of Naples, or the Two Sicilies, was ruled by the Emperor's brother Joseph. On the promotion of Joseph to the throne of Spain, he was succeeded by Murat (married to his sister Caroline), proclaimed King of the Two Sicilies, under the name of Joachim-Napoleon, August 1, 1808.

[3] This act of spoliation is alluded to, as follows, by the Holy Father

added, that the Pope should continue to be Bishop of Rome, exercising his spiritual functions as his predecessors had done in the early ages, down to the reign of Charlemagne.

The following year, emboldened by the successes of his arms, the Emperor resolved that the Pope should be deprived of his now nominal sovereignty—the mere shadow of temporal power, that still remained to him in his capital and the adjacent districts.[1] Accordingly, he issued a new decree, from the palace of the Austrian Cæsars at Shoenbrunn, that Rome should be an Imperial free city; that its civil administration should be conducted by a council then nominated by the Emperor; that its monuments and art-treasures should be taken under French protection; and that, the Pope having ceased to reign, an income of two millions of francs (£80,000) should be settled on His Holiness.[2]

On the 10th of June, 1809, this decree was promulgated in Rome by the lieutenants of Napoleon, then for over a year the actual rulers of the city. In doing so, they reminded the people of their ancient glory, and congratulated them on their having exchanged the government of the Popes for that of the French Empire. On the same day, Pius strongly protested against this fresh act of spoliation, and published a Bull, which had been for some time prepared for an event but too

in the Bull of Excommunication: "But if our temporal power should have been reduced to a vain and empty appearance in this our metropolis and the adjoining provinces, it was at this time entirely taken away in the flourishing provinces of the March of Ancona, Urbino, and Camerino. We entered a solemn protest against this open and sacrilegious usurpation of so many States of the Church, with the view to protect our dearest subjects against the seduction of an unjust and illegitimate Government, and sent instructions to our venerable brethren, the bishops of those provinces."

[1] When, on the 2nd of February, 1808, the French, under General Miollis, took possession of Rome, they left the civil government, and the administration of the finances, for the moment, to the Pontifical ministers and the ordinary tribunals—a mere mockery of government, dominated, as it was, by those military dictators.

[2] May 17, 1809.

clearly foreshadowed, excommunicating the Emperor and all his agents and abettors. In that document, no one was named, while all were plainly designated; and the sentence, moreover, was considerably mitigated, by the Pontiff's adding an instruction to all Christian people, not in any way, in consequence thereof, to damage, injure, hurt, or prejudice, the said parties, their rights, prerogatives, or property. On personal grounds, Napoleon probably little heeded this solemn act of the Pope, cutting him and his agents off from the communion of the Church; but he was in no small degree troubled by the apprehension of its moral effect on an exclusively Catholic country, such as Italy, as well as on the great majority of the population of France, especially in the provinces.[1]

However, a proceeding of still greater recklessness on his part immediately followed. After night-fall on the 5th of July, General Radet, acting on the orders of his superior officer Miollis, escaladed the palace of the Quirinal, with a number of soldiers, forced his way into the Papal apartments, and, in the Emperor's name, called on the Pope to sign a deed of renunciation of his temporal sovereignty; adding, that if the demand were refused, his instructions were to seize the person of His Holiness and carry him off a prisoner. To this Pius

[1] The account which Cardinal Pacca gives of his presentation to the Emperor, whose levee, in Paris, he attended, in obedience to the Holy Father, on the 21st of February, 1813, shows how sore Napoleon felt about the Bull of Excommunication. On his being presented to the Emperor by the minister as the Cardinal Pacca, his Majesty repeated with a serious countenance, "The Cardinal Pacca!" Then, smiling in his most gracious manner, he said, "You, Pacca, were a long time in a fortress?" The cardinal answered, "Three years and a half, Sire." The Emperor bowed his head a little, and, making a sign of writing with his right on his left hand, said, "You wrote the Bull of Excommunication?" The cardinal prudently maintained silence; when the Emperor resumed, "But now the past must be all forgotten,"—alluding to the tenth article of the Concordat of Fontainebleau, in which he had promised to restore to his good graces the cardinals, bishops, priests, and laity, who had incurred his displeasure, in regard to the events referred to therein. Notes, etc., p. 210.

replied, "If, on account of your oath of fidelity and obedience to the Emperor, you have deemed it your duty to execute these orders, reflect how We ought to maintain the rights of the Holy See, to which We are bound by so many oaths. We will not, We cannot, We ought not, either to surrender or renounce that which is not ours. The temporal dominions belong to the Church. We are only their administrator. The Emperor may cut them into pieces; but he can never obtain from us their renunciation." On this, the Pope was carried off, a prisoner, at three o'clock in the morning of the 6th,—his minister, Cardinal Pacca, alone being allowed to accompany him, and that only as far as Florence.[1] Thence the Holy Father, subject to fearful hardships and privations, was transported across the Alps to Grenoble. But here the feelings of the inhabitants who crowded around the carriage and the palace where he was lodged, to testify their sympathy and veneration for him, proved a source of alarm to his captors; and, consequently, after a sojourn of about ten days at Grenoble, he was removed back to Italy, and domiciled at Savona on the Gulf of Genoa, where he was detained nearly three years. Thence, by the Emperor's orders, he was removed to Fontainebleau, where he remained a close prisoner, until the colossal fabric of Napoleon's power was nodding to its fall, in presence of the armies of united Europe, in January, 1814, when, through motives of expediency, he was unconditionally released.[2]

[1] In the journey from Florence to Grenoble, Cardinal Pacca travelled in a separate carriage, and was not allowed to communicate with His Holiness. From Grenoble, the cardinal was removed to the dreary fortress of San Carlos, at Fenestrelles, where he remained a close prisoner, from the 6th of August, 1809, to the 5th of February, 1813. On the completion of the Concordat he was liberated, and joined the Pope at Fontainebleau.

[2] Pius VII.'s detention at Grenoble was from the 21st of July to the 1st of August, 1809; at Savona, from about the 15th of August, 1809, to the 9th of June, 1812; and at Fontainebleau, from the 20th of June, 1812, to the 24th of January, 1814. His forced absence from his

The sufferings endured by Pius VII. in his forced journeys, may be imagined on perusing the following brief details, extracted from the Memoirs of Cardinal Pacca:—

On the first day, leaving Rome, they travelled in a close carriage shut up, almost without air, in the most burning hours of the day, under the hottest sun of Italy, in the month of July. After nineteen hours of a most painful journey, to the great inconvenience of the Pope, who several times complained of his sufferings to the cardinal, then ignorant of the malady by which His Holiness was afflicted, they arrived, one hour before midnight, at a wretched inn on the mountain of Radicofani, and there alighted. Not having a change of clothes, they were obliged to keep on those which they wore, and which had been quite wet with perspiration, and were dried on their backs by the cool air of the night. Nothing had been prepared for them at the inn. A small room was assigned to the Holy Father, and another next to it to his minister, with the gendarmes posted at the doors.[1]

Cardinal Pacca, on his liberation from the fortress of Fenestrelles in February, 1813, travelling to Paris, sojourned for a day at the hospice of the monks of Mont Cenis, and was informed there of what had befallen the Pope in his journey from Savona to Fontainebleau. Late at night on the 11th of June, 1812, the Holy Father arrived at the hospice in a state of health, giving cause of serious alarm for his life. On the morning of the 14th, he was so much worse that the viaticum was administered to him. Notwithstanding this, the French escort insisted that he should resume his journey in the evening of that day, and this, in spite of the earnest remonstrances and prayers of the

capital was close on five years, viz., from the 6th of July, 1809, to the 24th of May, 1814.

[1] "Notes on the Ministry of Cardinal B. Pacca, Secretary of State to His Holiness Pope Pius VII.," pp. 98, 99.

monks and of the surgeon, Clara, who had expressly come from Lans-le-Bourg to prescribe for him. When Cardinal Pacca called on Clara, the latter told him that he had had the honour of accompanying the Holy Father in this journey, and had been alone with him in the carriage, to take care of him; that they travelled night and day for five nights and four days, without resting any single night; and, finally, that while the servants, and others who accompanied the illustrious prisoner, took their supper in the evening, the carriage, with His Holiness in it, was put up in a coach-house of the inn.[1]

It is difficult to believe these details, although circumstantially set forth and accurately verified by the cardinal. Yet, such brutal treatment of the venerable Pontiff was only in keeping with his arrest, deportation, imprisonment, and cruel persecution in prison, by the Emperor Napoleon.

In 1810, while Pius VII. lay in captivity at Savona, the Emperor caused a decree of the Senate to be passed, enacting that the Papal States should be united to the French Empire; that Rome should be the second city of the Empire; that the Prince Imperial of France should bear the title of King of Rome;[2] that the French Emperors, having been duly crowned in Paris, were, before the tenth year of their reign, to be crowned at Saint Peter's; that the Popes, on their elevation, should take an oath, never to act contrary to the four propositions of the Gallican Church, enacted in 1684;[3] that lands of the annual value of two millions of francs should be settled on the Pope, who was to have a palace

[1] "Ministry of Cardinal B. Pacca," pp. 194, 195. Cardinal Pacca mentions, that the colonel in command of the escort sent a message by courier to the government in Turin, representing the state of the Pope's health, and requesting instructions; and that the reply was that he should obey his instructions from Paris, and proceed on his journey.

[2] Napoleon's expected heir, "the King of Rome," was born shortly afterwards—March 20, 1811.

[3] For the Gallican Articles, see Index.

in Paris as well as in Rome; and that the expenses of the College of Cardinals and of the Propaganda should be under the direct charge of the Imperial Government. Meanwhile, the clergy and the few cardinals allowed to remain in Rome maintained, to the best of their power, the spiritual authority of the exiled Pontiff; and unmistakable symptoms of dissatisfaction were exhibited by the people. To preserve order, and enforce obedience to his edicts, twenty thousand additional troops were dispatched by the Emperor to Rome; and, for their accommodation, some of the churches were converted into barracks!

During the five years of his captivity—a gross and wanton outrage in the eyes of all civilized nations—Pius VII., whether at Savona or Fontainebleau, was jealously debarred from communication with the external world, and was thus kept in ignorance of passing events. From time to time, false representations were made to him by those who were allowed to approach him—either the tools of the Emperor, or conscientious men who were themselves deceived. They told him that the Church was severely suffering from his unyielding nature; that religion languished; that schism prevailed; and that all might be remedied, by his making some concessions to the Emperor.

Thus pressed again and again in his solitary prison-house, without a minister of state or even a trusty friend, to whom he could turn for counsel in his perplexity,[1] and studiously kept in ignorance of the real state of European politics, after a severe struggle, acting for the best, the Holy Father consented, first at Savona, and again, to a still greater extent, at Fontainebleau, to entertain, conditionally only, the Emperor's demands, which involved a renunciation of some of his temporal and spiritual rights.

[1] Cardinal Pacca and other leading members of the Sacred College were at this time incarcerated in various fortresses, and thus debarred from advising or communicating with the Pope.

It was on the 9th of May, 1811, that Monseigneurs de Barral, Archbishop of Tours, Duvoisin, Bishop of Nantes, and Mannay, Bishop of Treves, deputed by the Emperor, arrived at Savona. Joined by the Bishop of Faenza, they had several audiences of His Holiness, from the 10th to the 19th of the month. With extreme difficulty, they persuaded the Pope to meet the Emperor's wishes, assuring him that his doing so was imperatively demanded by the interests of the Church.

Again, on the 13th of January, 1813, the Emperor, accompanied by the Empress, unexpectedly arrived at Fontainebleau, and, on that day, and the four days following, he held conferences with the Pope on the subject of a Concordat, the preliminaries of which were agreed on between them, and signed by His Holiness.

Before affixing his signature to these Preliminary Articles, Pius expressly declared that he would sign them only subject to their being thoroughly discussed *seriatim* by his cardinals, in secret Consistory, as required by the laws of the Church; and he stipulated that they should not be promulgated until this had been done.[1]

[1] In the course which he pursued on this occasion, Pius VII., solely anxious for the welfare of the Church, acted for the best, under circumstances the most difficult and perplexing. "He yielded for a moment of conscientious alarm," says a distinguished Englishman, brought up at the feet of the venerable Pontiff, "he consented, though conditionally, under false, though virtuous, impressions, to the terms proposed to him for a new Concordat. But no sooner had his upright and humble mind discovered the error than it nobly and successfully repaired it." ("Recollections of the Last Four Popes," by Cardinal Wiseman, p. 62.) To this may be added the following words of a disinterested witness: "In Savona, to which city the Pontiff had been carried, he was alone, left to his own resources, and without any adviser. By the earnest and almost extravagant representations made to him, of the distractions and perplexities occasioned to the Church by his refusal of the institution, the worthy old man was at length prevailed on, though not without bitter grief, and after violent conflicts with himself, to resolve on the virtual renunciation of this right. . . . Nor was even this all that was required of him. He was hurried to Fontainebleau with an impatient and reckless speed, by which his physical infirmities were painfully aggravated; and, when arrived there, was assailed by repeated impor-

On the Pope's consulting the cardinals, which he did on the first favourable opportunity, they altogether disapproved of his having conceded so much, and they strongly advised His Holiness to address a letter of revocation to the Emperor. But Napoleon anticipated this step, and ordered the Articles in question, which were intended only as the basis of a future agreement, to be promulgated as the Concordat of Fontainebleau, bearing date January 25, 1813.[1]

We have seen that this consummation was the aim of Napoleon as early as the period of his coronation, A.D. 1804. Now he had, at length, apparently succeeded. He held the Papacy in his grasp, as a powerful instru-

tunities, and pressed by the most urgent representations, that he ought completely to restore the peace of the Church. By these means he was at length effectually wrought on to comply; the remaining points were finally conceded—even those most decisive."—Ranke, "History of the Popes," ii. 465.

[1] The principal articles of this Concordat, one affecting the temporal, and the other the spiritual, rights of the Roman Pontiff, are as follows:—"ARTICLE III. The territories, or fixed property, which the Holy Father possessed, and which are not alienated, shall be exempted from all sorts of taxation. They shall be administered by his agents, *chargés d'affaires*. Those which have been alienated shall be replaced as far as the sum of two millions of francs." This article appears to involve, on the part of the Pope, an acquiescence in, or a condonation of, the spoliation, by the Emperor, of the territories of the Church. "ARTICLE IV. The Pope shall give the canonical institution, conformably to the Concordatum, and in virtue of the present indulgence, within the six months which shall follow the notification, according to usage, of the nomination of the Emperor to the archbishoprics and bishoprics of the Empire and the Kingdom of Italy. The first information shall be notified by the metropolitan. At the termination of the six months, if the Pope has not accorded the institution, the metropolitan, and in failure of him, or if it should relate to the election of the metropolitan himself, the oldest bishop of the province, shall proceed to the institution of the bishop nominated, so that a see shall not remain in future vacant at any time longer than one year." Clearly, this article would deprive the Pope of the salutary power of a veto, in the case of an unfit person being nominated by the Emperor to a vacant see. It would, moreover, put the metropolitan in opposition to the head of the Church, "thus," in the words of the Holy Father, in his letter of revocation, addressed to the Emperor, "constituting the person inferior in the hierarchy, judge, and reformer of the head of that hierarchy, to whom they all owed submission and obedience."

ment of State policy. Little did he foresee that his plans were to be frustrated, in the all-wise designs of God—that, the following year, he should sign his own abdication in the same palace of Fontainebleau;[1] and that, two years later, the despoiled and outraged Pontiff should reign in his own capital, more secure and more independent, and with larger territories than ever, whilst he, so long the master of kings and nations, should fret, in hopeless captivity, on a remote volcanic island in the Southern Atlantic.[2]

Being now fully aware of his mistake, arising out of the difficult circumstances in which he was placed, and the gross misrepresentations that had been made to him, Pius revoked all that he had done, and emphatically declared that thenceforward he would treat with no one except in his own capital. In his letter of revocation, addressed to the Emperor, dated Fontainebleau, March 24, 1813, he expressed his bitter regret at having signed "the Articles which were to form the basis of the definitive treaty;" adding, "But our grief increased in proportion when, to our surprise, we saw, notwithstanding the agreement made with Your Majesty, those same articles published under the title of a concordatum, whilst they were only the basis of a future agreement."

Early in the year 1814, Pius VII. was waited on at Fontainebleau, by Cardinal Maury and two bishops delegated by the Emperor, to inform him that he would be immediately liberated on his voluntarily renouncing a portion of his temporal dominions. To this condition he peremptorily refused to accede, as the territories of Saint Peter were not his, but belonged to the Church.

[1] April 4, 1814: ratified by treaty with the allied powers, executed April 11th.

[2] That Napoleon was heartily ashamed of the carrying off, and protracted detention, as a prisoner, of Pius VII., is evident from his conversations with Las Cases, at St. Helena. "It was done without my authority," said he. If so, why was not the wrong immediately redressed, and reparation made? No: the so-called mistake appears to have admirably accorded with the Emperor's general policy.

He was then informed that he was unconditionally at liberty. "It must be with all my cardinals," he replied. When told that under existing circumstances this was impossible, "Then let me have a carriage to convey me home," said he; "I wish to be at Rome, in order to fulfil my duties as Head of the Church."

In his parting address to the cardinals, seventeen in number, assembled at Fontainebleau, the Pope commanded them not to accept any pay or pension from the French Government; not to wear any French decoration; and not to assist at any public festival to which they might be invited. Leaving Fontainebleau on the 24th of January, he travelled homeward by easy stages, frequently resting by the way. At Fiorenzula, his French escort was relieved by an Austrian guard of honour; for the Papal States were then temporarily garrisoned by the Austrians. Having delayed a considerable time at Viterbo, for the assembling of his cardinals, on the 24th of May he re-entered his capital, greeted by the joyous *vivas* of the inhabitants, and accompanied by the cordial good wishes of all civilized nations.

All through his troubles, Pius VII. experienced much sympathy from the three great non-Catholic sovereigns—the Czar, the King of Prussia, and the Prince Regent of England. This sympathy was substantially evinced by the readiness with which they acquiesced in, and supported, the Pontiff's demand that all his territories should be restored to him. No doubt, the amiable character of Pius, and the cruel wrongs of which he was the innocent victim had their effect. But, moreover, in the Papacy—the most ancient of all dynasties—the sovereigns must have recognized the type, and centre of the system, of legitimate monarchy; which circumstance, no doubt, largely influenced their decision, that its temporal possessions should be restored in their integrity. In the present day, when inter-

nationalism, communism, and nihilism are so rife, it would be well for themselves if the rulers of certain great States were influenced by the like considerations.[1]

But, perhaps, no Government exhibited more kindly feelings towards Pius VII., than that of Protestant England. On more than one occasion of peril, a British ship of war was placed at his disposal, in case he should decide to escape by sea from his enemies. We have seen how reluctant he was to join in the Continental system, aimed against the commerce of Great Britain; and how peremptorily he refused to take part in active hostilities against that power, even though his refusal involved the loss of his temporal dominions. In June, 1814, when the Czar and the King of Prussia visited London, Cardinal Consalvi arrived there on behalf of the Pope, and was received with condescending kindness and all due honour by the Prince Regent, to whom he was the bearer of a brief, expressing the sentiments of "admiration, friendship, and attachment," entertained by the Holy Father towards His Royal Highness, and towards "that valiant and in so many ways illustrious nation," England.[2] The success of the Cardinal, in influencing the preliminary deliberations in London and the still more important proceedings of the Congress of Vienna, was in a great degree due to the favourable disposition of England.

When Napoleon, two months before his abdication,

[1] "The most immediate support of the Papacy," says Ranke, alluding to this period, "was the idea of secular legitimacy, and it is to be observed that this support was offered with even more determination from the side of its opponents in faith, than from that of its adherents and the followers of its creed. It was from the victory of the four great allied powers, three of which were non-Catholic, over that ruler, who had thought to make his capital the centre of Catholicism, that the Pope was restored to freedom and enabled to return to Rome. It was to the three non-Catholic monarchs alone, at that time assembled in London, that the Pope had first expressed his desire to recover the entire States of the Church." (History of the Popes," II., 467.)

[2] These expressions are taken from the Allocution of Pius VII. to the Consistory of September 4, 1815, in which he alludes to Cardinal Consalvi's mission to London of the previous year.

liberated the Pope at Fontainebleau, Rome and its surrounding district only were restored to His Holiness.[1] By the Treaty of Vienna, the following year, the Marches, with Camerino, and their dependencies, as well as the Duchy of Benevento, the Principality of Ponte-Corvo, and the legations of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara, with the exception of that part of Ferrara which is situated on the left bank of the Po, were restored to the Holy See. The right, however, of the Emperor of Austria and his successors, to place garrisons at Ferrara and Comacchio was formally recognized.[2]

One of the decisions of the Allied sovereigns was, the immediate restoration to Rome of the works of art which had been carried off to the Louvre. The heavy cost of transporting these was generously defrayed by England.[3] The eminent sculptor Canova[4] was deputed by the Pope to superintend the important work of their removal. Having satisfactorily completed his arrangements in Paris, Canova crossed over to London; and on his return he was the bearer of a most friendly letter from the Prince Regent to the Pope, and also of letters from Lord Castlereagh to His Holiness and to Cardinal Consalvi. Early in 1816, he reached Rome, with his precious charge—those unique treasures of painting and sculpture, and those rare manuscripts, which had

[1] Decree of February 10, 1814.

[2] Treaty of Vienna, signed June 9, 1815, article 103. Cardinal Consalvi strove hard against the reservation of the part of Ferrara on the left bank of the Po. He also endeavoured to procure the restoration to the Holy See of the Comtat Venaissin and Avignon; but without success.

[3] Wiseman's "Last Four Popes," p. 140.

[4] Antonio Canova, perhaps the most eminent of modern sculptors, was born at Possagno, in the province of Treviso, in Northern Italy, on the 1st of November, 1757; and died at Venice, October 13, 1822. On the completion of his important mission of 1816, above referred to, his name was inscribed, by the Pope's own hand, in "the Golden volume of the Capitol," and he was created Marquis of Ischia by His Holiness, who also settled on him an annual pension of 3000 crowns.

so long been the ornament and glory of that ancient city.[1]

[1] Subsequently, Pius VII., to mark his sense of gratitude, and the high esteem he entertained for the Prince Regent of England, presented His Royal Highness with a collection of casts of the principal great works of sculpture in Rome, carefully taken for the purpose under the supervision of Canova. One evening, at the Pavilion at Brighton, the Prince, speaking of this valuable collection, said that he did not know what to do with it. The first Viscount Ennismore, soon afterwards created Earl of Listowel, who was present, said, that, under favour of His Royal Highness, he would venture to ask for it for the School of Art in Cork, in connection with the Royal Cork Institution. The Prince graciously complied with his request; and the casts were sent to Cork. They may now be seen in that part of the Institution which is occupied by the School of Design. Here, Maclise, Hogan, and other Cork men eminent in the Fine Arts, drew their first inspirations from these splendid models.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

PIUS IX.

"'Justum ac tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida."

—HORACE.

GIOVANNI MASTAI FERRETTI, the second of several children of Count Jerome Mastaï and his wife Catherine Sollazzi, was born at Sinigaglia in the Papal States, on the 13th of May 1792. From the earliest age, he was remarkable for his great piety and devotion to the Chair of Peter, which, in the designs of Divine Providence, he was destined to fill for so many years. At the age of twelve, he was placed in the college of Volterra, conducted by the religious congregation of the Scholæ Piæ. Here, he made rapid progress, and at eighteen he returned to his family.

He now resolved to embrace the ecclesiastical state; but his pious intentions were interfered with by a severe and protracted visitation of epilepsy. The malady was pronounced incurable by his physicians: yet God had otherwise designed. Giovanni gradually recovered; and he himself attributed his cure to the intercession of the Mother of God, to whom his own pious mother had dedicated him from his birth.[1]

[1] It is stated that at the age of nineteen, the future Pope, for a short time, adopted the profession of arms. This statement is denied by his able biographer, Monsieur Villefranche.

On Easter day 1819, he was ordained priest, under a dispensation, on the condition that, in consequence of his recent malady, he should not celebrate Mass without the assistance of another priest. Ere long, however, he, one day, cast himself at the feet of Pius VII., and prayed His Holiness to remove the condition, and to allow him to celebrate alone. The holy pontiff kindly raised him up, saying: "Yes; we grant you the favour you ask, and the more readily because we believe that henceforward the malady will cease to torment you." These words were prophetic. From that day out, the young priest enjoyed perfect health.

In 1823, he was appointed by Leo XII. auditor to Monsignor Muri, the Papal nuncio to Chili, sent to re-establish the ecclesiastical affairs of that country, overturned by the revolutions of Southern America.

On his return to Rome in 1825, Padre Mastaï was named Canon of Santa Maria in Via Lata, admitted to the prelature, and appointed president of the Hospital of Saint Michael. This last office he administered with so much zeal and wisdom, that the Pope deemed him a fit person to govern a diocese, and appointed him Archbishop of Spoleto in 1827. At the close of 1832, he was translated to Imola, a far more important diocese, although only a bishopric, and regarded as a stepping-stone to the Sacred College.

On the 14th of December 1840, in his forty-ninth year, Bishop Mastaï was proclaimed Cardinal by Gregory XVI. The death of that pontiff having taken place on the 1st of June 1846, the Conclave assembled on Sunday the 14th. Fifty-four Cardinals were present; Gizzi and Lambruschini were those spoken of, as likely to be chosen; but on the 16th, in the fourth scrutiny, Cardinal Mastaï Ferretti, the youngest member of the Sacred College, was elected by thirty-six votes, out of the fifty-four present, taking the name of Pius IX. His reign extended to thirty-one years, seven months,

and twenty-two days—far beyond the twenty-five years of Saint Peter, which had never before been equalled—his death taking place on the 7th of February 1878.

On the long and eventful career of this illustrious pontiff, his trials, and exemplary virtues, it is unnecessary to dwell in detail. It will be sufficient for our purpose to refer to those great public acts and events which render his pontificate one of the most important and most remarkable in the history of the Papacy.

Let us first review his action as a sovereign prince, and those fundamental political changes which so seriously affected the Temporal Power in his reign. After that, his principal official public acts, as Vicar of Christ and Visible Head of the Church, may be separately considered.

The Papal dominions, as settled by the Congress of Vienna, stood as follows, after the Peace of 1815. They comprised an area of 16,155 English, or 12,041 Geographical, square miles, in the centre of Italy, being bounded, on the west by the Mediterranean from a little south-east of Orbitello in Tuscany to Terracina on the Neapolitan frontier, and on the east by the Adriatic from the southern mouth of the Po to the Tronto. Further south, but included in the above area, lay the Duchy of Benevento and the Principality of Ponte-corvo, each being entirely surrounded by Neapolitan territory.

The Papal States were divided into twenty provinces. Of these the principal was the Comarca of Rome, including the capital. Then, there were six "legations," each governed by a cardinal, and thirteen "delegations," each governed by a prelate. The legations and delegations were severally divided into districts, which were subdivided into governments, and these last were again subdivided into communes.

In the following table will be found the area and population of each province:—

Provinces.	Area in Geographical Square Miles.	Population, including Towns.	
		In 1816.	In 1853.
Comarca di Roma	1319·2	245,203	326,509
Legations.			
Bologna	1023	280,701	375,631
Ferrara	823·4	170,727	244,524
Forli	541	150,933	218,433
Ravenna	528	123,767	175,994
Urbino with Pesaro	1064·7	198,145	257,751
Velletri	430	48,098	62,013
Delegations.			
Ancona	332·5	147,355	176,519
Macerata	673·6	197,313	243,104
Camerino	240·9	31,136	42,991
Fermo	252·7	77,089	110,321
Ascoli	358·5	69,058	91,916
Perugia	1170·7	181,542	234,533
Spoleto	885	102,053	135,029
Rieti	400·2	55,861	73,683
Viterbo	872·2	101,164	128,324
Orvieto	238·3	21,736	29,047
Civita Vecchia	286·1	15,886	20,701
Frosinone with Ponte-corvo	555·4	116,770	154,559
Benevento	46·2	20,184	23,176
	12,041·6	2,354,721	3,124,758

On the restoration of Pope Pius IX., by the Catholic powers, after the outbreak of 1848, His Holiness, preparatory to his return to his capital, issued a "Motu Proprio" from Portici, dated 12th September, 1849, completely re-organizing the government of his dominions. After his return to Rome, several edicts were published, in the name of the Pope, by the Cardinal Secretary of

State, in September, October, and November, 1850, regulating the details. Thus, the following new organization was established.

The whole of the States were distributed into five great divisions: one of these was to bear the name of the District of Rome ("Circondario di Roma"), and the other four were to be termed Legations. These great divisions were subdivided into provinces; the provinces again into governments; and the governments into communes.

In the District of Rome were included, besides Rome and the Comarca, or country immediately about the city, three provinces, Viterbo, Civita Vecchia, and Orvieto.

The four Legations were:—

1. Romagna, comprising four Provinces, Bologna, Ferrara, Forli, and Ravenna.

2. Le Marche, comprising six Provinces, Urbino and Pesaro, Macerato with Loreto, Ancona, Fermo, Ascoli, and Camerino.

3. Umbria, comprising three Provinces, Perugia, Spoleto, and Rieti.

4. Marittima e Campagna, comprising three Provinces, Velletri, Frosinone, and Benevento.

Each of these four legations was to be governed by a cardinal with the title of Legate, and under the legate each province by a functionary with the title of Delegate.[1]

In the same important document, His Holiness announced the institution of a council of State, of a consultative council on financial matters, of provincial councils, and of communal councils. He declared that the municipal representation and administration should be founded on the most liberal principles ("piú larghe franchigie") compatible with the local interests of the communes: and that the election of the communal

[1] "Despatches of Mr. Lyons respecting the condition and administration of the Papal States," 1855-1857; p. 11. Presented to the House of Commons by command of Her Majesty, in pursuance of their address dated June 26, 1860.

councillors should be based upon an extensive number of electors, regard being chiefly had to property.[1]

It has frequently been observed that the government of the Papal States, even under Pius IX., was too much in the hands of ecclesiastics, to the exclusion of the laity; but it will be seen, from the following official statement, that there has existed considerable misconception on this head.

In Mr. Lyons's despatch to the Marquis of Normanby, dated Rome, May 26, 1856, he quotes from a statistical return of the number of ecclesiastics in the civil employment of the Pope, made up to the 1st of January, 1848, or nearly two years prior to the "Motu Proprio" of His Holiness above referred to. The following is the general result:—

EMPLOYED IN THE DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS OF THE STATE.

	Number.	Salaries.	
		Scudi.	Pounds Sterling.
Ecclesiastics . . .	243	190,315	41,373
Laymen	5,059	1,186,192	257,868

EMPLOYED IN THE EXCLUSIVELY ECCLESIASTICAL DEPARTMENTS.

	Number.	Salaries.	
		Scudi.	Pounds Sterling.
Ecclesiastics . . .	161	36,119	7,852
Laymen	316	61,835	13,442

[1] "Despatches of Mr. Lyons," p. 11.

From the number given above of ecclesiastics employed in the Departments of State, should be deducted 134 chaplains of the prisons and similar establishments, whose duties were exclusively religious.[1]

It would appear, therefore, that out of the number of 5302 persons in the Civil Service of the Papal States, on the 1st of January, 1848, only 109 were ecclesiastics. The army, which was of course composed entirely of laymen, was not included in the Return.[2]

"The number, then, of ecclesiastics holding civil offices in the State," observes Mr. Lyons, "is very small compared with the number of laymen; and the aggregate of the salaries received by such ecclesiastics is very much less than the aggregate of those received by laymen. The laity have besides a compensation in being employed in greater numbers than ecclesiastics, and at a greater aggregate amount of salary, in the purely ecclesiastical departments, the revenues of which are principally, if not entirely, derived from foundations or contributions from abroad. It is maintained, moreover, and, I believe, not without reason, that the attempts which have been made to carry secularization further, have not contributed either to satisfy the people or to improve the administration."[3]

On the other hand, the rank and character of the civil offices occupied by Churchmen must be taken into account. The Secretary of State, who had, under the Pope, the supreme direction of all affairs, home and foreign, was a cardinal; his substitute, or Under-Secretary of State, was a prelate; all the ministers, except

[1] "Despatches of Mr. Lyons," pp. 7, 8.

[2] Ibid. This interesting Return was placed at Mr. Lyons's disposal by Cardinal Antonelli. In handing it to him, Monsignor Berardi, the Under-Secretary of State, told him that the number of ecclesiastics was smaller then (May, 1856) than in 1848; and he observed, "that it must also be remembered that among the ecclesiastics are counted persons who, like himself and the present Minister of the Interior, although Roman prelates wearing the Ecclesiastical habit, are not in holy orders."

[3] Despatch of Mr. Lyons, May 26, 1856.

the minister of arms, were prelates; as were all the delegates or governors of provinces, except three. Thus, although the number of ecclesiastics in office was not large, nevertheless, as they occupied almost without exception the high and influential posts, the whole direction of the Government was essentially Ecclesiastical.[1] "It is strenuously maintained by the warm partisans of the Papacy, and is reluctantly admitted by many moderate and sensible men, that this is a necessity under the Government of a sovereign who is an Ecclesiastic, claiming to be Head of the Universal Church; and that whether a few more or less laymen be admitted to office, the real secularization of any government, with a Pope at its head, is impossible. Such, indeed, appears at this moment to be the opinion of Cardinal Antonelli, and, indeed, of Pope Pius IX. himself."[2]

This last is, in the eyes of Catholics, a most important consideration. For, inasmuch as the spiritual character and functions of the Supreme Pastor of the Universal Church were incomparably above and beyond his status and duties as a temporal ruler, so it was fitting that the principal offices of his Government should be filled by ecclesiastics. The Temporal States, under Divine Providence, for many centuries, were instrumental in securing the complete personal and political independence of the Pope, who ought not to be the subject of any sovereign; and, moreover, they furnished him with means for the discharge of the duties of his office, in all parts of the globe. At the same time, in the opinion of thoughtful persons well qualified by observation and experience to speak with authority on the question, the inhabitants of the Papal dominions were happier and better under the paternal rule of the Pontiffs than they now are under a secular prince.

[1] Mr. Lyons's Despatch, May 26, 1856. [2] Ibid.

The gross public revenue of the Papal States ranged from £2,389,076, in 1853, to £3,009,524, in 1857; whilst, in the same period, the expenditure mounted from £2,643,660 to £3,104,692.

One half of the revenue accrued from customs and excise; one fourth, from direct taxes and domains; and the remainder, from stamps, post-office, and miscellaneous items.

Of the expenditure, the interest on the public debt amounted to considerably more than one third; being £950,750, in 1853, and £1,068,079, in 1857. The cost of the Papal army averaged £390,000, in the five years; being £359,194, in 1853, and £424,247, in 1857.

The exact figures of the gross revenue and expenditure, during the five years, were as follow:—

Year.	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Deficit.
1853 . . .	£2,389,076	£2,643,660	£254,584
1854 . . .	2,405,574	2,727,688	322,114
1855 . . .	2,672,141	2,882,886	210,745
1856 . . .	2,866,895	3,009,493	142,598
1857 . . .	3,009,524	3,104,692	95,168[1]

In 1856, the Pontifical army comprised two regiments of foreign soldiers, called Swiss, but not composed exclusively of Swiss, 3500 strong, and about to be increased to 4800; whilst of native troops the numbers were 5000 gendarmes, 5000 regular troops, and 3000 dispersed in small bodies. "Thus," observes Mr. Lyons, "the Papal army, supposing the Swiss regiments to be completed, may be stated, in round numbers, at about 18,000 men—a force sufficient to enable the Pope to dispense with foreign aid, if its fidelity can be relied upon."[2] At that time, the French had 5000 men in the Roman States, and the Austrians 8000.

[1] The annual deficit was met by a foreign loan. It is deserving of note that, the last three years, the finances were being brought into a healthier condition, as indicated by the steady diminution of the deficit.

[2] Despatch to the Marquis of Normanby, from Rome, May 24, 1856.

The revolutionary movement in Italy, in the years 1859–1861, deprived the Pope of the greater part of his territories, which, together with Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, were annexed to the new Kingdom of Italy. Of the twenty provinces, which he previously ruled, only five now remained to the Holy Father, along with the city of Rome. These were :—

Provinces.	Area in Geographical Square Miles.	Population in 1853.		
		In Towns.	In Country.	Total.
Rome and its Comarca	1319·2	313,230	13,279	326,509
Viterbo	872·2	112,976	15,348	128,324
Civita Vecchia . .	286·1	19,117	1,584	20,701
Velletri	430	59,197	2,816	62,013
Frosinone	555·4	115,021	39,538	154,559
	3462·9	619,541	72,565	692,106

And even of this small remnant of the territories of the Holy See, including the capital of Catholic Christendom, the Italian Government took possession, in the month of September, 1870.

A brief review of the events which led to these acts of spoliation will not be out of place here.

Pius IX. commenced his reign with a political amnesty, by which he magnanimously liberated some thousands of prisoners who had plotted against the State. His clemency, however, had not the desired

Mr. Lyons states that it had been suggested to Cardinal Antonelli to increase the Swiss, and diminish the native, troops. This His Eminence did not approve of. It was commonly thought that most of the native soldiers were in league with the secret societies. But M. de Rayneval, the French envoy at the Vatican, "and others in a situation to be well informed," did not believe this. They thought that although the native troops could never be expected to act with any great zeal or vigour, they might be depended upon to repress ordinary disorders; but they were also of opinion that in case of a general or really formidable insurrection many would desert, and not a few join the insurgents.

effect, and those whom he restored to their families and society, immediately rejoined the ranks of the enemies of the Papal rule.

Unfortunately, at the time, a zealous and ever-active propagandism of revolution and infidelity had long been working and extending its baneful influence over all Europe, through the agency of those secret associations which have always been emphatically condemned by the Church.[1] The principles of Mazzini and his colleagues—principles levelled against all the most venerable institutions, and aiming at the destruction alike of religion and civil government, had, to a considerable extent, undermined Continental society, and they rose to the surface in the year 1848.

At the close of the previous year, Pius IX. had introduced considerable reforms in his dominions; advancing laymen to the principal offices, and attaching responsibility to his ministers. His example was followed by the sovereigns of Piedmont, Tuscany, and Naples, who granted constitutional government to their subjects. But such concessions were quite insufficient for the revolutionary party in Italy, whose avowed object was the destruction of all the "governments in the Peninsula, in order to create one sole Italian State, under the Republican form."[2]

In other Continental countries, the same spirit displayed itself with unmistakable significance. The overthrow of Louis Philippe,[3] the establishment of the

[1] The members of the revolutionary secret societies in Italy were first called *carbonari* (charcoal burners); as, although the societies were composed of various classes, they comprised a large number of the most hard-working of the labouring population, such as the charcoal-burners.

[2] Statutes of the secret society, named "Young Italy," to be established under the auspices of Mazzini; article i. Article ii. ran as follows: "By reason of the evils flowing from absolute rule, and the still greater evils produced by Constitutional Monarchies, we must unite all our efforts to form a Republic, one and indivisible." Subsequent articles, upholding assassination, incontestably prove the wisdom of the Holy See's condemnation of secret societies.

[3] February 24, 1848.

Republic in France, and the attack on the representative assembly in Paris two months later;[1] Vienna in a state of open rebellion, the mob forcing its way into the Imperial palace,[2] and, notwithstanding his concessions, the compelled flight of the Emperor and his court to Innspruck;[3] the Austrian garrisons expelled from Milan; barricades erected in Berlin, the populace in conflict with the Royal troops, and the capital temporarily thrown into a condition of anarchy and panic;[4] Naples in a state of siege, its newly convened constitutional assembly dissolved, and its civic guard disbanded; insurrectionary tumults and the subversion of governments in minor States; and rioting and anarchy in Rome;—all simultaneously occurring, mark the year 1848 as one of the most memorable in European history.

But the climax was reached in the month of November, when the world was filled with alarm and horror by the assassination of the Pontifical prime minister, Count Rossi, on the crowded steps of the senate house, in the broad light of day,[5] the attempts of the revolutionists to coerce the Holy Father, and bend him to their nefarious projects, and his flight to Gaeta, to escape their sacrilegious designs against his freedom of action and his life.[6]

In the month of February, 1849, the Constituent Assembly, charged with the formation of a new constitution, met in Rome, and decreed the abolition of the temporal power of the Pope, erecting in its stead a democracy pure and simple, under the name of the Roman Republic; and, ere long, the conduct of affairs mainly devolved on Mazzini, the head and centre of the secret societies, the apostle of revolution and infidelity.[7]

[1] May 15th. [2] March 13th. [3] May 17th.
[4] March 18th. [5] November 15th. [6] November 24th.
[7] Armellini, Saffi, and Mazzini were appointed a triumvirate, to conduct the supreme government; but, as might have been expected, the real power and direction of affairs were all but exclusively vested in the master spirit of the movement, Mazzini.

Meanwhile, all the Catholic powers, save Piedmont, proffered their aid, to restore Pius IX. to his throne: but a formal application from the Pope was necessary, to authorize their intervention. This application was accordingly made by the Cardinal Secretary of State, Antonelli, under date, Gaeta, February 18, 1849. Acting thereon, the Austrians immediately occupied the legations, from which they dislodged the revolutionists; and the expeditionary force under General Oudinot, dispatched by Prince Louis Napoleon, President of the French Republic, disembarked at Civita Vecchia on the 25th of April. On the 30th of June, the French entered Rome; and, two days later, the victorious general sent Colonel Neil with the keys of the city, to be laid at the feet of His Holiness, at Gaeta. Immediate steps were taken by the Holy Father to organize a new administration. On the 12th of September, he issued his "Motu Proprio," already referred to, from Portici, to which town he had removed from Gaeta; and, on the 12th of April, 1850, amid the rejoicings of his people and of the whole Catholic world, he re-entered his capital

In the year 1859, the war between Austria, on the one hand, and France and Italy, on the other, wrought great and fundamental changes in the Italian Peninsula. The Austrians lost their Lombardo-Venetian dominions, which passed to Victor Emanuel; and, before the close of the year, Bologna and the other legations were taken possession of by that monarch, and annexed to his kingdom. Against this act of spoliation of the territories of the Holy See, neither France nor Austria made a sign.[1] The following year, Umbria and the

[1] Napoleon III. was then all powerful, and it has been observed with truth, that one word of remonstrance from him would have stayed the hand of Victor Emanuel, and preserved the Papal territories intact. In reply to an application from the Pope, the Emperor wrote His Holiness, December 31, 1859, urging him, for the sake of the peace of Europe, to relinquish those provinces which had been a source of trouble to the Holy See, for the last fifty years; and adding that, in

Marches were also annexed by Victor Emanuel, notwithstanding the gallant resistance of the Pontifical army, under the chivalrous Lamoricière.

Having thus dispossessed the Pope of the greater part of his dominions, the Italian revolutionists no longer disguised their plan of depriving him of the remainder, and of making Rome the capital of a "United Italy." This project would have been put into immediate execution but for the French occupation. However, the triumph of Garibaldi and the Mazzinians was only a question of time. That triumph was to be accomplished by the transfer of the protectorate of the territories of the Holy See from France to the new kingdom of Italy!

In September, 1864, a convention was concluded between the cabinets of Paris and Turin, in which the Italian Government, then about to transfer its capital from Turin to Florence, bound itself, not only to abstain from invading the present territories of the Pope, but to prevent, by force, all others doing so. Next, it was agreed, that the French troops should be gradually withdrawn from the Papal States, as the formation of the new Pontifical army proceeded; but that, in any case, the French evacuation should take place within two years. It was further agreed, that the Pope might organize an army, even composed of foreign Catholic volunteers, for the preservation of peace and order within his dominions; but it was expressly provided that this army should not enter into hostilities against the Italian Government. Finally, the kingdom of Italy declared its willingness to assume, by arrangement

such a case, the powers would guarantee the integrity of his remaining dominions. Napoleon has been severely censured for the course he pursued on this occasion. The key to his conduct manifestly is furnished by his apprehension of a repetition of the Orsini plot of the previous year—of a fresh attempt to assassinate him by the emissaries of the Mazzinians, should he have counteracted the plans for which they had, for years, been preparing the ground, in the States of the Church, by the dissemination of their pernicious principles.

with the Pope's Government, a portion of the public debt of the former States of the Church.

This treaty, made without the consent of the Holy Father, nay, without his having been consulted, was signed by the ministers of Napoleon III. and Victor Emanuel, on September 15, 1864; and when, on the 23rd of the same month, it was officially communicated by the Emperor to Pius IX., the Pope declined to participate in it.

The events which followed show the wisdom of the Holy Father's decision, at the same time that they illustrate how little importance was attached to the obligations of this solemn treaty by the Italian Government.

A French legion of 1200 volunteers, recruited at Antibes, arrived in Rome in September, 1866. These, with the Papal Zouaves, 1500 strong, of various nationalities, and about an equal number of native troops, now constituted the Pontifical army, which was commanded by General Kanzler. They replaced the French Imperial troops, of which the withdrawal was completed in the following November.

A few months afterwards, with the connivance of the Italian prime minister Ratazzi, who was anxious that Rome should be the capital instead of Florence, Garibaldi and his followers collected money and arms, and enrolled volunteers, in order to invade the States of the Church, and overturn the rule of the Pope. A remonstrance of the French Cabinet, addressed to the Italian minister, had the effect of a temporary check to this hostile movement. But the intervention of Ratazzi was merely with a view to keep up appearances; for, after a short time, the machinations of the revolutionists were carried on without let or hindrance. On the 29th of September, 1867, the Garibaldians entered the Pontifical States, without any opposition from the Italian Government. Napoleon therefore again dispatched a military force, under General De Failly, which dis-

embarked at Civita Vecchia on the 29th of October. After several engagements, the Garibaldians were completely broken and routed at Mentana, on the 3rd of November; and, peace and order having been re-established in the Papal territories, the French troops were finally withdrawn in February, 1868—one division, under General Dumont, being left to garrison Civita Vecchia.

The Franco-German war, which proved so disastrous to Catholic France, for nineteen years the protectress of the Holy See, afforded the enemies of religion and order in Italy their long-desired opportunity. On the 2nd of September, 1870, MacMahon's army, 90,000 strong, capitulated at Sédan, and Napoleon III. rendered himself prisoner to King William of Prussia. On the 8th of that month, Victor Emanuel sent a letter to Pius IX., by Count Ponza di San Martino, in which, "with the affection of a son, with the faith of a Catholic, with the loyalty of a king, and the sentiments of an Italian," he addressed himself "to the heart" of His Holiness. In it, he observed, that a storm fraught with the gravest dangers menaced Europe; that the party of universal revolution, favoured by the portentous events then being enacted on the Continent, were prepared to strike, especially in the Papal States, the last blow at Monarchy and the Papacy. He added, that in such a crisis he deemed it his duty to assume the responsibility of maintaining order in the Peninsula, and guarding the integrity of the Holy See; and that for these ends he felt that it was absolutely necessary he should enter the Papal dominions, the frontiers of which he then protected. He continued: "Your Holiness will not see in this precautionary measure an act of hostility. My Government and my troops will strictly confine themselves to a conservative line of action, guarding the rights of the Roman populations, which are reconcilable with the inviolability of the Sovereign Pontiff, his spiritual authority, and the independence of the Holy

See." He then requested that the Holy Father would concert with Count Ponza di San Martino, who was fully in possession of the views of the Italian Government, the necessary measures to insure these important objects. Finally, he implored the Apostolic benediction, and repeated the assurance of his sentiments of profound respect for His Holiness.

To the Pope, under the circumstances, only one course was open. Peremptorily rejecting all the propositions contained in the letter, and submitted to him by the envoy, he sent the following reply to the King:—

Sire, Count Ponza di San Martino has placed in my hands a letter which Your Majesty has been pleased to address to me; but it is not worthy of an affectionate son, who glories in the profession of the Catholic faith, and the observance of kingly honour. Into the details of that letter I do not enter, lest I should renew the sorrow which its first perusal has caused me. I bless God, who has permitted Your Majesty to fill up to overflowing the afflictions of the close of my life. As for the rest, I cannot comply with the demands, or assent to the principles, contained in your letter. Again I invoke God, and in His hands I place my cause, which is wholly His. I pray Him to grant abundant graces to Your Majesty, to deliver you from all dangers, and to bestow on you the mercies of which you stand in need.—From the Vatican, the 11th September, 1870.—PIO PAPA IX.

On the same day, the 11th of September, the King, on the proposition of the council of ministers, ordered his army, under the command of General Cadorna, to enter the Papal States. As protracted resistance would have been useless, the Holy Father, anxious to spare the unnecessary effusion of blood, issued orders that opposition should be carried no further than would be sufficient to establish the fact of violence. On the 19th the invaders stood before the gates of Rome, which had been closed against them on their approach. On that day the Pope addressed a letter to General Kanzler, thanking him and the army under his command for their gallant services and devoted attachment to the Holy See. He then continued: "With regard to the

duration of the defence of the capital, I deem it my duty to command, that the resistance shall be such only as to constitute a protest, establishing the fact of violence done us. Once a breach is made in our walls, let negotiations for surrender be entered on."

At five o'clock on the morning of the 20th, fire was opened by the besiegers; and in a few hours a practicable breach was effected. Then the garrison surrendered, as prisoners of war; and the city was taken possession of by the army of Victor Emanuel.[1] On the 2nd of October, a *plébiscite*, or secret vote of the whole Roman people, was taken, as to whether they would wish to be incorporated with the Kingdom of Italy. As the Royal troops were already in possession, and the Pontifical States and capital were overrun by the Garibaldians and Mazzinians; and, moreover, as the majority of the population, being sound Catholics, advisedly abstained from the ballot, lest their voting might appear to be an acquiescence in those revolutionary and iniquitous proceedings; there could have been but one result—an overwhelming majority in favour of the incorporation.[2] On the same day a royal decree, based on this vote, promulgated the following articles:—

"I. Rome and the Roman provinces form an integral part of the Kingdom of Italy.

"II. The Sovereign Pontiff retains the dignity, the inviolability, and all the prerogatives of the sovereign.

[1] The Papal army which surrendered on this occasion, in obedience to the Pope's wishes, was close on 10,000 men, of whom at least two-thirds were Italians, and the remainder were foreigners. Among the Papal Zouaves, the Irish were honourably distinguished for their bravery and devotion to the Holy See. The invading army numbered between 50,000 and 60,000.

[2] M. Villefranche plainly asserts that the balloting urns were tampered with, and this so clumsily as to convict the manipulators. "These numbers," he observes, "were so clearly impossible, that the friends of Victor Emanuel blamed him for having played this comedy, let us rather say, for having badly played it" ("Pie IX. sa Vie, son Histoire, son Siècle," p. 331, 3rd edit. Lyons, 1877).

"III. A special law will sanction the conditions proper to guarantee, even by territorial immunities, the independence of the Sovereign Pontiff and the free exercise of the spiritual authority of the Holy See."[1]

The King immediately assumed the government of the Papal territories, shortly afterwards making Rome his capital, and taking up his abode in the Pope's palace of the Quirinal. To the Holy Father there remained but the Vatican, and that only on sufferance.

Pius IX. re-established the hierarchy in England and Wales in 1850, in Holland in 1853, and in Scotland in 1878.[2] In 1851, he put an end to the schism in Goa. On the 8th of December 1854, he proclaimed the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

From an early age, it was the common opinion of Catholic theologians that the Blessed Virgin Mary Mother of God was preserved from the stain of original sin when she was conceived in her mother's womb. This belief is founded, first on the opinion of the principal Fathers, secondly, on the precaution taken by the Council of Trent,[3] when, in deciding that all the children of Adam are stained with original sin, it declared that its intention was not at all to include the Blessed Immaculate Virgin Mary therein; thirdly, on the decrees of several Popes, who have approved of the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin and of the office composed for it, and have forbidden the contrary doctrine to be preached and taught.[4] Nevertheless, as it was not an article of faith until defined by the Church, its belief was not obligatory on the faithful.

On the 2nd of February, 1849, Pius IX. issued his

[1] By the Law of Guarantees, subsequently passed by the Italian Parliament, an annual income of two million lire (£80,000) was settled on the Holy Father, which, of course, has never been accepted; and his sovereign rights, within the Vatican, were guaranteed.

[2] The re-establishment of the hierarchy in England and Scotland will be more fully alluded to in the chapter on the Hierarchy.

[3] Session the fifth.

[4] Sixtus IV., Pius V., Paul V., Gregory XV., and Alexander VII., were the Pontiffs especially approving of this Feast.

encyclical letter, *Ubi primum*, addressed to the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops of the Church all over the globe, to collect from them the universal tradition respecting the belief in the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God. In the course of time, replies arrived, to the number of six hundred and three. Of these, five hundred and forty-six were not only in favour of the belief, but they demanded with urgency its doctrinal definition; whilst, on the other hand, there were a small minority, who hesitated, solely on the ground of opportuneness. Pius IX. called to his side, to assist him in this solemn affair, all the bishops who could repair to Rome. In obedience to his summons, one hundred and ninety-two arrived from all countries excepting Russia, of which the subjects were prevented from going by the despotic will of the Emperor Nicholas. These prelates, along with the cardinals and bishops resident in Rome, assisted in putting the finishing hand to the work of the commission charged with the preparation of the Bull. When the moment arrived of determining the definitive publication, the question arose, whether the bishops assisted there as judges, to pronounce the definition simultaneously with the Successor of Saint Peter, and whether it was necessary to mention their presence there with this title, or whether the supreme judgment was to be attributed to the sole word of the Sovereign Pontiff. The debate terminated suddenly, as it were by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. "It was the last sitting," relates Monsignor Audisio, who was present; "mid-day had sounded, the whole assembly knelt down to recite the *Angelus*. Then each one resumed his place, and a few words had scarcely been exchanged, when an acclamation to the Holy Father, a cry of eternal adhesion to the Primacy of the See of Saint Peter, arose, propagated itself, and closed the debate: *Petre, doce nos; confirma fratres tuos!* 'Peter, teach us; confirm thy brethren!' And the teaching which these pastors demanded of the

Supreme Pastor, was the definition of the Immaculate Conception."[1]

This was indeed an auspicious foreshadowing of the main work to be accomplished by the General Council of the Vatican, in its doctrinal definition of Papal Infallibility, sixteen years later.

In 1862, Pius IX. carried out, with grand ceremonies, in Saint Peter's, the Canonization of the Japanese Martyrs.[2] There were present, in obedience to the invitation of the Holy Father, three hundred and twenty-three cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, over four thousand priests, and a vast number of lay visitors, of whom fully one hundred thousand had come to Rome for the occasion.[3] The great basilica was completely filled, the enthusiasm was unbounded, the moral effect was immense, gradually extending to the most remote regions of Christendom.

On the following day a Consistory was held in the Vatican at which assisted all the bishops assembled in Rome. In his address, the Pope forcibly denounced certain errors, ever recurring, but, at the time, most prominent and dangerous—errors hostile to religion and social order, industriously circulated in bad books and journals, and extensively permeating society. In responding to the words of the Holy Father, Cardinal Mattei, Dean of the Sacred College, speaking for the episcopate of the Catholic world, said:—

Holy Father, you are for us the master of sound doctrine, the centre of unity; you are the rock, the foundation of the Church itself, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. When

[1] Villefranche, "Pie IX., sa Vie, Son Histoire, Son Siècle," p. 133, Lyons, 1877.

[2] These confessors of the faith, twenty-six in number (twenty-three Franciscans and three Jesuits), were martyred in Japan in 1597. On the same occasion, was canonized the Blessed Michael de Sanctis, Trinitarian of the Redemption of Captives.

[3] The Italian prelates were prevented from attending by the Piedmontese government; and they signed a protest against their compelled absence.

you speak, it is Peter whom we hear. When you decree, it is Jesus Christ whom we obey. We admire you in the midst of so many trials and tempests, with countenance serene, with heart imperturbable, accomplishing your sacred ministry, standing firm and invincible.

Then followed an allusion to the Temporal Power, "established by a design of Divine Providence, and essential to the good of the Church, and the free government of souls."

The Most Eminent Dean next dwelt forcibly on the close union of the whole Catholic world with the Vicar of Christ, and continued:

On behalf of our absent brethren as well as those here present, we condemn the errors which you have condemned, we reprove the sacrileges, the violations of ecclesiastical immunity, and the other crimes committed against the See of Peter. May it please God that kings and the powerful ones of this age may understand that the cause of the Pontiff is the cause of all states. May it please God that they may take into consideration the placing in security this sacred cause of the Christian universe and of social order.

The Pope replied:—

United as we are, Venerable Brethren, it is manifest that the God of peace and charity is with us. And if God is with us who shall be against us? Praise, then, honour and glory be to God. To you peace, salvation and joy. Peace to your hearts; salvation to the faithful committed to your care; joy for you and for them; so that you may exult with the saints, singing a new canticle in the house of the Lord, for ever and ever!

On the 8th of December 1864, Pius IX. issued his Encyclical,[1] *Quanta cura*, accompanied by the *Syllabus*,[2] or systematically arranged collection of errors, condemned from time to time, by himself and his predecessors. The Syllabus comprises eighty erroneous

[1] Encyclical, from the Greek Ἐν, in and κύκλος, a circle; i.e., a circular letter addressed by the Pope to all the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops of the Church, throughout the world.

[2] Syllabus, from the Greek Σύλλαβος (σὺν, with or together, and λαμβάνω, to take); an index, or complete list.

propositions. These are set forth under ten distinct heads, viz. I. Pantheism, Naturalism, and Absolute Rationalism; II. Moderated Rationalism; III. Indifferentism, Latitudinarianism; IV. Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies, Biblical Societies, Clerico-liberal Societies; V. Errors concerning the Church and her rights; VI. Errors concerning Civil Society, as well in itself as in its relations with the Church; VII. Errors concerning Natural and Christian Ethics; VIII. Errors concerning Christian marriage; IX. Errors concerning the Civil Princedom of the Roman Pontiff; X. Errors in relation with Modern Liberalism. Immediately under each error are given the two initial words, and the date, of the particular Papal Allocution, Encyclical, Letter Apostolic, or Epistle, in which it is condemned. Whilst, on the one hand, the publication of the Encyclical and Syllabus was hailed by many as the greatest act of the pontificate of Pius IX., on the other hand, their appearance excited the angry feelings, and intensified the hostility, of the enemies of the Church.

The next important event was the celebration at Rome, in the year 1867, of the Eighteenth Centenary of the Martyrdom of Saint Peter. On that solemn occasion, a still greater number of strangers than in 1862 repaired to the Eternal City, and five hundred and twelve cardinals and bishops assembled, to pay their homage to the Holy Father, and, at his bidding, to take part in the ceremonies. When, on the 29th of June, the feast of Saints Peter and Paul, that year, Pope Pius IX. celebrated Pontifical High Mass, above the Tomb of the Apostles, in the noblest temple ever erected for the worship of God, it was indeed a sublime and touching spectacle, to behold grouped around him, in their gorgeous and picturesque attire, emblematic of their sacred office, those five hundred prelates, nearly all of advanced years, some with the snows of more than eighty winters on their heads—men of every

language, of every nation, and of every race; and when they, the pastors of many flocks, dispersed throughout the world, lifted up their voices and openly professed their adhesion to all the teachings of the Supreme Pontiff, the one Chief Pastor of all, the effect was simply indescribable. A scene so solemn and impressive, so full of deep meaning, was one ever to be held in vivid recollection by the countless thousands, Catholics and non-Catholics, by whom it was witnessed.

The final and crowning great official act of the pontificate of Pius IX. was the holding of the Vatican Council and the definition of the dogma of Papal Infallibility, which will form the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.

"Veritas Catholica est, Pontificem definientem ex cathedra esse regulam fidei, quæ errare non potest, quando aliquid authentice proponit toti Ecclesiæ, tanquam de fide credendum."—SUAREZ.[1]

PERHAPS the best course to pursue in this chapter, is to commence with a plain statement of what the Church means by the Infallibility of the Pope. Indeed this is the more necessary, because considerable misconception appears to prevail on the subject, even among the educated classes, notwithstanding all that has been written thereon during the past fourteen years.

In the first Dogmatic Constitution, *De Ecclesia Christi*, published in the fourth session of the General Council of the Vatican, chapter iv., we find the following definition:[2]—

Therefore, faithfully adhering to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian faith, for the glory of God our Saviour, the exaltation of the Catholic Religion, and the salva-

[1] 'It is a Catholic truth, that the Pontiff defining *ex Cathedrâ* is a rule of faith which cannot err, when he authoritatively proposes to the whole Church anything to be believed, as of faith." These words were written towards the end of the sixteenth century. Their author, Francis Suarez, a Jesuit father and a distinguished theologian, was born in Granada in 1548, and died at Lisbon in 1617. Benedict XIV., in his work *De synodo diœcesana*, calls him the excelling Doctor, *doctor eximius*, and Grotius speaks of his being "so profound a philosopher and theologian, that it would be hardly possible to find his equal." His works fill twenty-three volumes folio.

[2] Enacted July 18, 1870.

tion of Christian people, the sacred Council approving, We teach and define, that it is a dogma divinely revealed: that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex Cathedrâ*, that is, when in discharge of the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, by the Divine assistance promised to him in Blessed Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed in defining doctrine regarding faith or morals; and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are, of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church, irreformable.[1]

Here, it will be noted that, according to this definition, Catholics are bound to believe, that Infallibility is attached to the Pope, only when he speaks *ex Cathedrâ*, that is, from the Chair of Peter; which means that he speaks, (1) in discharge of his office of Pastor and Teacher of all Christians, (2) by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, (3) defining a doctrine regarding faith or morals, (4) addressing the Universal Church, and (5) requiring her to hold the doctrine which he so defines. And Catholics are further bound to believe, that the Pope possesses this Infallibility, by the Divine assistance promised to him in Saint Peter, in defining doctrine under all the above conditions; and that, therefore, such definitions are, of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church, irreformable—that is, they cannot be altered or amended.

[1] "Itaque Nos, traditioni a fidei Christianæ exordio perceptæ fideliter inhærendo, ad Dei Salvatoris nostri gloriam, religionis Catholicæ exaltationem, et Christianorum populorum salutem, sacro approbante Concilio, docemus et divinitus revelatum dogma esse definimus: Romanum Pontificem, cum ex Cathedrâ loquitur, id est, cum omnium Christianorum Pastoris et Doctoris munere fungens, pro suprema sua Apostolica auctoritate, doctrinam de fide vel moribus ab universa Ecclesia tenendam definit, per assistentiam divinam, ipsi in beato Petro promissam, ea infallibilitate pollere, qua divinus Redemptor Ecclesiam suam in definienda doctrina de fide vel moribus instructam esse voluit: ideoque ejusmodi Romani Pontificis definitiones ex sese, non autem ex consensu Ecclesiæ irreformabiles esse. Concilii Œcumenici Vaticani Constitutio Dogmatica Prima De Ecclesia Christi, caput iv., De Romani Pontificis Infallibili Magisterio."

There is nothing in this doctrine to preclude a Pope's erring, as a man, as a prince, or even as a private Doctor. Thus, in a sermon or a discourse addressed to a particular congregation, or in a theological treatise, published by him as an author, a Pope *may* err—not indeed a probable contingency, though one quite possible: but, as Pastor, and Teacher of all Christians, addressing the Universal Church on any question of faith or morals, he cannot err.

By losing sight of this distinction, many persons, of late, have formed strangely mistaken ideas of the meaning of Papal Infallibility, as held by the Church. Therefore it is, that we not unfrequently find writers of no small authority confounding the actions of Popes as men, or as sovereigns, or as arbiters of kings and nations in the Middle Ages, with their solemn acts, defining questions of faith or morals, in their official capacity of Pastors and Doctors of the Universal Church. Indeed, one distinguished statesman affirms, that Catholics, accepting the above recited definition of the Vatican Council, do so at the sacrifice of their civil allegiance! In thus arguing, Mr. Gladstone appears completely to ignore the account which Catholics give of the faith which is in them, and to substitute his own ideas for the Church's clear and explicit interpretation of the dogma in question. The allegation, coming from a public man, so influential, and so deservedly respected, has caused much pain to the Catholics of these kingdoms; and has been several times conclusively replied to—notably by His Eminence Cardinal Newman.

On this subject, Monseigneur Fessler, Bishop of St. Polten in Austria, and Secretary-General to the Vatican Council, argues with equal cogency and authority, in his "True and False Infallibility of the Popes." This work, which was honoured with a Brief of approbation by His Holiness Pius IX., was written in reply to a pamphlet of Doctor Schulte, which was published at Prague in 1871, attacking the Infallibility dogma of

the Vatican Council.[1] In that pamphlet the deposition of princes by the Pope in the Middle Ages is assumed to have been regarded by the Pontiffs and by the Church, as coming within the scope of Papal Infallibility!

For example, in arguing his case, Dr. Schulte cites the fact "that Gregory VII. deposed King Henry IV., released his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and installed Rudolph in his place." To this Bishop Fessler replies: "That is an action of the Pope, but it is not an Infallible definition which a Catholic must accept."

Again, the instance is adduced of "Pope Gregory IX., in the year 1239, declaring the Emperor Frederick II. excommunicated, and releasing from their oath of allegiance all who had pledged their fidelity to him." The reply is: "That is a penal sentence whereby excommunication, with all its legitimate consequences, according to the laws of that period, was fulminated against the offender; but it is not a definition of faith; it is not an utterance of the Pope *ex Cathedrâ* upon faith or morals at all, as anybody who will open his eyes may see."

"The same answer," continues Dr. Fessler, "holds good in regard to the deposition of the above-named

[1] "Dr. Schulte," observes M. Cosquin, in his introduction to the French translation of 1873, "is a Westphalian by birth, up to the present time Professor of Canon and German Law in the University of Prague, and has been recently appointed by the Prussian Government to a chair in the University of Bonn." Down to the year 1862, his teaching was orthodox; but, that year, he displayed tendencies to unsound doctrines, which gradually increased. In 1871, he published among other writings, under his own name, the pamphlet above referred to, entitled, "The Power of the Roman Popes over Princes, Countries, Peoples and Individuals, examined by the light of their doctrines and their acts since the reign of Gregory VII., to serve for the appreciation of their Infallibility, and set face to face with contradictory doctrines of the Popes and the Councils of the first eight centuries." This pamphlet Bishop Fessler deemed it his duty not to leave unanswered; but he did not long survive his most successful work; as he succumbed to his heavy duties at the council and other labours which followed, dying in 1872 (Fessler, "The True and False Infallibility of the Popes," xii., London, trans. 1875).

Emperor Frederick II. by Innocent IV. in the year 1245, in which were bound up the consequences of such a sentence, according to what was the *Jus publicum* common in those times."

"Pope Nicholas V.," urges Dr. Schulte, "deposed the Antipope Felix (Duke Amadeus of Savoy) in the year 1447, and declared all his possessions confiscated, as the possessions of an anathematized heretic;" to which the learned bishop replies: "Neither is this a definition of faith, but an execution of the punishment which, according to the *Jus publicum* common in those times, was bound up with the Anathema, an execution (*executio*) with which, in this case, the King of France was charged.

"No more," he continues, "is there a dogmatic definition before us in the Papal Bull whereby King Henry VIII. of England, in the year 1535, was threatened with an excommunication, carried into effect in the year 1538, with all its legal consequences, according to the *Jus publicum* common in those times. It is a simple penal sentence in the spirit and in the form which once was customary, but which in later times fell into disuse.

"The same holds good of the penal sentence pronounced upon Queen Elizabeth of England by Pope Pius V., issued in the year 1570.

"Now, since all the Bulls here brought forward have not the faintest trace of being Papal doctrinal, or *de fide*, definitions—utterances of the Popes *ex Cathedrâ*; and since they plainly and incontestably belong to an entirely different class of Papal deliveries, it clearly follows that no one of these is to be regarded as an infallible utterance of Popes; and this alone it is which, by the definition of the Vatican Council, a Catholic is to believe and obey as part of the doctrine of the Catholic Church." [1]

[1] Fessler, "The True and False Infallibility of the Popes," pages 70–73.

The distinction to be clearly borne in mind is well illustrated by Bishop Fessler, in the parallel case of a judge who has to decide a suit. In private life he may perhaps hold and express his opinion, and that on various occasions; but in the suit nothing passes for law but his solemn judicial utterance, which, however (and here the parallel ceases), is by no means infallible. "The example, nevertheless," he further observes, "will suffice to show that a man who is invested with an official position can be readily conceived as thinking and speaking as a man, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as an official personage in his forensic utterances and acts." [1]

Until defined by the Vatican Council of 1870, Papal Infallibility was not, strictly speaking, an article of faith; and while the great majority of theologians believed in and maintained the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff speaking *ex Cathedrâ*, a minority, chiefly those of the Gallican school, held the opposite doctrine—their contention being, that Infallibility resides only in a General Council, or, again, in its equivalent, the judgment of the Pope, confirmed by the acquiescence, express or tacit, of the *Ecclesia dispersa*—that is, the great majority of the bishops throughout the Church.

It was on the 19th of March, 1682, that the French clergy, who had been convoked by command of Louis XIV., subscribed their four celebrated resolutions on the power of the Pope, commonly called the Gallican articles.

This assembly was held in order to maintain the *Regale* against Pope Innocent XI. The *Regale* was a privilege or right, by which the King received the revenue of certain archbishoprics and bishoprics during their vacancy, and could collate certain benefices, the disposal of which strictly belonged to the incoming

[1] Fessler, "True and False Infallibility," p. 76. To such extremes does Dr. Schulte go as to elevate Concordats to the rank of dogmatic decisions and utterances of the Pope *ex Cathedrâ*!

bishops. It extended to only some dioceses—those which had been founded by the Kings of France; but Louis XIV. now aimed at its extension to all the archiepiscopal and episcopal sees of the realm. This was strenuously resisted by the Pope. The assembly was to be composed of two bishops and two deputies of the second order of clergy from each metropolitan province. Therefore it numbered only thirty-six archbishops and bishops out of one hundred and twenty, and thirty-eight of the second order of clergy—clearly an inadequate representation of the entire clergy of France.

The decision of the assembly was expressed in its *Actes et Procès Verbaux*, under date of February 3rd 1682, to the following effect:—

We the undersigned Archbishops and Bishops, representing the Gallican Church, have consented and do consent by these presents that the right of *Regale* enjoyed by His Majesty over the greater part of our churches before the decree of the Parliament of the 24th of April 1608, continues extended to all the churches of the kingdom in the terms of the decree of the 10th of February 1673; hoping that our Most Holy Father the Pope, desirous to enter into the true interest of our churches, will receive favourably the letter which we have resolved to write to His Holiness on this subject, and that, allowing himself to be touched by the motives which have inspired us to take this course, he will give his Apostolic Benediction to this work of peace and charity.

It may well be conceived how strongly the Pope disapproved of this line of action. In his brief of April 11th, 1682, he addressed the French bishops in the following emphatic words:—

How, above all, the affair itself shows, that, by the abuse of the *Regale*, not only is Ecclesiastical discipline overturned, but even the integrity of faith is imperilled, may easily be understood from the very words of the Royal decrees, which claim for the King the right of conferring benefices, not as if flowing from any concession of the Church, but as if innate and coeval with the Royal crown. But we have not been able to read without horror of mind that part of your letter in which you say that you, abandoning your right, have conferred it on the King; as if you were the absolute masters, not the guardians (*arbitri non custodes*),

of the churches which have been committed to your care; and as if those churches and their spiritual rights could be put under the yoke of the secular power by the bishops, who for their liberty should give themselves into slavery.

When the discussion of the *Regale* was concluded, Monseigneur Le Tellier, Archbishop of Rheims, proposed that they should now deal with the subject of the Pope's authority, but, on the objection being raised that such a discussion would be inopportune, the proposition was withdrawn. It was, however, urged anew by the minister Colbert and François de Harlay, Archbishop of Paris, and ordered by the King to be proceeded with. Hence arose the four Gallican resolutions, above referred to—a cause of much mischief and bitter grief to the Church. They were drawn up in Latin by Bossuet, at the request of the assembly.

Of these, the First affirms, that to Saint Peter and his successors, Vicars of Christ, and to the Church herself, power has been given by God over things spiritual only; and that Kings and Princes are by God's ordinance not subject to Ecclesiastical power in matters temporal; that neither directly nor indirectly can they be deposed by the authority of the Keys of the Church; and that their subjects cannot be dispensed from the obedience they owe them, or released from their oath of fidelity to them.

More than once already we have considered the wide difference between the state of affairs in the Middle Ages, when, by common consent, the Supreme Pontiff was the head and arbiter of united Christendom, and the circumstances of modern times, when such a power in the hands of the Pope, in matters temporal, would be an anachronism, and indeed, owing to the multiplicity of religious sects and the spread of unbelief, an impossibility. It is therefore unnecessary to allude further to the subject here.

The Second Gallican Article affirms, that the plenitude of power over things spiritual possessed by the

Apostolic See and the successors of Saint Peter, Vicars of Christ, is such that the decrees of the General Council of Constance (sessions iv. and v.), *on the authority of General Councils*, continue in their full force; and that the Gallican Church does not approve of those persons who impugn those decrees, or weaken them by asserting that their authority is doubtful and not well established, and that they had reference merely to a period of schism, such as existed at the time of the council.

Any one perusing the decrees of the Council of Constance will plainly see that those here referred to were enacted only for the occasion, *ad extirpationem schismatis*, to put an end to schism, at a time when there were three claimants of the Papacy, and no one could tell who was the legitimate Pope; which, under such circumstances, a General Council only could decide.[1] Their text runs as follows:—That of the fourth session says: "This Holy Synod, legitimately congregated in the Holy Ghost, constituting a General Council, representing the Catholic Church militant, has power immediately from Christ; and any one of any dignity whatsoever, were it even Papal, is bound to obey it in those matters which appertain to faith, and the extirpation of the said schism, and the general reformation of the Church in its head and members." That of the fifth session says: "Whoever, of whatsoever condition, rank, or dignity he may be, even though he were Pope, shall obstinately refuse to obey the regulations of this Holy Synod and of every other General Council legitimately assembled, on the matters aforesaid, either decided or to be decided, if he repent not, shall receive the punishment which he deserves."

Here the crisis was exceptional—nay unprecedented, as were the decrees. But, as we have seen, the Pope, canonically chosen, possesses within himself, as Vicar of Christ and Head of the Church, the plenitude of

[1] Vide supra, chap. xx.

power and authority in spiritual affairs: and, to constitute an Œcumenical Council, it is necessary that it should be convened by him, that he should preside over it, either personally or by his legates, and that its decrees should be approved of and confirmed by him. In this regard, the Pope may be said to be *above* a General Council, instead of being "subject to it," as alleged by the Gallicans.

Again, it is argued, against the Gallicans, that the decrees of the fourth and fifth sessions of the Council of Constance are of no authority, as they were passed in March and April 1415, when the council was not as yet Œcumenical, being composed of only those who acknowledged John XXIII., the other claimants of the Papacy, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. and their followers not being present; and, finally, that the two decrees in question were not confirmed by Martin V., whose election and general recognition as legitimate Pope, on November 11, 1417 (the Council of Constance still sitting), put an end to the schism.

The Third of the Gallican Articles is to the effect, that the use of the Apostolic power ought to be regulated by the canons made by the Spirit of God, and consecrated by the reverence of the whole world; that the rules, customs, and institutions received by the Kingdom and Church of France ought to be maintained, and the limits marked out by the fathers remain unmoved; and that it belongs to the greatness of the Apostolic See that the statutes and customs, established with the consent of that Venerable See and of the Churches, should be unchanged.

The Fourth Article affirms that "the Pope has the chief part in questions of faith, and his decrees regard all Churches and each Church in particular. Nevertheless, his judgment is not irreversible, so long as it does not obtain the consent of the Church."

It is scarcely necessary here to remind the reader, that these resolutions emanated from what could not be

called even a merely national synod, at which were present only thirty-six archbishops and bishops and thirty-eight of the second order of clergy, and that assuredly it was not the function of such an assembly to define the power and jurisdiction, in matters spiritual, of the Head and Teacher of the Universal Church.

But to whom did the Gallican Bishops apply for the confirmation of their proceedings in this assembly? Was it to the Holy Father? No: it was to King Louis XIV.! This circumstance alone would be sufficient, irrespective of any other, to place them outside the category of Ecclesiastical synods, or, in other words, to put them out of court. On the 20th of March, 1682, the four articles received the King's approval, and an edict was passed, giving them the force of law, and on the 23rd of the same month they were enregistered by the Parliament. But the faculty of the Sorbonne refused to enregister them; whereupon their registrar was compelled by the Parliament to do so, but without the assent of the doctors. The Articles were immediately condemned, as were also the proceedings in the matter of the *Regale*, by Innocent XI., as we have above seen.[1] This condemnation of both was repeated by Alexander VIII. in 1690,[2] and by Clement XI. in 1706.[3] They were also emphatically pronounced against by Italy, Spain, Austria, Hungary, and Belgium;[4] and their enactment was deeply deplored by several of the French bishops.[5] Finally, they were annulled by the

[1] In his Brief *Paternæ Charitati*, addressed to the Bishops of France, 11th of April 1682.

[2] In his Bull *Inter Multiplices*, of August 4, 1690, published by that Pontiff, on his death-bed, in the presence of twelve cardinals, in January, 1691.

[3] In his Brief of August 31, 1706, addressed to Louis XIV.

[4] In the solemn Acts and Declarations of the Universities and Chapters of those countries, and a National Council in Hungary.

[5] In the assembly itself, they were opposed by Monseigneur De Brias, Archbishop of Cambrai; and they were afterwards disapproved of and condemned by some other French Bishops, who had not been present. They were even, in the end, abandoned by Bossuet, by whom the Articles had been drawn up.

King, and retracted by the bishops of France, in 1693;[1] and in 1794 their condemnation was renewed by Pope Pius VI.[2]

So much for the once celebrated Gallican Articles, which, it will be observed, were mainly levelled against the privilege of Papal Infallibility in matters spiritual, as since defined by the Church.

From the opinions on the other side, as held by all theologians in the early ages, and by the great majority since the Council of Constance, the following may be quoted here; and it is only to be regretted that more cannot be given in our necessarily restricted space.

We commence with a high authority, Saint Thomas of Aquino, who, writing about the year 1260, in his treatise *Contra Gentiles*, says:—

As therefore in one particular people one bishop of one church is required, who should be the head of the whole people, so in the whole Christian people it is necessary that One should be the head of the whole Church. Likewise it is requisite for the unity of the Church, that all the faithful should agree in faith. But about those things which are of faith, it happens that questions are raised: and, through diversity of opinions, the Church would be divided, unless it were preserved in unity by the opinion of one. Therefore the preservation of the unity of the Church demands that there should be one to preside over the whole Church. But it is manifest that Christ is not wanting in

[1] This was done in virtue of an agreement, or Act of reconciliation between Pope Innocent XII., on the one part, and Louis XIV. and the clergy of France, on the other, in 1693. In the King's letter, he assures the Pope that, in order to testify his filial respect for His Holiness, he has ordered the Acts, approved of in the royal edict of 20th of March, 1682 (forced upon him by circumstances), not to be observed. The clergy of France, in their letter, expressed their profound regret at the said Acts, which had so deeply afflicted His Holiness and his predecessors, and they declared that everything which had thus been done against ecclesiastical Authority was regarded by them as not decreed; and they assured His Holiness that to him, as to the Successor of Saint Peter, the Vicar of Christ, and the Head of the whole Church militant, they now repeated the vows of true and sincere obedience, which they had already promised and sworn.

[2] In his Bull *Auctorem Fidei*, condemning the adoption of the Declaration of 1682, by the Synod of Pistoia.

things necessary to the Church, which He loved and for which He shed His blood, since it was said of the Synagogue by the Lord: *What is there that I ought to do more to My vineyard, that I have not done to it?* Therefore it is not to be doubted that, by the ordinance of Christ, one presides over the whole Church.

But, if any one should say that the one head and the one pastor is Christ, who is the one spouse of the one Church, he does not answer sufficiently. For it is manifest that Christ perfects all the sacraments of the Church; for it is He who baptizes, it is He who remits sins, He is the true priest, who offered Himself on the altar of the cross, and by virtue of whom His body is daily consecrated on the altar: and, however, because He was not to be in future corporally present with all the faithful, He chose ministers through whom He would dispense the above mentioned things to the faithful. Therefore, for the same reason, because He was about to subtract His corporal presence from the Church, it behoved that He should commit to some one, to bear, in His place, the care of the Universal Church. Hence it is that He said to Peter before the Ascension: *Feed my sheep*, John xxi. 17; and before the Passion: *Thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren*, Luke xxii. 32; and to him alone He promised: *I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven*, Matthew xvi. 19; in order that the power of the keys should be shown to be derived through him to the others, for the conservation of the unity of the Church.[1]

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[1] S. Thomas Aquin. "Summa contra Gentiles" lib. iv., cap. 76, cui titulus: "De Episcopali dignitate, et quod in ea unus sit summus." Apud Bianchi, "De Constitutione Monarchica Ecclesiæ et de Infallibilitate Romani Pontificis." Romæ, 1870. "Sicut igitur in uno speciali populo unius Ecclesiæ requiritur unus Episcopus, qui sit totius populi caput, ita in toto populo Christiano requiritur, quod unus sit totius Ecclesiæ caput. Item. Ad unitatem Ecclesiæ requiritur quod omnes fideles in fide conveniant. Circa vero ea, quæ fidei sunt, contingit quæstiones moveri; per diversitatem autem sententiarum divideretur Ecclesia, nisi in unitate per unius sententiam conservaretur. Exigitur ergo ad unitatem Ecclesiæ conservandam, quod sit unus qui toti Ecclesiæ præsit. Manifestum est autem, quod Christus Ecclesiæ in necessariis non deficit, quam dilexit, et pro ea sanguinem suum fudit. . . . Non est igitur dubitandum, quin ex ordinatione Christi unus toti Ecclesiæ præsit. . . . Eadem igitur ratione, quia præsentiam corporalem erat Ecclesiæ subtracturus, oportuit ut alicui committeret qui loco sui universalis Ecclesiæ gereret curam. Hinc Petro dixit ante Ascensionem: *Pasce oves meas;* et ante Passionem: *Tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos;* et ei soli promisit *Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum:* ut ostenderetur potestas clavium per eum ad alios derivanda, ad conservandam Ecclesiæ unitatem."

Saint Thomas supposes the case of a new edition of the Symbol or Creed being required, and he puts the question: "Whether it belongs to the Supreme Pontiff to draw up a Symbol of Faith?" He replies:—

Granted that a new edition of the Symbol is necessary, to avoid arising errors. Then an edition of the Symbol belongs to the authority of him to whose authority it appertains finally to determine those things which are of faith, that they may be held by all in unshaken faith: but this belongs to the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, to whom the greater and more difficult questions of the Church are referred. Whence the Lord, in Luke xxii. says to Peter, whom He constituted Supreme Pontiff: *Peter, I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not, and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren.* And the reason of this is, that there ought to be one faith of the whole Church, according to that of 1 Corinthians i. *that you all speak the same thing, and that there be no schisms among you,* which cannot be observed unless a question of faith which has arisen concerning faith be determined by him who presides over the whole Church, that so his opinion may be firmly held by the whole Church. And therefore to the sole authority of the Supreme Pontiff belongs a new edition of the Symbol, alike as all other things which appertain to the whole Church, such as the assembling a General Council and other matters of this kind.[1]

Alluding to the prohibition by the Universal Church, at the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, of a new edition of the Symbol or Creed being made, Saint Thomas says:—

The prohibition and sentence of the Council applies to private persons, whose function it is not to determine concerning faith; for this kind of sentence of a General Council does not take away

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[1] S. Thomas Aquin., apud Bianchi, ut supra, p. 37. "Ad illius ergo auctoritatem pertinet editio Symboli, ad cujus auctoritatem pertinet finaliter determinare ea, quæ sunt fidei, ut ab omnibus inconcussa fide teneantur; hoc autem pertinet ad auctoritatem Summi Pontificis, ad quem majores et difficiliores Ecclesiæ quæstiones referuntur. . . . Et hujus ratio est; quia una fides debet esse totius Ecclesiæ, . . . quod servari non posset, nisi quæstio fidei de fide exorta determinetur per eum qui toti Ecclesiæ præest, et sic ejus sententia a tota Ecclesia firmiter teneatur. Et ideo ad solam auctoritatem Summi Pontificis pertinet nova editio Symboli, sicut et omnia alia, quæ pertinent ad totam Ecclesiam," etc.

from a subsequent Council the power of making a new edition of the Symbol, not containing another faith, but the same, more explained. For thus any Council whatsoever has observed, that a subsequent Council might expound anything over and above the exposition given by a preceding Council, on account of the necessity of some arising heresy. Whence, to draw up a new Symbol of faith belongs to the Supreme Pontiff, by whose authority a Council is congregated and its sentence is confirmed.[1]

Here we have a strong declaration, indeed, of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, as set forth by one of the greatest Doctors of the Church, over six centuries ago—a belief universally held at the time.

Writing about two hundred and fifty years ago, Sylvius,[2] a divine of high authority, observes:—

The answer is certain of faith, that the judgment of the Roman Pontiff, in determining matters of faith, is infallible; so that when he defines *ex Cathedrâ*, or when, as Pontiff, he propounds anything to the Church, to be believed, of faith, he can in no case err, whether he defines with a General Council or without it. The first proof of this is, that Christ, as recorded in the 22nd chapter of Saint Luke, speaks to Blessed Peter thus: "Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not." With reference to these words, Saint Leo says:[3] "To all the Apostles there was a common danger of a temptation of fear, and

[1] S. Thomas, apud Bianchi, ut supra, p. 40. "Prohibitio et sententia Synodi se extendit ad privatas personas, quarum non est determinare de fide; non enim, per hujusmodi sententiam Synodi Generalis, ablata est potestas sequenti Synodo novam editionem Symboli facere, non quidem aliam fidem continentem, sed eamdem magis expositam. Sic enim quælibet Synodus observavit, ut sequens Synodus aliquid exponeret supra id, quod præcedens Synodus exposuerat, propter necessitatem alicujus hæresis insurgentis: unde pertinet ad Summum Pontificem ordinare novum Symbolum fidei, cujus auctoritate Synodus congregatur et ejus sententia confirmatur."

[2] Francois Sylvius, or Du Bois, was born at Braine-le-Comte in Hainault in 1581. He was Canon and Dean of Saint Amé at Douai, and was for over thirty years professor of theology in that town. He died there on the 27th of February, 1649. He was the author of several learned works, among which are his much valued Commentaries on the Summa of Saint Thomas, above quoted. His works were publishod, in six volumes folio, in Antwerp in 1698, and in Venice in 1746.

[3] Saint Leo the Great, Pope, writing about A.D. 450.

they equally needed the assistance of the Divine protection, since the Devil was desirous to terrify all and to destroy all: but special care is taken of Peter by the Lord, and He particularly prays for the faith of Peter, as, assuredly, the state of the others would be more certain, were the mind of the chief not conquered."

Conformably with which, Pope Agatho, in the Sixth General Council, affirming that "the Apostolic Church of Christ, through the grace of God, will never be proved to have wandered from the path of Apostolic tradition, and never succumbed, corrupted by heretical novelties," proves this from the same quoted words (Luke xxii.),[1] as had before been proved by Lucius I. and Felix I., where we have shown from their words, and those of Leo IX., Bernard, Innocent III., and Saint Thomas, that the sentence of Christ had reference to Peter and also to his legitimate successors in the Primacy of the Church.[2]

About the same time, Andrew Duval, Doctor of Sorbonne, and Royal Professor of Theology in the Academy, Paris, wrote:—

The Pontiff alone, without a General Council, if he decrees as Pontiff, or, as they say, *ex Cathedrâ*, can decree nothing whatever against faith or good morals. It is otherwise if he act as a private person, for so he may strike on either shoal. But he is said to act or define as Pontiff, when he propounds any dogma or precept to the whole Church, to be believed or observed; but as a private person, when as a particular doctor he propounds or teaches anything, in which manner Innocent III. issued the Commentaries on the Decretals.[3]

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[1] A.D. 680. Vide supra, p. 113.

[2] Sylvius (Franciscus) "Opera," tom. v. p. 246. Venice, 1746. "Responsio fide certa est, Romani Pontificis judicium in rebus fidei determinandis esse infallibile; ita ut quando ex Cathedrâ definit, sive quando ut Pontifex proponit Ecclesiæ quidpiam fide credendum, nullo casu possit errare, sive cum Generali Concilio definiat, sive sine illo. Prob. 1. quia Christus (Luc. xxii.) sic B. Petrum alloquitur: 'Simon, Simon, ecce Sathanas expetivit vos, ut cribaret sicut triticum; Ego autem rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua.' . . . Hoc probat (Pontifex Agatho) ex allegatis Christi verbis (Luc. xxii.) quemadmodum antea idem probaverant Lucius I. et Felix I. ubi ex eorum, ut et ex Leonis IX., Bernardi, Innocentii III. et Sancti Thomæ, verbis ostendimus, sententiam Christi pertinere ad Petrum, ac etiam ad legitimos ejus in Primatu Ecclesiæ successores." The first two Pontiffs here named governed the Church, in the third century; viz., Lucius I., A.D. 252, 253; and Felix I., A.D. 269–275.

[3] Duval. "De Supremâ Romani Pontificis in Ecclesiam potestate," pars. II. De Pontificis in definiendo infallibilitate, p. 200. Paris, 1614.

Gotti, an eminent theologian, about A.D. 1700, writes:—

Know therefore that we would not have the Pope to be infallible, in his every private judgment, or of a pure private fact; but we would distinguish between the Person and the Chair; between the Pope as a private Doctor, and the Pope as universal Doctor and Teacher, who speaks to the whole Church, and teaches it faith and morals; between a pure private fact, in no manner connected with law and dogma, and law, or a fact connected with law, and dogmatic. We say therefore (whatever can be said of the Pope as a Person and a private Doctor, and of a matter of pure fact): this is certain, that when the Pope speaks with the voice of his Chair, as universal Doctor and Teacher, and proposes to the whole Church any truth to be believed, and to be held, and separates true from false dogma; in those cases his judgment and discretion enjoy the privilege of infallibility, and cannot be liable to any error. For then he pronounces his sentence with the mouth of Blessed Peter, and in his name and prerogative, of whom he is the Successor in the Ministry, and whose it is (according to the promise of Christ, *Luke* xxii. 32) to confirm in the faith his brethren; and for whom He had prayed, that he might remain indefectible in teaching her: *But I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren.*[1]

"Solus Pontifex, absque concilio aristocratico, si ut Pontifex, seu (ut loquuntur) ex Cathedrâ decernat, nihil quicquam contra fidem aut bonos mores potest decernere. Aliud, si ut privata persona agat: sic enim in utrumque scopulum potest allidere. Dicitur autem ut Pontifex agere seu definire, quando dogma seu præceptum aliquod toti Ecclesiæ credendum vel observandum proponit; ut privata vero persona, quando ut particularis Doctor aliquid proponit vel docet, quo pacto Innocentius III. commentaria in decretales edidit." Andrew Duval, born at Pontoise in 1564, Doctor of the House and Society of Sorbonne, was the first who filled the chair of theology newly established by Henri IV. in 1596. At his death in 1638, he was senior of Sorbonne and Dean of the faculty of theology. He was author of a "Commentary on the Summa of Saint Thomas," two "Tracts against Richer," and other works, including the above quoted, "De Supremâ Romani Pontificis in Ecclesiam Potestate," 4to, Paris, 1614.

[1] Gotti, "De Rom. Pontificis auctoritate," Colloquio vi. class. 2, n. 8. apud Bianchi, p. 33. "Dicimus ergo (quidquid dici possit de Papa, ut Persona et privato Doctore, et de re puri facti): hoc certum est, Papam cum voce suæ Cathedræ loquitur, ut Doctor, et Magister universalis, totique Ecclesiæ aliquam veritatem credendam, tenendamque proponit, verumque a falso dogmate separat; in his casibus, ejus judicium ac

Billuart, a French theologian,[1] writing about A.D. 1746, observes, with reference to the two opinions then prevailing on the question of the Infallibility of the Supreme Pontiff, speaking *ex Cathedrâ*:—

The first is that of the French, who for the greater part hold that the Supreme Pontiff is not infallible in matters of faith and morals, unless there is added the consent of the Church, either congregated in a General Council or at least diffused throughout the world—from the declaration of the Gallican Clergy 1682 . . . The other opinion is that of all other nations, who constantly hold, that the Supreme Pontiff speaking *ex Cathedrâ* . . . independently of the consent of the Church, either congregated, or diffused, is infallible in determining questions of faith and morals.[2] For, although, after the Council of Constance, some theologians outside France, few however, thought the contrary, now the opinion about the infallibility of the Pope in our sense is everywhere received, except in France: so at least says Benedict XIV., who to-day governs the helm of the Church.[3]

The several texts of Scripture, proving the Primacy of Peter, have been considered in former chapters.

discretionem infallibilitatis privilegio gaudere, neque ullius erroris obnoxium esse posse. Etenim tunc ore Beati Petri ejusque nomine, cujus est Successor in Ministerio, ac prærogativa, sententiam profert, cujusque est (secundum Christi promissum, *Lucæ* xxii. v. 32) confirmare in fide fratres suos; et pro quo rogaverat, ut in eam docendo indefectibilis permaneret." Vincent Louis Gotti, of Bologna in Italy, was born in 1664. He entered the Dominican order, and on account of his learning and piety was made Cardinal by Benedict XIII. in 1738. His principal work is "Theologia Scholastica Dogmatica," after St. Thomas, Rome, 12 vols. 4°, and Venice, 3 vols. fol., 1750.

[1] Charles Réné Billuart, theologian, was born at Revin on the Meuse, three leagues from Rocroi, in 1685. He entered the Dominican order, and professed theology therein, with great reputation. His Course of Theology was published at Liége, in 19 vols. 8°, 1746–48, and reprinted in Venice and Wurtzburg, in 3 vols. folio. He died in 1757.

[2] "Altera sententia est omnium aliarum nationum, quæ constanter tenent Summum Pontificem loquentem *ex Cathedrâ* . . . independenter a consensu Ecclesiæ, sive congregatæ, sive diffusæ, esse infallibilem in quæstionibus fidei et morum dirimendis." This is confirmed by Cardinal Gotti, who states that such was the opinion of all, before the Council of Constance, and that he who would assert the contrary would be noted as a heretic; and that it was only after the Council of Constance that theologians began to think otherwise. "De Rom. Pont. auctoritate," colloq. 6, class 2, n. 6, apud Bianchi, p. 28.

[3] Billuart, "Summa Tract. de Reg. fidei," Diss. 4, a. 5, apud Bianchi, p. 28.

His Infallibility is implied in all of these; but especially in that so often quoted from the twenty-second chapter of the Gospel of Saint Luke. Several passages from the writings of the Fathers have also been cited, and several historical facts have been carefully weighed; all corroborative of the Scripture evidence, and all clearly setting forth the Catholic belief, from the Apostolic times, that the prince of the Apostles transmitted to his successors in the See of Rome, all his gifts and powers, and special privileges, as Vicar of Christ and Visible Head of the Church. Of these not the least is the essential gift of Infallibility, as defined by the Vatican Council.

In this sense, it is constantly affirmed by the Fathers, that Peter ever lives and judges in his successors in the Apostolic Chair. In addition to the several instances already given, the following few may not be out of place here.

At the Third General Council, that of Ephesus, held A.D. 431, Philip, the legate of the Apostolic See, addressing the assembled Fathers, declared, that no one doubted, nay that it was known to all ages, that Peter the Prince and Head of the Apostles and foundation of the Church had received from Christ the keys of the kingdom, and the power of binding and loosing, and that now and ever he both lives and judges in his successors.[1] The exact words of the legate are embodied in the constitution of the Vatican Council on this subject, which will be immediately quoted.

A few years later, Saint Leo the Great, a worthy successor of the Prince of the Apostles, said: Blessed Peter "ceases not to preside over his own see; and unfailing he enjoys association with the Eternal Priest: for that solidity which, when he was made a rock, he received from the rock, Christ, has transmitted itself to his heirs."[2]

[1] "Concilii Ephesini Acta," tom. ii. cap. 16.

[2] "Sancti Leonis PP. Magni Sermo iv." in Nat. Ord. c. 4. "Sedi

At the Fourth General Council, that of Chalcedon, assembled in the year 451, when the letter of the same holy Pope to Saint Flavian was read, the Fathers exclaimed: "This is the faith of the Apostles. So we all believe. Peter hath spoken by Leo."

With a like acclamation, the dogmatic letter of Pope Agatho was received by the Fathers of the Sixth General Council, the Third of Constantinople, held A.D. 680.[1]

The following words uttered by Domitius, Bishop of Prusa, on that occasion, are most significant; especially as they express the unanimous sentiment of the council: "I receive and embrace and so believe the suggestions of our father Agatho, the most holy Archbishop of the Apostolic and principal See of ancient Rome, as dictated by the Holy Ghost, through the mouth of the most holy and most blessed Prince of the Apostles, Peter, and written by the hand of the thrice most blessed Pope Agatho."

And now, twelve centuries later, the Vatican Council declares: "Truly no one doubts, nay rather it is known to all ages, that the holy and most blessed Peter, prince and head of the Apostles, the pillar of the faith and foundation of the Catholic Church, received the keys of the kingdom from our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Redeemer of the human race; and that he lives, presides, and judges, to this day and always, in his successors, the Bishops of the Holy Roman See, founded by him, and consecrated by his blood."[2]

suæ præesse non desinit, et indeficiens obtinet cum Æterno Sacerdote consortium. Soliditas enim illa, quam de petrâ Christo etiam ipse petra factus accepit, in suos quoque se transfudit hæredes."

[1] Vide supra, p. 109.

[2] "Constitutio dogmatica prima, de Ecclesia, caput ii. De perpetuitate Primatus Beati Petri in Romanis Pontificibus." "Nulli sane dubium, imo seculis omnibus notum, quod sanctus beatissimusque Petrus, Apostolorum princeps et caput, fideique columna et Ecclesiæ Catholicæ fundamentum, a Domino nostro Jesu Christo, Salvatore humani generis ac Redemptore, claves regni accepit; qui ad hoc usque tempus et semper in suis successoribus, Episcopis sanctæ Romanæ

The Council of the Vatican, being the Twentieth General Council, was opened by its First Public Session on the 8th of December 1869, in the transept on the Gospel side of the high altar of Saint Peter's; with the prescribed solemn ceremonial. Pope Pius IX. presided in person. On the 10th, was held the First General Congregation for business. At the Second Public Session, on the 6th of January 1870, being the Feast of the Epiphany, the Pope recited in a loud voice the profession of faith, namely, the Creed of Nice and Constantinople, together with the definitions of the Council of Trent, called the Creed of Pius IV.; after which it was read aloud from the *ambo* by the Bishop of Fabriano. "Then for two whole hours," to use the words of one of the prelates present, "the cardinals, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, and other fathers of the council made their adhesion to the same by kissing the Gospel at the throne of the head of the Church."[1] A truly sublime spectacle—those seven hundred bishops from all parts of the earth, "the representatives of more than thirty nations and of two hundred millions of Christians,"[2] thus openly making profession of one common faith, in communion with the one Supreme Pastor and Teacher of all!

When the question of the Infallibility of the Pope was about to be entered on, about one hundred of the Fathers signed and presented a petition praying that the question should not be brought before the council, as they deemed its discussion "inopportune." It has been erroneously stated that these one hundred prelates "did not believe in the doctrine, in which until it was defined by the Church they deemed themselves quite justified." But such was not the case; for, on the

Sedis, ab ipso fundatæ, ejusque consecratæ sanguine, vivit et præsidet et judicium exercet." In this sentence are embodied the words of the legate Phillip, alluded to in the preceding page.

[1] Cardinal Manning's "True Story of the Vatican Council," p. 91 London, 1877.

[2] Ibid.

authority of those who took part in the proceedings, "not five bishops in the Council could be justly thought to have opposed the truth of the doctrine;" and by these it was readily accepted, once it was defined by the Church. On the other hand, four hundred and fifty of the Fathers preferred a petition that the doctrine should be discussed in the Council.[1]

By this time, the summer heat, which in 1870 was exceptionally great, had already seriously affected the health of many of the bishops. Several had been compelled by illness to return home; several still in Rome were unable to attend the council; and some had died. Thus the numbers were reduced to six hundred and one.

In the final vote in congregation before the Fourth Public Session, these six hundred and one Fathers voted: 451 *Placet*, or *aye;* 62 *Placet juxta modum*, or *aye conditionally* or *with modifications;* and 88 *Non placet*, or *no.*

The modifications or amendments, 163 in number, were sent in to the commission in writing, and, on their being duly examined and reported, many of them were adopted.

The Fourth Public Session was held on the 18th of July, presided over by Pius IX. in person. After the usual ceremonial, the decree *De Romano Pontifice* was read from the *ambo* by the Bishop of Fabriano, and every Father of the council was called on by name to vote. There were present 535. Of these, 533 voted *Placet* and 2 *Non placet.*[2] The decree was then confirmed in the usual form by the Holy Father.[3]

[1] Cardinal Manning's "True Story of the Vatican Council," pp. 99 and 113.

[2] On the 17th of July, 55 bishops signed a declaration, that they would not appear at the Public Session of the next day. Adding these and 11 unaccounted for to the 535 who voted, we have the total of 601. There voted in the majority 52 of the 62 who had previously voted *Placet juxta modum* or *aye with modifications.*

[3] I am indebted for these figures and dates to Cardinal Manning's "True Story of the Vatican Council."

On a calm and dispassionate consideration of the question, fairly stated, as I trust it has been in this chapter, not a few non-Catholics, I am confident, will feel inclined to admit the reasonableness of the Catholic doctrine, that Papal Infallibility, as defined by the Vatican Council, is indispensable to the Church. This granted, the enjoyment of the privilege by the successors of Saint Peter, speaking *ex Cathedrâ*, is a necessary consequence. For, as Saint Thomas of Aquin observes, "it is manifest that Christ has not been wanting in necessary things to His Church, which He loved, and for which He shed His blood." Therefore, as General Councils cannot be frequently assembled, and it is necessary that there should be one visible Head and Teacher, to decide officially on questions of faith and morals which are constantly arising, Christ conferred on Saint Peter, and through him on his successors the privilege of Infallibility, as now defined by the Church.

The following impressive words of an illustrious Protestant writer, on this subject, may be appositely quoted here:—

When therefore (says Leibnitz) Almighty God established His Church upon earth, as a sacred city placed upon a mountain, His immaculate spouse, and the interpretress of His will, and enjoined that throughout the whole world her unity should ever be maintained, and ordered that she should be heard by all under pain of being confounded with heathens or publicans, it follows that He should establish a mode by which the will of the Church, the interpretress of the Divine Will, might be known. And this was shown by the Apostles, who represented the body of the Church in the beginning. For they, the Council of Jerusalem being assembled, explaining their decision said, "It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." Nor did this privilege of the Holy Ghost assisting the Church cease on the death of the Apostles, but it ought to endure to the consummation of the world, and in the whole body of the Church it was propagated through the bishops, as the successors of the Apostles.

But as a council cannot continuously nor frequently be held, for the bishops cannot often be absent from the flocks over which they preside, and yet the Church should personally exist and

subsist, in order that her will should be known, it follows, by the Divine law itself, and by the very memorable words of Christ addressed to Peter (when He specially committed to him the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and likewise when three times He emphatically commended to him His sheep to be fed) that it was insinuated, and believed in the Church, that one among the Apostles, and one successor of him among the bishops, should be endowed with greater power; in order that through him, as a visible centre of unity, the body of the Church might be bound together; the common necessity might be provided for; if needed, a council might be convoked, and, when convoked, directed; and in the intervals of councils it might be possible to take measures that the interests of the faithful should not suffer. And when the ancients continuously hand down the tradition that in the city of Rome, the capital of the world, Peter the Apostle governed the Church, and suffered martyrdom, and designated his successor,[1] nor did any other bishop ever come in that manner, we acknowledge with good reason the Roman bishop to be the prince of the rest. Therefore this at least ought to be certain, that, in all things which would not bear the delay of a General Council, or are not sufficiently important for a General Council, the Prince of Bishops, or the Supreme Pontiff, has meanwhile the same power as the whole Church; that through him any one can be excommunicated and restored, and that to him all the faithful owe true obedience; of which the force goes to the extent, that, as far as an oath is to be kept in all things which can be observed with the safety of one's soul, so also to the Supreme Pontiff, as the one visible Vicar of God on earth, obedience is to be rendered in all things, which we, examining ourselves, judge can be done without sin and with a safe conscience; so far that, in doubtful matters, other things being equal, obedience is to be considered safer; and this is to be done through love of the unity of the Church, and in order that we may obey God in those whom He has sent. For we ought to suffer anything more willingly, even with great loss to ourselves, than be dissevered from the Church and give cause for schism. But concerning the primacy and authority of the Roman Pontiff, more will hereafter have to be said.

All these things however are to be understood, saving the right of earthly powers, which Christ did not take away; for although Christian princes owe obedience to the Church no less than each of the least ones of the faithful, however, unless it appears to be

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[1] Here is another instance of Protestant recognition of the fact of Saint Peter's having held his See at Rome, which might well be added to those quoted at the end of chapter iv.

otherwise provided and done by the law of the kingdom, the Ecclesiastical power is not to be extended so far as that it should arm subjects against their true lords; for the arms of the Church are tears and prayers. And this is the best and safest limitation of the secular and the Ecclesiastical power, after the example of the primitive Church.[1]

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[1] "Exposition de la Doctrine de Leibnitz sur la Religion, ouvrage Latin inédit, et traduit en Français, par M. Emery," page 300, Paris, 1819; and "Système Religieux de Leibnitz, publié d'après le manuscript original, par l'Abbé Lacroix; traduit par Albert de Broglie," page 260, Paris, 1846. Leibnitz, dying in 1716, in his seventieth year, left this manuscript, written by his own hand. It passed from his library into the Royal library of Hanover; and in 1810, by permission of King Jerome, it was sent to Cardinal Fesch, who had it transcribed by M. Emery, superior of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, by whom it was published in Paris, in 1819. So important is the above quoted passage that I deem it right to subjoin here the whole of the original Latin:—

"Cum igitur Deus Optimus Maximus Ecclesiam constituerit in terris, tanquam civitatem sacram super montem positam, sponsam suam immaculatam, et voluntatis suæ interpretem, cujus unitatem per totum orbem caritate colligandam usque adeo commendavit, et quam audiri jubet ab omnibus qui Ethnicis aut publicanis æquiparari nolunt, consequens est ut modum constituerit quo voluntas Ecclesiæ, interpres voluntatis divinæ, cognosci possit. Et hoc jam tum Apostoli ostendêre, qui corpus Ecclesiæ initio representabant. Hi enim, Concilio Hierosolymis coacto, sententiam suam explicantes, inquiunt: 'Visum est Spiritui Sancto et Nobis.' Neque hoc privilegium assistentis Ecclesiæ Sancti Spiritus Apostolorum morte cessavit, sed usque ad consummationem seculi durare debet, atque in toto corpore Ecclesiæ per Episcopos tanquam Apostolorum successores fuit propagatum. Quoniam autem non semper nec frequenter haberi potest concilium, nam episcopi populos quibus præsunt crebro deserere non possunt, et tamen semper persona Ecclesiæ vivere et subsistere debet, ut voluntas ejus possit cognosci, consequens fuit, ipso divino jure, et memorabilibus admodum Christi ad Petrum verbis (quando claves regni cœlorum specialiter commisit, pariter ac cum oves suas pascendas tribus vicibus emphatice commendavit) insinuatum atque in Ecclesia creditum est, ut unus inter Apostolos, hujusque successor unus inter episcopos, majore potestate exornaretur, ut per eum, tanquam visibile centrum unitatis, colligari corpus Ecclesiæ, provideri communi necessitati, convocari, si opus, concilium, et convocatum dirigi, et tempore interconciliari dari opera posset ne quid res fidelium publica detrimenti caperet. Et cum Petrum Apostolum in principe orbis terrarum urbe Roma et Ecclesiam gubernasse et martyrium subiisse, et Successorem sibi designasse, constanter veteres tradant, neque ullus alius episcopus unquam ea ratione venerit, Romanum cæterorum principem merito agnoscimus. Itaque saltem

But it is not for a moment to be supposed that the Pope does not avail himself of all means within his reach, to aid his judgment, when he makes a definition *ex Cathedrâ*. This is manifestly his duty; and accordingly he consults his canonists and congregations of cardinals; as, in ancient times, on similar occasions, his predecessors consulted their suffragans and other bishops, in a council in Rome.

Moreover, the Holy Father has the power, should he in his discretion deem it advisable, of collecting the suffrages of the bishops dispersed, all over the world. This, as we have seen, was the course pursued by Pius IX. in defining the dogma of the Immaculate Conception in the year 1854.

In conclusion, as there may be some of my non-Catholic readers, who, with the Gallicans of former times, would place the decrees of General Councils above *ex Cathedrâ* Papal pronouncements, it will not

illud certum esse debet, in omnibus quæ moram Concilii Universalis non ferunt, aut Concilium Universalem non merentur, interim eamdem esse Episcoporum Principis sive Pontificis Maximi potestatem, quæ totius Ecclesiæ; per eum excommunicari quemvis et restitui posse, eique omnes fideles veram debere obedientiam, cujus vis eo porrigitur ut quemadmodum juramentum servandum est in omnibus quæ cum salute animæ servari possunt, ita et Pontifici Maximo tanquam uni visibili Dei Vicario in terris sit obediendum in omnibus quæ sine peccato salvaque conscientia fieri posse, ipsi nosmetipsos interrogantes, judicamus; usque adeo ut in dubio, cæteris paribus, obedientia tutior sit censenda; idque faciendum est amore unitatis Ecclesiæ, et ut Deo in his quos misit obediamus. Quidvis enim libentius pati debemus, etiam cum magna jactura nostra, quam ut Ecclesia divellamur, et schismati causam præbeamus. Sed de primatu et auctoritate Romani Pontificis postea pluribus erit dicendum.

"Hæc tamen omnia intelligenda sunt salvo jure terrenarum potestatum quod Christus non sustulit; etsi enim Christiani principes non minus Ecclesiæ obedientiam debeant quam minimus quisque fidelium, tamen nisi ipso jure regni aliter provisum actumque esse constet, Ecclesiastica potestas eo extendenda non est ut subditos in veros dominos armet; Ecclesiæ enim arma sunt lacrymæ et preces. Et hæc optima tutissimaque Secularis atque Ecclesiasticæ potestatis collimitatio est, primitivæ Ecclesiæ exemplo."

Extracted from "G. G. Leibnitzii Systema Theologicum, ipsius auctoris manu scriptum," Paris, 1819.

be out of place to remind them here, that the definition of the dogma of Papal Infallibility was not the act of the Pope alone; but the act of a General Council—namely, the Bishops of the Universal Church, convoked by, united with, presided over, and confirmed by, the Pope.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE HIERARCHY.

THE Hierarchy, from the Greek ἱερὰ, sacred, and ἄρχη, government, is the body of clergy, of Divine institution, governing the Church, and, as defined by the Council of Trent, is composed of bishops, priests, and deacons or ministers.[1]

That the Hierarchy is of divine institution we learn from Saint Paul, 1 Corinthians xii. 5 and 28: "And there are diversities of ministries;" "And God indeed hath set some in the Church; first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly doctors;" and Ephesians iv. 11, 12: "And He gave some apostles, and some prophets, and other some evangelists, and other some pastors and doctors, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ."

The power of ordination conferred by Christ on His Apostles was by them conferred on their disciples, whom they ordained bishops, and was by these latter imparted to the bishops whom they in their turn ordained. In his Epistle to Titus (i. 5), Saint Paul says, "For this cause I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and shouldst ordain priests in every city, as I also appointed thee;" and in Eusebius's "Ecclesiastical History," book iii. c. 4, we read that "Titus was appointed bishop over the Churches of Crete." While the mission of the Apostles was not confined to any particular region, that of the bishops whom they ordained was

[1] Council of Trent, Session xxiii. chap. iv. canon 6.

circumscribed by the dioceses over which they severally presided.

The word "bishop" literally means an overseer, from the Greek *ἐπὶ*, over, and *σκοπέω*, to see, to view, to watch. With the extension of Christianity, the term spread to many languages, varied in the commutable letters, according to the genius of each language. Thus the Greek *ἐπίσκοπος*, and the Latin *episcopus*, became in the French, by gentle gradations, *episcope*, *evescope*, and ultimately *évesque* or *évêque*, which last, although there is only one letter in common, claims the same origin as the English episcop, biscop, and finally bishop. So is it also in the Swedish and Danish *biskop*, German *bischof*, Saxon *bisceop*, Spanish *obispo*, Portuguese *bispo*, Italian *vescovo*, Celtic *easbog*, and corresponding terms in other tongues of the great Indo-European family.

Priests, or Presbyters, from the Greek *πρεσβύτεροι*, were literally ancients or seniors; but, moreover, they were "estimable or approved men," and "constituted in honour." In the primitive ages they sat in council with the bishop, by whom they had been ordained, and under him they administered the affairs of the Church, and dispensed the sacraments. Tertullian, in his "Apology," written towards the end of the second century, speaks of them as follows: "There preside over us certain approved elders,[1] who have obtained the honour, not by payment, but by the testimony of their merit."[2]

In the first century, the terms *πρεσβύτερος*, priest or elder, and *ἐπίσκοπος*, bishop, were generally applied to one and the same person; and the bishop of a city or district was, not uncommonly, spoken of as its chief priest, *summus sacerdos*. When Saint Paul addressed the elders (*πρεσβυτέρους*) of the Church of Ephesus, he

[1] Here, Tertullian makes use of the Latin word *seniores*, although, in the same sense, he elsewhere adopts the Greek equivalent *presbyteri*.

[2] Tertullian, "Apologet.," c. xxxix. "Nobis præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed testimonio adepti."

said to them, "Take heed to yourselves and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops (ἐπισκόπους) to rule the Church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood."[1] However, as Saint Thomas observes, this identity was in *name* only, for in *reality* the distinction between bishops and priests was always observed even in the Apostolic times.[2]

But, ere long, with the development of the Church, these distinctive terms were more strictly applied. Writing about the year 200, Tertullian alludes to "the bishop," and "the priests" and "deacons," as subject to him, in the following words: "The chief priest, who is the bishop, has the right of giving baptism, and then the priests and deacons, not however without the authority of the bishop;"[3] and, some fifty years later, Saint Cyprian writes: "Whence you ought to know that the bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the bishop, and if any are not with the bishop, they are not in the Church."[4]

We read in the life of Saint Simplicius, Pope, that A.D. 470, he ordered the priests of the Roman Church to attend weekly at the seven basilicas, for the administration of the sacraments of baptism and penance.[5]

[1] Acts xx. 17, 28.

[2] Saint Thomas's words are: "Quantum ad nomen olim non distinguebantur Episcopi et Presbyteri. . . . Unde et Apostolus communiter utitur nomine Presbyterorum quantum ad utrosque, cum dicit, 1 Tim.: *Qui bene præsunt Presbyteri duplici honore digni habeantur;* et similiter etiam nomine Episcoporum, unde dicit, Acta xx., Presbyteris Ecclesiæ Ephesinæ loquens: *Attendite vobis et universo gregi, in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit Episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei;* sed secundum rem semper fuit inter eos distinctio, etiam tempore Apostolorum, ut patet per Dionysium."

[3] Tertullian, "De Baptismo," c. 17. "Dandi baptismi habet jus summus sacerdos qui est episcopus, dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate."

[4] Cyprian, Epist. 69, Ad Florent. "Unde scire debes episcopum in ecclesiâ esse, et ecclesiam in episcopo, et si qui cum episcopo non sint, in ecclesia non esse."

[5] Anastasius Bibliothecarius, "De Vitis Romanorum Pontificum," p. 40.

They were called the priests of the penitents, and heard their confessions. The chief of these was called the Major Penitentiary, who in modern times is a cardinal; and the others were called Minor Penitentiaries.

Deacons were so called from the Greek *διάκονοι*, ministers. The Apostles, being occupied in preaching the Word of God, and unable to attend to secular affairs, ordained seven ministers, who were called Deacons, and to whom was committed the care of the poor, and widows, and orphans. Their function also was to administer the Eucharist to communicants, and to carry it to the absent; and, moreover, by permission of the bishop, they used to preach and baptize. In the course of time, as the chief of the priests was styled the Arch-priest; so the first of the body of deacons was called the Arch-deacon.

As we have seen, the first bishops were chosen and ordained by the Apostles. The successors of these, in their turn, were chosen by the clergy and people, with the assent of the neighbouring bishops, by whom they were ordained. Saint Cyprian, writing about the year 250,[1] tells us, that a bishop was appointed by the vote of the whole brotherhood (the clergy and people), *universæ fraternitatis suffragio*, and by the judgment of the bishops, *episcoporum judicio*. From an early date, there were strong objections to secular interference, whether of princes or people, in the elections of bishops. By the fourth canon of the First General Council (Nice), A.D. 325, it was enacted that "a bishop shall be appointed by all the bishops of the province."[2] The Seventh General Council (second of Nice), A.D. 787, interprets this canon to the effect, that a bishop could be elected only by bishops, and the Eighth General Council (the fourth of Constantinople), A.D. 869, decides, in accordance with "former councils," that a bishop

[1] Cyprian, Epist. 68.

[2] *Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι.*

cannot be elected save by the college of bishops.[1] By the most ancient canons it was enacted that the ordination of a bishop should be performed by at least three bishops. This is seen in the "First Apostolical Constitution," which says, *Episcopus a duobus aut tribus episcopis ordinetur;* and "three bishops" are prescribed as the minimum number to take part in the election of a bishop, by the First General Council (of Nice), and by the Councils of Antioch, Fourth of Carthage, and others, in the earlier half of the fourth century. It was further enacted by those councils that the election of the bishop should be approved of in writing by the absent bishops of the province, and confirmed by the metropolitan.[2]

In the West, about the eleventh century, the election of a bishop was exclusively confined to the clergy of the cathedral church, with the confirmation of the metropolitan. In the course of time, this confirmation passed from the Metropolitan to the Pope.[3]

Later on, the appointment of all bishops practically devolved on the Supreme Pontiff, to whom, in every instance, of right, it belongs. The Popes, however, in modern times, restored the election to the chapters, in parts of Germany—subject always to the Papal confirmation. In France, Spain, Portugal, and some other Catholic countries, the sovereigns are permitted to nominate bishops, for the Pope's approval and institution. In England the Holy Father nominated the Bishops himself until a recent period. Latterly, by a concession of Pius IX. the canons of a vacant diocese in England are empowered to send forward to the Holy

[1] Hefele, Councils, i. 385.

[2] In China and similar countries exposed to sanguinary persecutions, which may suddenly deprive a flock of its pastor, a bishop has the power of consecrating a successor to himself, without other bishops assisting. Thus, foreseeing the approaching danger, he may select one of his own priests, and consecrate him bishop—two other priests assisting at the ceremony. Then the whole proceeding is, at the earliest opportunity, reported to the Holy See, for its approval and confirmation.

[3] Hefele, Councils, i. 386.

See the names of three persons, one of whom may be selected, to fill the vacancy. They must be the three receiving the greatest number of votes, and each must be at least thirty years of age and in holy orders. They are elected in presence of the Metropolitan, or, in his absence, of the senior bishop of the province, who forwards their names to Rome. In Ireland, the usage has long been, that the parish priests and canons of a vacant see vote by ballot for a successor, in the presence of the Metropolitan. The ecclesiastic receiving the highest number of votes is styled *dignissimus*, the next *dignior*, and the third *dignus*. These names are sent to Rome by the Metropolitan, accompanied by his opinion and those of his suffragans. In each case, the affair is referred to the congregation of Cardinals of the Propaganda, who report thereon to the Pope. The Holy Father generally selects from the three; but not invariably. If he should think fit, he may appoint an ecclesiastic outside the list, even one wholly unconnected with the diocese.

In the Synod of Laodicea, held about the year 372, it was ordered that each bishop should have his see in a city within his district.[1] The observance of this ancient law has led to a city's being defined as a town corporate, which has a bishop and a cathedral church, and is called *civitas*, *oppidum*, and *urbs*.[2]

As, from the early ages, a city and the circumjacent district formed a diocese,[3] governed by a bishop, so, with

[1] Canon 57. There is uncertainty about the exact date of the Synod of Laodicea in Phrygia. The general opinion is, that it was some time between that of Sardica, in 347, and the Second General Council, that of Constantinople, in 381.

[2] There were also country bishops, for exclusively rural districts, called Chorepiscopi; from the Greek χώρα, country, and ἐπίσκοπος, bishop. They were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the adjoining city, and could confer only minor orders, being little more than parish priests. They are first mentioned by the Council of Ancyra, Canon 13, A.D. 314. They ceased to exist altogether in the tenth century, being replaced by archpriests and rural deans.

[3] Diocese: from the Greek διοίκησις, administration, government, jurisdiction.

the extension of the Church, several dioceses forming a province, were subject to the Metropolitan,[1] or archbishop of the chief city of the province, under whose presidency provincial councils were held as occasion arose. While each bishop was subject to the jurisdiction of the metropolitan, the latter was bound, by the canons of the earliest councils, not to take any important step, as metropolitan, without consulting his suffragans. Indeed, as before observed, the Pope himself, in ancient times, rarely acted in grave causes, without convoking and consulting his council of bishops. Hence the numerous councils of Rome.

Gradually, with the growth of the Church, the Hierarchy became further developed in the primatial and patriarchal dignities. What the archbishop was to the bishops of his province, the Primate[2] was to the prelates of a nation. The same may be said of a Patriarch,[3] but with, in some instances, a wider limit of circumscription.

At first, the jurisdiction of the metropolitans over the bishops of their provinces, as well as that of patriarchs and primates over national Churches, was considerable; but it was, from time to time, curtailed by the decrees of councils; and in latter days it has become merely nominal, at least to all practical intents. This may be accounted for by the increased facilities of travel and intercommunication, which have brought all bishops into such close relations with the successor of Saint Peter, the head and source of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The Patriarchal dignity is of very ancient date. It was first enjoyed by the three great sees of Rome,

[1] Metropolitan: from the Greek *μήτηρ*, mother, and *πόλις*, city.

[2] Primate, Low Latin *Primas*, is derived from the Latin *primus*, first. In some instances, the dignity of primate is simply honorary, without any actual primatial jurisdiction.

[3] Patriarch, from the Greek *πατριά*, a family, or *πατήρ*, a father, and *ἀρχός*, chief, may be interpreted head of the family, or chief of the Fathers.

Alexandria, and Antioch. Rome, as not only being the patriarchate of the West, but as being the See of Peter, and holding the primacy over the Universal Church, took the first place. Next came Alexandria, as having been founded and governed by Saint Mark the Evangelist, in obedience to Saint Peter; and the third place was occupied by Antioch, founded by Peter, and by him committed to Evodius.

The following words on this subject, uttered by Pope Gelasius I., in a synod at Rome, composed of seventy bishops, close on fourteen hundred years ago, will, doubtless, prove interesting to the reader:[1]—

The Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church is placed above other Churches by no decrees of councils, but has obtained the primacy by the evangelical voice of our Lord and Saviour, saying: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven." To whom was given also the society of the most blessed Apostle Paul, the Vessel of Election, who, not at a different time (as heretics state), but on one and the same day, suffering along with Peter, under the Emperor Nero, in the city of Rome, was crowned by a glorious death; and alike they consecrated to Christ the Lord the said holy Roman Church, and, as such, put it above all the cities of the whole world by their presence and venerable triumph.

And therefore First is the See of Peter, the Roman Church, having neither spot, nor wrinkle, nor anything of the kind.

But the Second See was consecrated at Alexandria, in the name of the blessed Apostle Peter, by Mark his disciple and the Evangelist, who, being sent to Egypt by the blessed Apostle Peter, preached the word of truth, and consummated a glorious martyrdom.

And the Third See, at Antioch, is held in honour by the name of the same most blessed Apostle Peter, because he dwelt there before he came to Rome, and there first arose the name of the new people of Christians.

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[1] A.D. 494. Saint Gelasius, an African, governed the Church, A.D. 492–496.

Jerusalem, having been declared a Patriarchal Church by the General Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, took the fourth place. On that occasion, the contention between Juvenal of Jerusalem and Maximus of Antioch was adjusted; and, with the sanction of the Papal Legates, the three ecclesiastical provinces of Palestine were taken from the Patriarchate of Antioch, and were placed under the Bishop of Jerusalem, to be governed by him with Patriarchal jurisdiction. In earlier times, however, Jerusalem held an honorary rank, probably in consideration of its having been the See of Saint James the Apostle, although, according to Saint Jerome, it was then subject to the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Cæsarea in Palestine.

The fifth in order anciently was the Patriarch of Constantinople. As that city was the "New Rome," founded by Constantine, as the capital of the Eastern Empire, the Emperors and clergy were naturally anxious to obtain for its chief bishop a high place in the hierarchy. Accordingly, at the Second General Council, the first of Constantinople, held A.D. 381, and at the Fourth General Council, that of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, canons were enacted giving the see of Constantinople precedence over Alexandria and Antioch, and placing it second only to Rome.[1] But the Popes, Saints Damasus and Leo I., respectively, refused to ratify these canons; and it was only in the year 1215, in the Twelfth General Council, the fourth Lateran, that Pope Innocent III. conceded this precedency to the Byzantine Capital, which thus *de jure* took rank after Rome.[2] This decree was confirmed in the Fourteenth General Council, the second of Lyons, under Gregory X. A.D. 1274, and in the Seventeenth, that of Florence, held A.D. 1438, 1439, under Pope Eugenius IV., for the re-

[1] First General Council of Constantinople, canon 3; and of Chalcedon, canon 28, or, according to the Greeks, 30. The latter canon was passed at the close of the Council of Chalcedon, the Papal Legates protesting against it in vain.

[2] Twelfth General Council, canon 5.

union of the Greek and Latin Churches, as we have already seen.[1]

That the Roman See is, and has been, from a very early period, regarded as the head and fountain of the episcopate and of all Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, is clearly proved by the extracts from the writings of the Fathers, and from the decrees of Popes and councils, to that effect, already given in these pages. The following further quotations may be appropriately introduced here.

In the year 252, Saint Cyprian wrote as follows:—

> The Episcopate is *one*, of which a part is held by each, in one undivided whole. The Church also is *one*, though the more widely extended and multiplied by the increase of her fruitfulness. Even as the sun has many rays, but one light; as a tree has many branches, but one trunk firmly fixed in a tenacious root; and as from one fountain many streams proceed, so that a number may be seen in the abundance overflowing, whilst unity is preserved in the source. Take away a ray from the body of the sun; unity does not admit a division of light. Break a branch from a tree; that branch cannot bear fruit. Cut off a stream from its fountain; cut off, it becomes dry. Thus the Church of the Lord, pervaded by light, sheds her rays all over the world: yet there is but one light, which is everywhere diffused; nor is the unity of the body divided. In her prolific abundance, she extends her branches over the whole earth—more widely diffuses her largely flowing streams: yet there is one head, and one source, and one mother; rich in the copious successions of her fruitfulness.[2]

According to the same Saint Cyprian, the "one head, one source, one mother," here alluded to, is the Apostolic See—"the Chair of Peter, the principal Church, the source of sacerdotal unity."[3]

In the year 445, the Emperor Valentinian III. published an edict against the irregular proceedings of Hilary, Archbishop of Arles, who, as metropolitan, through mistaken zeal, had deposed certain bishops of

[1] Vide supra, chapter viii.
[2] Cyprian, "Liber de Unitate Ecclesiæ."
[3] Cyprian, Epistola lv. Ad Cornelium.

the Trans-Alpine Churches, and ordained others in their place, "against the will and opposition of the inhabitants," and "without consulting the Pontiff of the Roman Church." These proceedings having been examined, by order of the Pope, Saint Leo the Great, in a council at Rome, which Hilary attended, they were condemned, and "the sentence of condemnation," says the edict, "was about to take effect throughout Gaul, even without the Imperial sanction. For what would not be lawful to the authority of so great a Pontiff over the Churches?"[1] It then proceeds to state that the Emperor issues a precept, in support of the Pope's authority, to the effect, that "it shall not be lawful for the Bishops of Gaul or of the other provinces, *in contravention of the ancient custom*, to attempt anything without the authority of the venerable man, the Pope of the Eternal City.[2] But they and all others must regard as a law whatever has been sanctioned or may be sanctioned by the authority of the Apostolic See;[3] so that whatever bishop is summoned to the tribunal of the Roman Pontiff, and neglects to come, he shall be compelled by the Governor of the province to attend."[4]

In the year 451, the Emperor Marcian and the Fathers of the General Council of Chalcedon, in a letter to the Pope, Saint Leo, begged of him to grant the Patriarchal dignity after Rome to the See of Constantinople, conformably with the canon of their own, and of the Second General Council,[5] to that effect.

[1] "Quid enim tanti Pontificis auctoritati in ecclesias non liceret?"

[2] "Ne quid tam Episcopis Gallicanis quam aliarum provinciarum, *contra consuetudinem veterem*, liceat, sine viri venerabilis Papæ Urbis Æternæ auctoritate, tentare." We have seen, that, one hundred years before—namely in the reign of Pope Julius, A.D. 342,—this doctrine was spoken of as embodied in the canon law of the Church. Vide supra, p. 125.

[3] Sed illis omnibusque pro lege sit quicquid sanxit vel sanxerit Apostolicæ Sedis auctoritas.

[4] Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," vi. 31.

[5] The first of Constantinople, A.D. 381.

They say, "Vouchsafe to extend over the Church of Constantinople a ray of your Apostolic Primacy,"[1] which shows, as observed by a learned writer, that in the opinion of the Church, at that early period, "the Patriarchate was but a partial emanation of the Primacy of Saint Peter, of which the plenitude resides in the See of Rome."[2]

In the year 516, John, Archbishop of Nicopolis and Metropolitan of Ancient Epirus, immediately on his election, sent his written profession of faith to Pope Hormisdas,[3] and sought the communion of the Apostolic See; at the same time requesting the prayers of His Holiness, and his advice to govern him in the difficulties by which he was surrounded, in consequence of the opposition of Dorotheus, Bishop of Thessalonica, and other factious men. In his letter, forwarded by the Deacon Rufinus, he addressed the Pope thus:—

To my Lord and ever most holy and most blessed Father of Fathers, Fellow-minister, and Prince of Bishops, Hormisdas, John wisheth health in the Lord.

Having announced his election, he continues:—

But referring all things to God, who looses the tongues of stammerers, I, as in duty bound, have recourse to your prayers; in order that, according to the custom of the Apostolic See, which hath the care of all the Churches, you may vouchsafe to extend your solicitude to that of Nicopolis, conformably with the ancient spiritual disposition. . . . It is my desire to follow your doctrine,

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[1] "Confidentes quia, lucente apud vos Apostolico radio, et usque ad Constantinopolitanorum Ecclesiam consuete gubernando illum spargentes, hunc sæpius expanditis, eo quod absque invidia consueveritis vestrorum bonorum participatione ditare domesticos." It is worthy of note, as observed by Baronius, that the Fathers of Chalcedon here earnestly beg of the Pope to confirm the canon passed by two General Councils, which they knew and considered could not stand without the confirmation of the Roman Pontiff ("Annales Ecclesiastici," vi. 165). We have seen how Saint Leo refused to comply with their request.

[2] Rohrbacher, "Histoire Universelle de l'Église Catholique," vol. ii. p. 546.

[3] Hormisdas, a native of Campania, governed the Church, A.D. 514–523.

as did prominently Alcyson, my predecessor, now among the saints: and I anathematize Dioscorus, and Timothy named Ælurus and Peter their successor, and his associates Acacius and that Peter who disturbed the Church of Antioch; and thus I follow the Synodal and Apostolic letters written by Leo, the Chief Prelate of the Roman Church. But I entreat you to admonish me more fully and completely as to what ought to be observed, and to intimate to me by your safeguarding letters those from whom I ought to stand aloof; so that if, perchance, through my inexperience, I have said or done anything at variance with your Apostolic doctrines, I may, being imbued with your teaching, be able to withstand the machinations of heretics. Doing this, Most Holy Father, you will find the bishops and our holy synod more steadfast, and you will confirm the clergy and people in good deeds, making the Holy Church of Nicopolis, as it were, of your own household.[1]

The principle indicated in these extracts was further developed in succeeding generations. From the eleventh century down, bishops usually affixed to their signatures, in solemn documents, the formula, "by the grace of God and favour of the Apostolic See, Bishop of ——." In the primitive ages, when they were chosen by the clergy and people, they held the necessity of communion with the Bishop of Rome, which at least implied his approval or confirmation of their election. In subsequent centuries, when elected by cathedral chapters, or presented by sovereigns in virtue of a concordat, or, again, when translated from one diocese to another, the Pope's approval was invoked, as indispensable to the validity of their institution. Further, no new Episcopal See could, in later times, be established except by the Pope. From a very early period, too, archbishops, on their consecration and election, received the pallium, transmitted to them by the Supreme Pontiff, as a token of their spiritual jurisdiction over their respective provinces, and as an emblem of the charity and innocence by which their lives ought to be distinguished.[2]

[1] Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," vi. 678; "Epistolæ Pontif. Roman.," tom. i.

[2] The Pallium, from the Latin, signifying a cloak, is a vestment or

The following condensed particulars of the College of Cardinals, the patriarchates, the residential archiepiscopal and episcopal sees, the apostolic delegations, the vicariates apostolic, and the apostolic prefectures, will enable us to form an idea of the distribution of the Hierarchy over the globe. They are brought down to the 3rd of March 1885.[1]

decoration sent by the Pope to patriarchs and archbishops (and, exceptionally, in some very few special cases, to bishops) on their consecration. It is a white woollen band, made in the fashion of a circle, and is worn on the shoulders and breast. From it depend similar bands, one each on the breast, back, and both shoulders. These bands are all marked with red or purple crosses. The pallium is made of a portion of the wool of two spotless white lambs, which are blessed, each year, on January 21st, the Feast of Saint Agnes, at the church of that saint on the Nomentan road, without the walls of Rome, and which, after the ceremony, are confided to the care of certain nuns until the time of shearing arrives. The palliums made of this wool are laid on the tomb of Saint Peter, the whole night of the vigil of the festival of the Apostle, and are blessed on the following day in the basilica. The pallium, observes Pagi, is conferred only on patriarchs and archbishops; but it has been, for special merit, given to some bishops. The first bishop that we read of as having received it was the Bishop of Ostia, at the hands of Saint Mark, Pope, A.D. 336–337. It was not given indiscriminately to all metropolitans until after the middle of the eighth century, when it was decreed by Pope Zachary, and became a law of the Church, that they all should receive it on their election and consecration. The pallium was also sent to Apostolic legates, and Papal vicars in missionary countries: for instance, by Pope Symmachus to Cæsarius, Archbishop of Arles, his vicar in Gaul, about the year 500; by Saint Gregory the Great to Saint Augustine in England, about a century later; and by Gregory III. to Saint Boniface, whom he had appointed Archbishop and Primate of all Germany, in 732: not to speak of other examples. Among the questions submitted to the Pope by the Apostle of England, A.D. 597, we find the following, as recorded by the Venerable Bede ("Eccles. Hist.," lib. i. cap. 27): "*Augustine's seventh question:* How are we to deal with the bishops of Gaul and Britain? *Gregory answers:* We give you no authority over the bishops of Gaul, because the Bishop of Arles received the pallium in ancient times from my predecessor, and we are not to deprive him of the authority which he has received." The pallium must be applied for by the prelate entitled to wear it, within three months after his consecration, or, if already consecrated (as in the case of translations), within three months of the confirmation, of his appointment, by the Pope.

[1] They are taken, in a condensed form, from "La Gerarchia Cattolica per l'anno 1885," published in Rome, March 3, 1885.

At the head of all, is His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., whose titles are, Bishop of Rome, VICAR OF JESUS CHRIST, Successor of the Prince of the Apostles, Supreme Pontiff of the Universal Church, Patriarch of the West, Primate of Italy, Archbishop and Metropolitan of the Roman Province, Sovereign of the Temporal Dominions of the Holy Roman Church.[1]

Next in rank are the Sacred College of Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, collaterals and coadjutors of the Supreme Pontiff. These are the six Cardinal Bishops, holding the six suburbicarian Sees of Rome, forty Cardinal Priests, and thirteen Cardinal Deacons, making a total of fifty-nine. Of these, one was created by Gregory XVI.,[2] twenty-nine were named by Pius IX., and twenty-nine by His present Holiness. There are eleven hats vacant, of the full complement of the Sacred College, which is seventy.[3] Of the Cardinal Priests, two are patriarchs, twenty-one are archbishops, and two are bishops, of distinct sees, which will be included in the following enumeration. The fifteen remaining cardinal priests are not members of the episcopate.

The Patriarchal sees are twelve in number—seven being of the Latin, and five of the Oriental rites. They stand as follow, in their order of rank:—

Constantinople, *Latin rite.*	Antioch, *Latin rite.*
Alexandria, *Latin rite.*	Antioch, *Melchite rite.*

[1] His Holiness Leo XIII. (Gioacchino Pecci) was born at Carpineto, in the diocese of Anagni, on the 2nd of March 1810; was consecrated Bishop of Perugia in January 1846; was created Cardinal Priest of the title of Saint Chrysogonus, on the 19th of December 1853; was elected Pope on the 20th of February 1878; and was crowned on the 3rd of March following.

[2] This was the venerable Cardinal Schwarzenberg, Archbishop of Prague, created Cardinal Priest of the title of St. Augustine, in 1842, by Gregory XVI. His Eminence died this year, since the making of the above enumeration.

[3] Full particulars of the Sacred College will be found in the chapter On Cardinals. Although the numbers are limited to seventy, the number of hierarchical titles of cardinals is seventy-four, as we shall see further on.

Antioch, *Maronite rite.*	Cilicia, *Armenian rite.*
Antioch, *Syriac rite.*	West Indies, *Latin rite.*
Jerusalem, *Latin rite.*	Lisbon, *Latin rite.*
Babylon, *Syro-Chaldaic rite.*	Venice, *Latin rite.*

The Residential Sees of Archbishops and Bishops throughout the world are distributed as follows:—

LATIN RITE.

EUROPE.

	Archbishops.	Bishops.
Austria-Hungary	11	42
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1	4
Belgium	1	5
Bulgaria	0	1
France	17	66
Germany	5	21
England	1	14
Ireland	4	25
Scotland	2	4
Greece	3	6
Italy: Piedmont and Liguria	3	23
„ Lombardy and Venice[1]	3	20
„ States of the Church	8	56
„ Tuscany and Emilia	5	22
„ Neapolitan Province	22	79
„ Insular Italy[2]	9	22
Holland	1	4
Portugal[3]	3	9
Roumania	1	0
Russia	1	6
Russian Poland	1	7
Servia	1	1
Spain	9	44
Switzerland	0	6
Turkey	2	3

[1] Inclusive of the Patriarch of Venice.

[2] Comprising Malta, Gozo, Corsica, Sicily, and Sardinia. The Bishop of Ajaccio, Suffragan of the Archbishop of Aix in France, is included herein.

[3] Inclusive of the Patriarch of Lisbon.

ASIA.

	Archbishops.	Bishops.
Asiatic Turkey: Archbishop of Babylon or Bagdad	1	0
Persia: Bishop of Ispahan	0	1
East Indies: Archbishop of Goa, and Bishops of Cochin, Macao, Malacca, and Saint Thomas of Meliapor	1	4
Smyrna: Archbishop of Smyrna, and his Suffragan, the Bishop of Candia (Europe)	1	1

AFRICA.

Julia Cæsarea or Algiers, Archbishop of, and the Bishops of Constantine and Oran	1	2
Carthage (Tunis)	1	0
Bishops' Sees in Africa subject to Metropolitans in Europe:—		
Angola (Lower Guinea); Angra (Azores); Funchal (Madeira); Santiago (Cape Verd Islands); Saint Thomas's: all Suffragans of Lisbon	0	5
The Canaries, Suffragan of Seville	0	1
Réunion or Saint Denis, Suffragan of Bordeaux	0	1
Immediately Subject to the Holy See:—		
Port Louis (Mauritius) and Tangiers	0	2

AMERICA.

Canada, inclusive of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick	4	18[1]
Newfoundland	0	2
United States	12	52[2]
Mexico	3	19

[1] Canada has also three Vicariates Apostolic and two Prefectures Apostolic, enumerated further on.

[2] There are also in the United States nine Vicariates Apostolic, governed by Titular Bishops; viz., North Carolina, Northern Minnesota, Dakota, Brownsville, Montana, Idaho, Nebraska, Arizona, and Colorado, and one Prefecture Apostolic, the Indian Territory, under a mitred Abbot. These are enumerated further on.

	Archbishops.	Bishops.
Bolivia	1	3
Brazil	1	11
Chili	1	3
Argentine Confederation	1	5
Ecuador	1	7
Huiti	1	4
New Granada	1	9
Peru	1	7
Uruguay	0	1
Venezuela	1	4
Antilles (West Indies)	3	3
Guatimala	1	4
Suffragans of Metropolitans in Europe:—		
Guadeloupe and Martinique, Suffragans of Bordeaux	0	2

OCEANIA.

Philippine Isles	1	4
Australia	2	12
New Zealand, immediately subject to the Holy See	0	3

RESIDENTIAL SEES OF THE ORIENTAL RITE.[1]

GREEK RITE.

GRÆCO-ROUMANIAN.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.—The Archbishop of Fogaras and Alba Julia, in Transylvania, and his Suffragans the Bishops of Armenopoli or Szamos-Ujvar, Grand Varadino or Gross-Warden, and Lugos	1	3

[1] Here, I give the name of each see, in order to indicate the more accurately the districts or countries in which the several rites are followed.

GRÆCO-RUTHENIAN.

	Archbishops.	Bishops.
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.—The Archbishop of Leopoli or Lemberg, Galitz, Kiovia, and Kamenek, in Austrian Galicia, and his Suffragan the Bishop of Przemysl Sanechea and Sambor	1	1
The Bishop of Kreutz, Suffragan of the Cardinal Archbishop of Zagabria or Agram .	0	1
The Bishops of Eperies, and Munkacs, Suffragans of the Cardinal Archbishop of Gran .	0	2
RUSSIAN POLAND.—The Bishop of Minsk, Suffragan of the Archbishop of Mohilev .	0	1
The Bishop of Chelm and Belz, the Bishop of Supraslia	0	2

(*The last two immediately subject to the Holy See.*).

GRÆCO-BULGARIAN.

These Catholics have an Archbishop and two Bishops of their rite. The Archbishop is Vicar Apostolic for the Bulgarians of Constantinople and its environs. One Bishop is Vicar Apostolic for Thrace, and the other for Macedonia.

GRÆCO-MELCHITE.

The Melchite Patriarch of Antioch.		
The Archbishops of Aleppo, Damascus, Emessa or Homs and Apamea, and Tyre: and the Bishops of Beyrout and Gibail, Bosra, Heliopolis or Baalbek, Farzul and Zahleh, Hauran, Sidon or Saida, Ptolemais, and Tripoli in Syria	4	8

ARMENIAN RITE.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.—The Armenian Archbishop of Lemberg.

ASIA.—The Patriarch of Cilicia.

The Archbishops of Aleppo, and Mardin; and the Bishops of Adana, Alexandria,

	Archbishops.	Bishops.
Ancyra, Artvin, Bursa, Diarbekir, Erzeroum, Karputh, Sebaste, Tokat, Trebizonde, Ispahan, Cæsarea, Marasc, Melitene, and Musc	3	16

SYRIAC RITE.

SYRIAC.

The Syriac Patriarch of Antioch. The Archbishops of Aleppo, Babylon, Damascus, and Mossul: and the Bishops of Alexandria, Beyrout, Diarbekir, Emessa or Homs, Gezir, Keriatim, Mardin, and Tripoli in Syria	4	8

SYRO-CHALDAIC.

The Patriarch of Babylon. The Archbishops of Diarbekir, Kerkuk, Mosul, Seert, and Sehanan; and the Bishops of Akra, Amadiah, Gezir, Mardin, Salmas, and Zaku	5	6

SYRO-MARONITE.

The Maronite Patriarch of Antioch. The Archbishops of Aleppo, Archis, Beyrout, Damascus, Tyre and Sidon, and Tripoli; and the Bishops of Cyprus, Baalbek, and Gibail and Botri	6	3

COPTIC RITE.

COPTO-EGYPTIAN.

AFRICA.—The Catholics of this rite have not a constituted hierarchy, and depend on a Vicar Apostolic of Egypt of the same rite.[1]

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[1] Enumerated among the Vicars Apostolic.

COPTO-ETHIOPIC OR ABYSSINIAN.

These Catholics also are without a constituted hierarchy, and are under the jurisdiction of a Latin Vicar Apostolic, who resides in Abyssinia.[1]

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to say something about the various rites, or forms of religious worship, prevailing in the Church.

As the reader is aware, the Latin rite is that of the entire West, and is also followed in some parts of the East, and in almost all Foreign Missions under Apostolic Vicars and Prefects. The Liturgical language is the ancient classical Latin.[2]

The Oriental Catholic rites differ considerably from the Latin, and are followed with the full sanction of the Holy See. From a very early period, the numbers of the orthodox Eastern Christians have been greatly diminished by the inroads of the Arian, Eutychian or Jacobite,[3] and other heresies; so that the great majority of the Oriental Christians are, and have been, for ten centuries, outside the pale of the Church. These are the Greek schismatics, the Syriac, Egyptian or Coptic, and Ethiopian Jacobites, the Nestorians of Persia and the East, and the schismatical Armenians. It is deserving of note that all these sects hold the Catholic dogmas rejected by Protestants—the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Holy Eucharist, Transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the Mass, the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, the veneration and invocation of Saints,

[1] Enumerated among the Vicars Apostolic.

[2] It is unnecessary to describe the Carthusian, Carmelite, Dominican, and Ambrosian liturgies, which vary slightly from the general liturgy of the Latin rite.

[3] The Eutychian or Monophysite heretics took the name of Jacobites from Jacob Baradæus or Zanzala, who, in the sixth century, was intruded into the see of Edessa, and actively propagated their errors. They regarded him as their second founder.

and the number of the Sacraments—a proof that these articles of belief and these usages prevailed in the Church, in the fifth century. However, it is the orthodox Oriental Christians only that claim our attention here.

There are four Greek rites in communion with Rome. Of these, the Græco-Roumenian prevails in Transylvania and Hungary, and numbers one Archiepiscopal and three Episcopal sees.

The Græco-Ruthenian rite prevails in Austrian Galicia, Austrian Croatia, and Hungary, in the dioceses of Chelm and Belz, Minsk, and Supraslia, in Russian Poland. There are one archbishop and seven bishops of this rite.

The Græco-Bulgarian rite is followed by the Catholics of Bulgaria, who are governed by an archbishop and two bishops of their own rite, with the title of Vicars Apostolic.

The Græco-Melchite rite prevails in Palestine, and in various other parts of Syria. It numbers four archbishops and eight bishops, all subject to the Melchite Patriarch of Antioch. The Melchite Christians are so called from the Syrian word *Malck*, or *Melck*, meaning King or Emperor, on account of their adherence to the General Council of Chalcedon and the Emperor Marcian, against the Eutychians, condemned by that council, A.D. 451.[1]

In the four Greek rites, the Liturgical language is the ancient classical Greek.

The Armenian rite is followed by a large number of orthodox Christians in the East. The Armenians are so called from their having formerly inhabited Armenia. At the commencement of the fourth century, they formed a flourishing province of the Church; but they soon became affected by the Arian heresy, and

[1] The term was originally applied to them by the Eutychians, in the same opprobrious sense as that in which Catholics were formerly called Papists in these countries.

again in the year 535 great numbers of them embraced the Jacobite or Monophysite errors. A large proportion of the Armenians were, from time to time, brought back to the Church, especially in the seventeenth General Council, under Pope Eugenius IV., A.D. 1439–1442. The Armenians in communion with the Holy See abound in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Turkish Armenia, and Persia. They have three archbishops, one of whom is the Archbishop of Lemberg in Austrian Galicia. The other two, and sixteen bishops, their suffragans, have sees in the East. All are immediately subject to the Patriarch of Cilicia of the Armenians. Their Liturgical language is the ancient Armenian, not understood by the people at the present day.[1]

Of the Syriac rites there are three—the Syriac, the Syro-Chaldaic, and the Syro-Maronite. The first prevails in Egypt, Syria, and Turkish Armenia. It numbers four archbishops and eight bishops, subject to the Syriac Patriarch of Antioch. The Liturgical language is the ancient Syriac; and these Christians are justly proud that they use for the purposes of public worship the language spoken by our Lord, while on earth.

The Syro-Chaldaic rite is followed in Kurdistan, Turkish Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Persia. It numbers five archbishops and six bishops, under the Syro-

[1] Monsignor Antonio Hassoun, then Patriarch of Cilicia of the Armenians, was created and published Cardinal Priest by His present Holiness, in the Consistory of the 13th of December 1880. His Eminence had rendered good service to the Church in the East, assisted by Monsignor Vannutelli, Delegate Apostolic and Patriarchal Vicar at Constantinople. This will be seen in the following extract from the *Times* correspondence, under date, Constantinople, March 13, 1881: "Two Bishops and twelve priests of the Anti-Hassounite sect have made their submission to Monsignor Vannutelli, who gave them absolution in the name of the Pope, and authorized them to officiate in the Roman Catholic churches in Constantinople. The Armeno-Catholic schism is now almost at an end. There still remain a few schismatic priests, but they have no bishop at their head, and the Anti-Hassounite church is occupied by gendarmes." (The *Times* of March 14, 1881.) Cardinal Hassoun, born in Constantinople in 1809, died in Rome on the 28th of February 1884.

Chaldaic Patriarch of Babylon. The Liturgical language is the ancient Chaldaic.

The Syro-Maronite rite prevails extensively in Syria and other provinces of Asiatic Turkey, and also in the island of Cyprus. The Maronites principally inhabit the districts of Mount Lebanon and the other mountains of Syria. They take their name from Saint Maro, a celebrated solitary, and afterwards abbot, who flourished in the commencement of the fifth century, and whose monastery was built in the diocese of Apamea, on the banks of the Orontes. This name distinguishes them from the Jacobites and other schismatical Syrians. In the eighth century, the Maronites were infected by the Monothelite heresy; but they abjured their errors in the year 1182, and again more fully in the sixteenth century, when they were all reunited to the Church, under Popes Gregory XIII. and Clement VIII. Their Patriarch is elected by the clergy and people, according to the ancient usage of the Church; but, before he can exercise his functions, his election must be confirmed by the Holy See. His title is the Maronite Patriarch of Antioch, and he resides at Cœnobin[1] on Mount Lebanon, and has under his jurisdiction six archbishops and three bishops. The Liturgical language is the ancient Syriac; but at Mass the Gospel is read in Arabic, the language of the people, after it has been read in Syriac. The Maronites have a college in Rome, from which have issued several eminent scholars, notably Abraham Ecchelensis, already alluded to, and Joseph, Stephen, and Simon, Assemani, who have thrown so much light on Oriental literature.[2]

[1] From the Greek Κοινόβιον, a community of monks.

[2] Joseph Assemani was born at Tripoli, in Syria, in 1687. Educated in Rome, he was appointed by Pope Clement XI. to collect ancient manuscripts in the convents of Egypt and Syria, for the Vatican Library. After the successful execution of this commission, he was consecrated Archbishop of Tyre, and made Librarian of the Vatican. He was the author of several works, of which the principal was his

Of the Coptic rites, there are two—the Copto-Egyptian and the Copto-Ethiopic or Abyssinian. The Copts, or Cophts, derive their name from a contraction of the Greek *Αἰγύπτιοι*, Egyptians, according to some authorities, or, according to others, from the city of Coptos, the ancient capital of the Thebaid. They have three liturgies, of which one is attributed to Saint Basil, one to Saint Gregory Nazianzen, and one to Saint Cyril. These are said to have been written originally in Greek, which was, at the time (fourth and fifth centuries), extensively understood in Egypt; and, about the same period, versions were made in the Coptic or Ancient Egyptian, for the general use of the people. At the present day there are versions in Arabic, now the vulgar tongue of Egypt; and at Mass, which is celebrated in Coptic, the Epistle and Gospel are read in the Arabic, after being read in the Liturgical language. Egypt, as we have seen, was first converted by Saint Mark, the Evangelist, sent by Saint Peter to found the See of Alexandria. After the condemnation of Eutyches by the General Council of Chalcedon, in 451, the inhabitants adhered to his heresy and seceded from the Church, mainly at the instance of Dioscorus, the deposed and excommunicated patriarch of Alexandria. The orthodox Copto-Egyptians have no constituted hierarchy, but are governed by a vicar apostolic of their own rite.[1]

The Copto-Ethiopians, or Abyssinians, were, like the Egyptian Christians, led away by the Eutychian or Jacobite heresies, and seceded from the Church, in the sixth century. The orthodox Copto-Ethiopians are

Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana, four volumes folio, 1719–28. He died in Rome, A.D. 1768. His nephew, Stephen, Bishop of Apamea, succeeded him as Vatican librarian, and published two folio volumes of Oriental Catalogues of Vatican MSS., and other works. Joseph's grand-nephew, Simon Assemani, was, for many years, Professor of Oriental languages in the University of Padua. He died in 1821. He, also, was a distinguished scholar and writer.

[1] There is also a Vicar Apostolic for Egypt, of the Latin rite.

governed by a vicar apostolic, who resides in Abyssinia. Their Liturgical language is the ancient Ethiopic, which resembles the Hebrew.

We have seen above set forth the numbers of Archbishops and Bishops of each of the Oriental rites, and the designation of their several sees. Under these prelates are a large number of clergy; and, moreover, there are many convents of monks, and some houses of religious women.

With regard to the marriage of the clergy of the Oriental rites, it may be well to say a few words here; especially as there prevails some misconception on the subject. The Holy See permits marriage only to the clergy who are below the rank of subdeacon. When one of these is promoted to the orders of subdeacon, deacon, and priest, he is allowed to retain his wife; but, should she die, he cannot marry again. No one already in orders, down to the subdeacon inclusive, is allowed to marry; and married priests are never promoted to posts of dignity, which are filled by the unmarried only. Hence the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops are, almost invariably, taken from the body of the monks. The same rules as to the marriage of the clergy prevail among the schismatic Oriental Christians.

Of the occupants of the Residential Sees of the Latin rite, 14 archbishops and 86 bishops are *immediately* subject to the Holy See; and 137 archbishops, and 579 bishops, their suffragans, are divided over ecclesiastical provinces; whilst, of the Oriental rite, 2 bishops are *immediately* subject to the Holy See; 3 archbishops and 8 bishops form ecclesiastical provinces; and 21 archbishops and 41 bishops are subject to the patriarchs, under the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope.

Besides these, there are Titular Sees, or, as they were styled until the year 1882, Sees *in partibus infidelium*—that is, sees which in ancient times existed in regions that have now lost the faith, and have fallen into

barbarism.[1] The Pope, in his discretion, nominates archbishops and bishops of these Titular Sees, as required, to act as delegates apostolic, prefects apostolic in some few instances, administrators apostolic, vicars apostolic, coadjutor bishops, auxiliary bishops, apostolic nuncios or ambassadors, and internuncios or special envoys, and also to fill important offices in the Papal court.

In countries in which, on account of persecution, or for other reasons, a hierarchy either has been suppressed or has never existed, the Pope appoints Delegates Apostolic, and Vicars Apostolic, creating them archbishops or bishops of titular sees; and these prelates, in their several districts, enjoy the same jurisdiction and powers, and exercise the same functions, as the bishops of dioceses in countries possessing a constituted hierarchy.

Thus, for example, immediately before the re-establishment of the hierarchy in England, by Pope Pius IX. on September 29, 1850, England and Wales were divided into eight ecclesiastical districts, each governed by a vicar apostolic. Doctor Wiseman, afterwards Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, was then "Bishop of Melipotamus, *in partibus infidelium*," and Vicar Apostolic of the London district; and the seven other vicars apostolic were, in the same way, titular bishops of other ancient foreign sees. The same was the case in Scotland up to the restoration of the hierarchy in that country, on the 4th of March, 1878, by His present Holiness; immediately before which there were three districts governed by three vicars apostolic, with three titular sees, or sees then styled *in partibus infidelium*. One of these, the late Doctor Strain, Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, was then Bishop of Abila in

[1] It was in the year 1882 that the Holy Father decided that these sees should be called Titular, instead of *in partibus infidelium*. The reason alleged is, that some of the Oriental Christians have objected to their countries being styled "the districts of the infidels."

Phœnicia, and Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern District of Scotland; and the other two held similar titular sees.

Delegations Apostolic are more extensive than Vicariates. The two are sometimes administered by one and the same person. For example, the Titular Archbishop of Siunia is at present Delegate Apostolic of Syria, for the Orientals, and Vicar Apostolic of Aleppo, for the Latins.

The Prefectures Apostolic are, with very few exceptions, administered by priests, to whom the Pope has given full episcopal jurisdiction, and all powers, save that of conferring holy orders.[1] This jurisdiction and these powers are imparted to them personally, for the work of their prefectures; but are not necessarily attached to the office of prefect apostolic. In some instances the office is held by the superior general of one of the congregations of the foreign missions, or of one of the religious orders; and then the prefecture is administered by a vice-prefect or pro-prefect.

The delegations, vicariates, and prefectures apostolic are all dependent on the Sacred Congregation *De Propaganda Fide.*

The DELEGATIONS APOSTOLIC are:—

In EUROPE, two: Constantinople;[2] Greece.[3]
In ASIA, four: East Indies; Mesopotamia, Kurdistan and Armenia Minor; Persia; Syria.
In AFRICA, one: Egypt and Arabia. 7

[1] The exceptional cases of bishops being prefects apostolic are those of Kuang-si and Kuang-tong in China, Senegal, and New Norcia in Oceania.

[2] Monsignor Rotelli, Titular Archbishop of Farsaglia, is both Delegate Apostolic at Constantinople for the Oriental, and Patriarchal Vicar for the Latin, rite.

[3] The Archbishop of Athens, already enumerated among the prelates of Residential Sees.

The VICARIATES APOSTOLIC are :—

EUROPE. Anhalt ; North Germany ; Gibraltar ; Saxony ; Sweden ; Constantinople, *Græco-Bulgarian rite ;* Constantinople, *Latin rite ;* Macedonia, *Græco-Bulgarian rite ;* Thrace, *Græco-Bulgarian rite ;* Sophia and Philippopolis ; Moldavia 11

ASIA. CHINA : Chan-si ; Chan-tong Chen-si ; Emoy ; Fu-kien ; Ho-nan North ; Ho-nan South ; Hong-Kong ; Southern Hu-nan ; Northern Hu-nan ; Eastern Hu-pé ; North-Western Hu-pé ; South-Western Hu-pé ; Kan-sou ; Kiang-si North ; Kiang-si South ; Kui-tchéou ; Nan-kin ; Su-tchuen North-West ; Su-tchuen East ; Su-tchuen South ; Tche-kiang ; Tche-ly North or Pekin ; Tche-ly South-East ; Tche-ly South-West ; Yunnan . 26

KINGDOMS ADJACENT TO CHINA : Cambodia ; Cochin-China West ; Cochin-China East ; Cochin-China North ; Corea ; Japan South ; Japan North ; Manchuria ; Mongolia Central ; Mongolia South-West ; Mongolia East ; Siam East ; Siam West or Peninsula of Malacca ; Tibet ; Tonkin Central ; Tonkin South ; Tonkin East ; Tonkin West 19

EAST INDIES : Agra ; Burman East ; Burman North ; Burman South ; Western Bengal ; Eastern Bengal ; Bombay South ; Bombay North ; Coimbatore ; Colombo ; Hyderabad ; Jafnapatam ; Kandy ; Madras ; Madura ; Mangalore or Canara ; Mysore ; Patna ; Pondicherry ; Punjab ; Quilon ; Verapoly ; Vizagapatam . . . 23

ASIATIC TURKEY : Aleppo ; Asia Minor 2

AFRICA. Abyssinia, or Oriental Africa ; Central Africa ; Africa, for the Galla country ; Cape of Good Hope, two vicariates, East and West ; Coast of Benin ; Egypt, for the Latins ; Egypt, for the Copts ; Guinea ; Seychelles Islands ; Natal ; Senegambia ; Sierra Leone ; and Tunis 14

AMERICA. Athabaska—Mackenzie ; Lower California ; Brownsville ; Northern Canada ; North Carolina ; British Colombia ; Curaçao ; Dakota ; Jamaica ; Demerara or British Guiana ; Surinam or Dutch Guiana ; North Minnesota ; Nebraska ; Territories of Colorado, Idaho, Arizona ; North Patagonia ; Pontiac . . 18

OCEANIA. Navigator's Islands ; Batavia ; Melanesia and Micronesia ; Marquesas or Mendana Islands ; Central Oceania ; Sandwich Islands ; Tahiti ; Queensland ; New Caledonia . . . . . 9[1]

[1] Several of the Vicars Apostolic, especially in China and adjacent kingdoms, have Coadjutors, who, like themselves, are Titular Bishops.

The PREFECTURES APOSTOLIC are :—

EUROPE. Denmark; Norway; Schleswig Holstein; Melsocina and Calanca in Switzerland; Rezia in Switzerland; Miznia and Lusatia in Saxony 6
ASIA. Aden; Kuang-si; Kuang-tong; East Indies, for the French colonies; Central Bengal 5
AFRICA. Upper Egypt; Cape of Good Hope, Central; Cimbebasia; Congo; Gold Coast and Ivory Coast; Desert of Sahara;[1] Islands of Sainte Marie, Mayotte, and Nossi Be; Islands of Annabo, Cerisco, and Fernando Po; Madagascar; Morocco; Senegal; Tripoli; Zambesi;[2] Dahomey; Niger 15
AMERICA. St. George's, Newfoundland; French Guiana, or Cayenne; Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon; Placentia Bay, Newfoundland;[3] The Indian Territory; Gulf of St. Lawrence; Southern Patagonia 7
OCEANIA. The Viti or Feejee Archipelago; Labuan and Northern Borneo; New Norcia, in Australia . . 3

The following is a Synopsis of the Hierarchical Titles of the Church :—

THE SACRED COLLEGE.

Suburbicarian Sees of the Cardinal Bishops . .	6	
Titular Churches of Cardinal Priests	52	
Deaconries	16	
		74

PATRIARCHAL SEES.

Latin Rite	7	
Oriental Rite	5	
		12

[1] The administration of the Desert of Sahara in Central Africa, is provisionally entrusted to the Cardinal Archbishop of Algiers and Carthage.

[2] A most interesting account of this young mission, by the Rev. A. Weld, S.J., has recently been published, "Mission of the Zambesi," London, 1880.

[3] Placentia Bay is provisionally administered by the Bishop of St. John's, Newfoundland.

ARCHIEPISCOPAL SEES.

Latin Rite	151	
Oriental Rite	24	
		175

EPISCOPAL SEES.

Latin Rite	665	
Oriental Rite	51	
		716

SEES OF NO DIOCESE.

Abbacies 12, Archabbacy 1, Archpriest 1, Priorate 1, Prelatures 2	17

TITLES DEPENDING ON THE SACRED CONGREGATION DE PROPAGANDA FIDE.

Delegations Apostolic	7	
Vicariates Apostolic	123	
Prefectures Apostolic	35	
		165
Total		1159

Of these Titles, there are at present one hundred and seven vacant.[1]

On the other hand, there are one hundred and eighty-eight archbishops and bishops of titular sees, besides those of the delegates, vicars, and four prefects, apostolic, already referred to. Of these, thirty-three are coadjutor bishops,[2] forty are auxiliary bishops,[3] five

[1] On the 3rd of March, 1885, there were vacant, titles and deaconries of the Sacred College, 11; patriarchates, 2; archiepiscopal and episcopal sees, 66 of the Latin, and 20 of the Oriental, rites; sees of no dioceses, 3; and vicariates apostolic, 5; total, 107.

[2] Such is Monsignor Richard, Titular Archbishop of Larissa, Coadjutor, with succession, to the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris; or Monsignor Grassi, Titular Bishop of Ortosia, Coadjutor of the Vicar Apostolic of Chan-si, in China. Coadjutor bishops are appointed, with a right of succession. This is not the case with auxiliary bishops, who have no such right.

[3] Such are Monsignori Weathers, Titular Bishop of Amycla, and Patterson, Titular Bishop of Emmaus, Auxiliary Bishops of Westminster.

are apostolic nuncios,[1] two are internuncios,[2] and four are delegates apostolic and envoys extraordinary,[3] while there are several, moreover, who hold important offices in the government of the Church, and in the Papal court.[4]

Adding these one hundred and eighty-eight Titular prelates, not heretofore enumerated, and deducting the one hundred and seven vacant sees, and further allowing for twenty-five sees held by Cardinal Priests, and for the few instances in which two or more sees are held by one archbishop or bishop, we arrive at the following result:—

DIGNITARIES COMPOSING THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY ON THE 3RD OF MARCH 1885.

Members of the Sacred College	59
Patriarchs of both Rites	8[5]
Archbishops and Bishops, Residential, Latin Rite .	727
Do. Do. Do. Oriental Rite	51
Do. Do. Titular	322
Do. Do. without title . . .	22
Prelates of no Dioceses	6
	1195

It would be impossible to form an approximate estimate of the vast number of priests under each and all of these prelates. Besides these, there are the religious orders and congregations, male and female,

[1] Such is Monsignor di Pietro, Titular Archbishop of Nazianzum, Nuncio at Munich.

[2] Such is Monsignor Rocco Cocchia, Titular Archbishop of Otranto, Internuncio Apostolic and Envoy Extraordinary to Brazil.

[3] Such is Monsignor di Milia, Titular Bishop of Tabarca, Delegate Apostolic and Envoy Extraordinary to San Domingo (Hayti), and Venezuela.

[4] Such is Monsignor Marinelli, Titular Bishop of Porfirio, Sacristan to His Holiness.

[5] Although the Patriarchal sees occupied are ten, only eight dignitaries are set down here, as two, who are Cardinals, are enumerated in the preceding item.

extending their branches to even the most remote regions—all existing with the sanction, and subject to the supreme control, of the Successor of Saint Peter—all having their governing heads in or near Rome.

On the whole, even in the condensed particulars of the Hierarchy, above given, we have a most interesting illustration of the Catholicity of the Church, and of her marvellous organization in all parts of the globe.[1]

[1] The following are the additions made to the Hierarchy by His Holiness Leo XIII., from his accession down to March 1885:—

Archbishops' Sees erected	5
Archbishoprics of Sees already existing	2
Bishops' Sees erected	23
Delegation Apostolic	1
Vicariates Apostolic	18
Vicariates Apostolic of Prefectures already existing	2
Prefectures Apostolic	7
	58

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ANCIENT PAPAL ELECTIONS.

ORIGINALLY the election of a Pope was made by the clergy and people of Rome—the clergy actually nominating or presenting the Pontiff, and their choice being supported by the assent and acclamation of the people, and confirmed by the neighbouring bishops. It is described as follows by a cotemporary, Saint Cyprian, speaking of the election of Cornelius, in succession to Pope Fabian, in the year 251: "Cornelius was made Bishop by the judgment of God and of His Christ, by the testimony of almost all the clergy, by the suffrage of the people then present, by the college of the elder priests and of good men, when no one had been elected before him, when the place of Fabian, that is, when the place of Peter, and the grade of the Sacerdotal Chair was vacant."[1]

In this manner, the elections were held, until the conversion of Constantine, in the early part of the fourth century; and thenceforward the same mode of proceeding was followed for a long period. But, as the Christian Emperors were deeply interested in the result, they began, in the course of time, to exercise more or less influence in the election; and eventually, with the concurrence of the Pontiffs, they had a voice in the matter, at least as far as the confirmation or approval thereof.[2]

[1] Cyprian, "Epistolæ," Ep. 52, ad Antonianum, A.D. 251.

[2] Justinian and the other Emperors, who succeeded him, demanded a sum of money for confirming the Papal elections. Constantine Pogonatus and Pope Saint Agatho united in liberating the Church from this tribute, A.D. 681.

However objectionable the system of Imperial confirmation or approval may seem, in principle, it appears to have operated beneficially in many an instance, in guarding the proceedings from foreign interference and domestic intrigue and violence. That such was its intent, is evident from the clauses in the Diplomas of the Emperors, Louis le Debonnaire, Otho, and Saint Henry, implying at least the condition of Imperial approval. Louis, in his diploma, in the year 817, made stringent provisions against any of the subjects of the Empire in any way interfering with the Romans, on a vacancy occurring in the Holy See; so that the funeral obsequies of the deceased Pontiff "might be conducted with all honour and without any disturbance, and that he whom, by Divine inspiration and the intercession of Blessed Peter, all the Romans, with one counsel and concord, without any promise, should elect to the order of the Pontificate might be consecrated without ambiguity or contradiction, in the usual manner." Next, it was provided, that, on the consecration taking place, legates should be sent to Louis, or to his successors, the Kings of the Franks, to establish between the Pope and the Emperor relations of friendship, love, and peace, as was customary in the days, of pious memory, of his great-grandfather Charles Martel, his grandfather Pepin and again of his father Charles the Emperor.[1]

Seven years later, A.D. 824, when Louis sent his son Lothaire, then associated with him in the Empire, to Rome, to put an end to the troubles caused by the opposition of Zizinius, the Antipope, to Pope Eugenius II.,[2] Lothaire, with the Pope's full assent, made an enactment, with a view to preventing the recurrence of such evils, that the consecration of a Pope should

[1] Theiner, "Codex Diplomaticus Dominii Temporalis S. Sedis," tom. i., pp. 2, 3, 4; Baronius, "Annales," ix. 670; Cenni, "Esame del Diploma di Ludovico Pio," parte prima.

[2] Eugenius II., a Roman, governed the Church, A.D. 824–827.

thenceforward take place in the presence of the Emperor or his envoys.[1]

Again, in their respective diplomas, the Emperors, Otho I. A.D. 962, and Henry II. A.D. 1020, each with the concurrence of the reigning Pontiff, inserted the following clause: "Saving in all things our power and that of our successors, according to what is contained in the pact and constitution and firm promise of Pope Eugenius, and of his successors, that all the clergy and all the nobility of the Roman people, for various urgent causes, and in order to mitigate unreasonable severity on the part of Pontiffs towards the people subject to them, bind themselves by oath, so far forth as that the future election of Pontiffs, according to each one's discernment, may be canonically and justly conducted:[2] and that no one will consent to the consecration of him who may be chosen to this high and Apostolic government, until he make, in presence of our envoys or of the whole public, such a promise for the satisfaction and future conservation of all, as our lord, and venerable spiritual father, Leo, is known to have made, of his own free accord."[3]

Pope Leo IV., here alluded to, governed the Church A.D. 847–855. This Pontiff, as well as his immediate predecessor, Sergius II., had, through fear of disturbances, been consecrated without time being allowed to communicate with the Imperial court. Leo's "pact," or promise, appears to have been to the effect, that he would, as far as possible, take measures to insure, that

[1] Sigonius and other authorities are of opinion that this enactment was made by Eugenius himself: "Eugenium nempe ipsum, Lothario Romæ existente, statuisse ut consecrationi Romani Pontificis legati Imperiales interessent."

[2] The original words of this passage in the constitution of Pope Eugenius II. are here set forth, as follow: "Ut omnis clerus et universa populi Romani nobilitas, propter diversas necessitates et Pontificum irrationabiles erga populum sibi subjectum asperitates retundendas, sacramento se obligent, quatenus futura Pontificum electio (quantum uniuscujusque intellectus fuerit) canonice et juste fiat."

[3] Cenni, "Esame de' Diplomi d'Ottone e S. Arrigo," parte terza.

on his decease, the election and consecration of his successor should be duly and canonically conducted in the presence of the Imperial envoys.[1]

With the same intent, it was enacted, in the Council of Rome, held by John IX., A.D. 898, canon x., that, on the death of a pope, in order to protect the Church from the violence of faction, the new pontiff should be elected by the assembled bishops and universal clergy, the senate and people being present, and that the Elect should be consecrated in the presence of the Imperial legates.

Wholly irrespective of the weighty spiritual interests involved—of the things necessary to the headship of the Universal Church, it was felt to be of the utmost consequence to the temporal subjects of the Popes, that the elections to the Pontifical throne should be "justly and canonically conducted;" for thus only could they be assured of having wise and paternal rulers. It was also a matter of vital importance to the entire commonwealth of Christian nations, over whose temporal as well as spiritual affairs the Pope at that period, by common consent, exercised paramount control. Therefore it was, that the clauses just recited were inserted in the Imperial diplomas; and this, with the full assent of the Pontiffs. Moreover, any interference whatever, by any of the subjects of the Empire or others, with the free election of Pontiffs by the clergy, nobility, and people of Rome, was most strictly prohibited. Should such interference nevertheless be attempted, the Emperors bound themselves to repress it by all means in their power, punishing the offenders by exile or death.[2]

As the Empire declined, however, it sometimes

[1] This is clear from the Pontiff's own letter to the Emperors Lothaire and Louis; viz. "Leonis PP. IV., Epistola ad Imperatores Lotharium et Ludovicum;" apud Gratianum, Decretales, 63, c. 31. "Inter nos et vos pacti serie statutum est et confirmatum, quod electio et consecratio futuri Romani Pontificis nonnisi juste et canonice fieri debeat."

[2] Cenni, as supra. Theiner, "Codex Diplomaticus," etc., tom. i. pp. 4–8; Baronius, "Annales," in locis.

occurred, especially in periods of anarchy, that the Pope was consecrated immediately on election, without reference to the Emperor.[1] Again, on the other hand, we read of a few Popes nominated by the Emperors, and presented by them to the clergy, nobility, and people of Rome.[2]

Notwithstanding the safeguards above recited, agreed on between the Popes and the Emperors, it unfortunately happened that, from the close of the ninth to the middle of the eleventh century[3]—a period of strife and anarchy, created by the decline of the Western Empire—the Papal throne became an object of contention to ambitious and unprincipled factions; and the prize was the more coveted, because, as we have seen, the elected King of Germany could become Emperor only by being crowned by the Pope; and, further, because, in disputed cases, the choice between rival candidates for the Imperial dignity, was determined by the voice of the Pontiff. Hence occurred the intrusion of a few unworthy persons into Saint Peter's Chair. The Popes of that day, no matter what their merits, enjoyed severally but a short tenure of power. Some were violently deposed and cast into prison; some were exiled; and some were murdered. Princes and nobles little heeded what scandals might arise, provided that their creatures filled the Apostolic throne, and that thus they themselves became participators in the revenues, and controlled the political influence, of the

[1] Among several Popes consecrated at this time, without awaiting the arrival of the Imperial envoys, may be mentioned, Paschal I., A.D. 817; Valentinus, 827; Sergius II., 844; Saint Leo IV., 847; Adrian II., 867; and John VIII., 872.

[2] Thus Saint Leo IX., previously Bruno, Bishop of Toul, was chosen Pope in a great assembly of nobles and prelates at Worms, convened and presided over by the Emperor Henry III., A.D. 1048. Leo, who resisted the burden sought to be imposed upon him, finally consented to bear it, only on the condition of his election being ratified by the entire clergy and people of Rome, which was done with joyful acclamation. He governed the Church A.D. 1048–1055.

[3] Strictly speaking, this period extended from the extinction of the Carlovingian Empire, A.D. 888, to the middle of the eleventh century.

Church. In vain, in those unsettled times, was the evil struggled against by several Pontiffs—notably John IX., Benedict IV., Anastasius III., Leo VII., Sylvester II., Clement II., Saint Leo IX., Victor II., and Stephen X.[1] The night of the Dark Ages was now at its darkest. Yet God did not desert His Church. By His ordinance, and in fulfilment of His promise, not one of the few personally unworthy men, who appear in the long roll of the occupants of the Chair of Peter, ever made any solemn *ex Cathedrâ* definition of faith.

The emancipation of the Holy See from such lamentable evils was well commenced by Pope Nicholas II., who governed the Church, A.D. 1058–1061. He clearly saw that the remedy lay in a complete change in the mode of Papal election, namely, that it should no longer be made in a general assembly of "all the clergy and all the nobility of the Roman people," but that it should be mainly the work of a select body of the leading clergy, placed in an elevated position by the Supreme Pontiff, on account of their piety, talent, and devotion to the Church. Accordingly, in a council, held at Rome, A.D. 1059, and composed of one hundred and thirteen bishops, he decreed, that, on the Pope's death, the Cardinal Bishops should first most diligently together consider the election; that they should afterwards call into their councils the Cardinal Priests and Deacons; and that in this way the new election should obtain the assent of the rest of the Clergy and the people. It was further enacted that the choice should be made out of the bosom of the Roman Church, if a suitable person could be found therein; and, if not, that the elect should be taken from another Church; always saving due honour and reverence to the Emperor,

[1] John IX. governed the Church A.D. 898–900; Benedict IV., 900–903; Anastasius III., 911–913; Leo VII., 936–939; Sylvester II., 999–1003; Clement II., 1046–1048; Saint Leo IX., 1049–1055; Victor II., 1055–1057; and Stephen X., 1057, 1058.

conformably with the right conceded to him and his successors by the Apostolic See.[1]

Saint Peter Damian, a cotemporary, interprets this law as follows: "That the election of the Pontiff should be made by the principal judgment of the Cardinal Bishops; that, in the second place, the Clergy should, by right, give their assent; that, thirdly, the popular favour should add its applause; and that so the affair should be suspended until the Royal authority should be consulted, unless that danger should perchance impend, and render the greatest possible expedition necessary."[2]

Thenceforward, notwithstanding the revolutions and anarchy of the times, the principle so wisely laid down by Nicholas II., and maintained and developed by successive Pontiffs and councils, became gradually more

[1] The following are the words of the decree of Pope Nicholas II., A.D. 1059: "Quapropter instructi prædecessorum nostrorum aliorumque sanctorum patrum auctoritate, decernimus atque statuimus, ut, obeunte hujus Romanæ Universalis Ecclesiæ Pontifice, in primis Cardinales Episcopi diligentissime simul de electione tractantes, mox sibi Clericos Cardinales adhibeant, sicque reliquus Clerus et populus ad consensum novæ electionis accedant. . . . Eligatur autem de ipsius Ecclesiæ gremio, si reperitur idoneus; vel si de ipsa non invenitur ex alia assumatur, salvo debito honore et reverentia dilecti filii nostri Henrici, qui in præsentiarum Rex habetur, et futurus Imperator, Deo concedente, speratur, sicut jam ipsi concessimus et successoribus ipsius, qui ab Apostolica Sede personaliter hoc jus impetraverint." This last clause appears to refer to the constitution of Lothaire, that the consecration of the newly elected Pope should take place in the presence of the Emperor or his envoys.

[2] Petri Damiani Opera. Epist. 20, lib. i. "Electionem Pontificiam per Episcoporum Cardinalium fieri debere principale judicium; ita ut, secundo loco, jure præbeat Clerus assensum; tertio, popularis favor attollat applausum; sicque suspendendam esse causam, usque dum Regiæ Celsitudinis consulatur auctoritas, nisi periculum fortassis imminеat, quod rem quantocius accelerare compellat." Saint Peter Damian was born in Ravenna, A.D. 988. He adopted a monastic life, under the rule of Saint Benedict. In 1057, Pope Stephen X. named him Cardinal Bishop of Ostia. He was highly esteemed, and employed in important affairs by several successive Popes, including Nicholas II. His works consist of several letters, some sermons, five lives of saints, and some short treatises. He died at Faenza in 1072, at the age of eighty-three.

and more firmly established; so that, on the death of Pope Alexander III.—to whose legislation on the subject, in the Eleventh General Council, the Third Lateran, it will presently be necessary more fully to refer,—his successor, Lucius III., was chosen, A.D. 1181, by the cardinals exclusively, the body of the people and the clergy taking no part whatever in the proceedings. This was the first instance of a Pope being elected solely by the Sacred College.[1] The cardinals, their institution, privileges, powers, and dignity, as well as the several constitutions enacted to regulate their election of a Pope, will be treated of, at length, in a future chapter.

[1] Panvinius, Annotat. in Vitam Alexandri III, apud Platinam, p. 206.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ALLEGED UNWORTHY POPES.

It would require a large volume, to discuss, in detail, the alleged crimes of some twenty Popes, at various dates, among the two hundred and sixty-two successors of Saint Peter. The subject, however, notwithstanding our limited space, here justly claims a comparatively brief, yet not insufficient, notice.

The characters of the Pontiffs in question have but too long been estimated from the statements of a few writers of small authority, who were manifestly influenced either by hostility to the Holy See, or by a desire to flatter the prejudices of those in high place, unfriendly to the Papacy, such as several of the Byzantine Emperors. Among these writers, the principal, indeed for several of the biographies the only, authority was Luitprand, sometimes called Liutprand, Canon of Pavia, and subsequently Bishop of Cremona. He was secretary to Berengarius II., King of Italy, by whom he was sent ambassador to the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenita at Constantinople, in 949. On his return he left the service of Berengarius for that of the German Emperor Otho I. On Otho's conquering Italy, Luitprand accompanied him thither, and, in recompense for his services, he was presented by the Emperor to the Bishopric of Cremona. In 968, he went again to Constantinople, as ambassador to the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas. He wrote a History of his diplomatic missions to Constantinople, and a Relation, in six books, of all that took place in Europe in his time. This work is

styled *Historia rerum gestarum ab Europæ Imperatoribus et Regibus.*[1] The Author calls it also *Antapodosis*, or "Retribution," being "a scourge to his enemies and a recompense to his friends." In it he speaks as follows of his former Royal patrons: "The object of this book is, that it should expose, show up, and call out against, the acts of that Berengarius who now tyrannizes, rather than reigns, over Italy, and of his wife Willa, who, on account of her surpassing tyranny and insatiable rapine, is properly called a Jezebel and a Lamia."[2]

Not only is Luitprand's testimony rendered of little value by such a strain of writing, but, on investigation, he has been proved to be, as a rule, unreliable as to facts. Moreover, he introduces many free anecdotes, ill becoming an ecclesiastic; and these are generally irrelevant. Of them Sismondi observes that "they do not give a favourable idea of the tone prevailing among the great, and in what was in that day considered good society, especially if one bears in mind the rank at court and the Ecclesiastical functions of the historian."

As remarked by Dean Milman, Cardinal Baronius mainly, nay solely, relies on Luitprand as his authority regarding certain passages in the private lives of the Popes of this period; which circumstance implies an absence, at the time, of corroborative evidence of Luitprand's statements; for, if such existed, it would have been alluded to by so laborious a writer as Baronius. The latter's strong expressions of regret at such a state of affairs, and of indignation against the offending Pontiffs, the greater part of whom are now proved to have been sadly maligned, are echoed by such Catholic writers as Bellarmin[3] and Graveson,[4] who, as well as

[1] "The Lives of the Popes, from Saint Peter to Formosus," and "The Chronicles of the Goths," are attributed to Luitprand; but it is generally supposed that these works are not from his hand.

[2] Luitprandi "Antapodosis," Introduction to the third book.

[3] Bellarmin. Vide supra, p. 91, *note*.

[4] Graveson, Ignace Hyacinthe Amat de, born at Graveson, near

the learned annalist, were to a great extent misled by the unsupported testimony of Luitprand. But they all, with Baronius, regard as a further proof of the divine origin of the Church, the fact of her having passed unscathed through such trials.

Modern investigators, however, have carefully sifted all extant records, including much that has been brought to light since Baronius's day; and the result is, that the generally accepted accounts of the lives of the Pontiffs referred to, have turned out to be in several particulars inaccurate, and, in many more, directly opposed to truth. Among those investigators especially deserving of mention is the learned Father Pagi,[1] who in his valuable work, "Breviarium Pontificum Romanorum Gestorum," has, in the life of each of the several Pontiffs, in detail, ably and impartially treated the whole question, setting forth the evidence on both sides in a calm judicial tone. Still more perhaps has been done for the cause of truth and justice by Professor Jungmann of the Catholic University of Louvain, in an exhaustive treatise on the subject, which appears in the fourth volume of his "Select Dissertations on Ecclesiastical History," quite recently published.[2]

Let us now enter into details. We have seen that,

Avignon, in 1670, was a Dominican and Doctor of Sorbonne. He was summoned to Rome by his general, and was one of the theologians of the Council of Rome in 1725. He died at Arles in 1733. His principal work is an Ecclesiastical History, down to 1730, first published at Venice in 1740, with his other works, in seven vols. 4to, and separately at Augsburg in 1752, and again in 1762 with notes and a continuation, down to 1760, by John Dominic Mansi.

[1] Pagi. Vide supra, p. 6, *note*.

[2] "Dissertationes Selectæ in Historiam Ecclesiasticam," auctore Bernardo Jungmann, Eccles. Cathedr. Brugens. Canon hon., Philos. et S. Theolog. Doct., ac Profess. ord. Hist. Eccl. et Patrol. in Universitate Cath. Lovaniensi. Tomus iv. pp. 1–108. Ratisbon, 1884. This treatise comprises the reigns of thirty-one Popes, from Formosus to Silvester II., both inclusive. It has the advantage of being the last publication on the subject. Of the several authorities consulted, in the writing of this chapter, I am most indebted to Father Pagi and Professor Jungmann, especially the latter.

of cotemporary writers, Luitprand stands alone and unsupported, and that his character as a witness is greatly impaired by the frivolous, gossiping, and too often indelicate, tone in which he repeats what have been proved, in many an instance, to be wicked slanders. On the other hand, we shall now see how he is again and again contradicted by Flodoard and others, his cotemporaries, who by character and rectitude of life, are entitled to respect, and whose testimony has been unreservedly accepted and adopted by modern investigators and writers of acknowledged weight and impartiality, such as Pagi, the Benedictines of St. Maur, and Muratori.

Flodoard, the historian, was born at Epernay, near Rheims, in 894. He was a priest and canon of the cathedral of Rheims, and so marked were his abilities that he had been appointed curator of the Archives of Saint Remi before his ordination. He was equally held in esteem for his learning and his edifying life, and his love of truth and literary tastes and occupations eminently qualified him for the work of a historian. According to Rohrbacher, himself a writer of learning and research, "Flodoard is represented by his cotemporaries as a priest respected for all kinds of virtues, and more than human wisdom. As an author, he was no less distinguished."[1] He wrote a Chronicle of his own times, from the year 919 to 966—a work much lauded for its accuracy, also a "History of the Church of Rheims," in four books, and a work in metre, comprising fourteen books, "On the Triumph of Christ in Italy," or "The Lives of the Roman Pontiffs from Saint Peter to Leo VII." In the year 936, he was ambassador to the latter Pope, by whom he was honourably received at Rome and much esteemed. He died in the year 966.

Another cotemporary of Luitprand was Auxilius, a French priest, who dwelt in Southern Italy. He had

[1] Rohrbacher, "Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise." L. 59, p. 439.

been ordained by Pope Formosus, in defence of whose ordinations he wrote three treatises, in the year 907. Throughout his writings, he throws light on several events occurring at the close of the ninth and in the beginning of the tenth centuries. John the Deacon, a Neapolitan, another cotemporary, who has left a "Chronicle of the Bishops of Naples," and other works, also affords us information regarding the period. Both these were learned men, and will be quoted further on, as well as Flodoard.

We have now to consider, in a necessarily condensed form, the lives of thirty-one Popes, from Formosus to Silvester II., both inclusive, ranging from A.D. 891 to 1013.

Formosus (A.D. 891–896), a native of Ostia, was consecrated Bishop of Porto, in 864, under Nicholas I., and in 866 he discharged, with great success, the functions of Papal legate to the Bulgarians, so that their King Michael earnestly prayed that he might be made their Archbishop, to which request Pope Nicholas and his successor, Adrian II., refused to accede. Some ten years later, Charles the Bald was nominated and crowned Emperor by Pope John VIII., when an influential party in Rome plotted the deposition of Charles, and the Bishop of Porto was one of the leaders of this party. The Pope, in consequence thereof, excommunicated and deposed Formosus. The latter, however, was absolved from his ecclesiastical censures by John's successor, Marinus I.,[1] and, after some delay, was restored by him to his see of Porto. On the death of Stephen VI., in 891, Formosus was elected Pope, and reigned four years, six months, and eleven days, dying May 23rd, 896. Beyond his political action above related, and his having, "through ambition," looked for the See of Rome when he was already a bishop, Formosus is not charged with any offences. On

[1] Marinus I., a Gallesian (A.D. 882-884), reigned one year and five months.

the contrary, his personal character, his piety and acquirements, are highly praised by cotemporary writers For instance, Auxilius, who was ordained by Formosus, speaks of him as a man remarkable, throughout his whole life, for piety, moderation, and abstinence, denying himself the use of flesh meat and wine. He also lauds his Apostolic labours amongst the Bulgarians. Flodoard speaks of him as an illustrious prelate, "mortified and munificent to the poor, sowing the seeds of the Faith amongst the Bulgarian nation, and affording in his own person a worthy example to all." Luitprand calls him a most religious Pope, and says that he was venerated for true piety and his knowledge of the Scriptures and doctrine; and Hincmar of Rheims speaks of him as a religious bishop, justly praised for the fame of his sanctity. Formosus was the first bishop elected Pope—those previously elected to the Papal throne being simply priests or deacons before their election.[1]

Boniface VI., a Roman (June 896), was, by a popular movement, raised to the Papal throne in succession to Formosus, but, on the fifteenth day after his election, he died of gout. He is alluded to by Flodoard in terms of praise.

Stephen VII. (by some called Stephen VI.),[2] a Roman (A.D. 896, 897). The history of this Pontiff, elected through the influence of the anti-Formosian party, affords a painful illustration of the state to which Rome was reduced by anarchy and faction at this period. In his brief pontificate, was enacted a crime, which was then unexampled, and which has made his name infamous in his own and succeeding generations.[3] In

[1] Panvinius, annotat. in vitam Formosi P.P., apud Platinam, page 145; and Pagi, "Pontif. Rom. Gesta," ii. 125. Both these writers contradict the statement that Marinus was the first Pope who was a bishop before his elevation to the supreme pontificate. He was simply Archdeacon of Rome, when elected.

[2] The cause of this irregularity in the enumeration of Popes named "Stephen," is explained in an earlier page. Vide supra, p. 187, *note*.

[3] Baronius says, that he dares not enumerate him in the list of Roman

the month of February 897, he assembled a synod in Rome, to condemn his predecessor Formosus, then nine months dead, for having, through ambitious motives, against the canons, abandoned the see of Porto and occupied that of Rome. By Stephen's order, the dead body of Formosus was exhumed and brought into the council, divested of ecclesiastical and reclad in lay attire, and two fingers of the right hand (some say three), those used in the consecration of priests, having been amputated, it was reinterred, in the tomb of the pilgrims. Immediately afterwards, it was again exhumed by an excited mob, and cast into the Tiber. At this council, Stephen declared the ordinations of Formosus invalid, overlooking or ignoring the fact that Formosus had been duly consecrated Bishop of Porto, and consequently could ordain. At the time the sacred canons forbade, under penalty of deprivation of even lay communion, the migration of bishops from one see to another, through ambition or avarice; but the Roman synod, held in 898, under John IX., declared that the translation of Formosus from the church of Porto to the Apostolic See, for his meritorious life, was a matter of necessity; but that it should not be taken as a precedent.[1] The enemies of Formosus further charged him with having got himself reconsecrated, when elected Pope. This is contradicted by his cotemporary Auxilius, who states that he was merely enthroned. Stephen himself was overtaken by

Pontiffs; and Muratori, "Annales," anno 896, observes: "Sempre detestabile la memoria sua nella chiesa di Dio."

[1] Canon iii. "Quia necessitatis causa de Portuensi Ecclesia Formosus, pro vitæ merito, ad Apostolicam Sedem provectus est, statuimus et omnino decernimus, ut id in exemplum nullus assumat." Auxilius, in his work on "the Ordinations of Formosus," cap. 20, lib. ii. shows that by the canons quoted against Formosus, viz., 16 of Nice, and 1 and 2 of Sardica, the migrations of bishops from their own to other sees, *through avarice or ambition*, are condemned; but not those which are demanded *by necessity or the good of the Church*—viz. "Canonibus Nicænis et Sardicensibus migrationes episcoporum non prohiberi, quæ, necessitate vel utilitate Ecclesiæ postulante, fiunt."

a sad fate, which to many would appear retributive. In August 897, he was cast into a dungeon by a Roman mob, and was there strangled, after a reign of one year and two months. It is but right to observe here that the learned and painstaking Panvinius affirms that what is related about the disinterment of the corpse of Formosus "looks more like fiction than truth, from the variety and discrepancies of the several accounts thereof."[1] However, the great majority of writers and critics hold the opposite opinion.

Romanus, a Gallesian (A.D. 897, 898), reigned only three months and twenty-one days. He is spoken of by Flodoard as a meritorious Pontiff, "meritos sortitur honores."

Theodorus II., a Roman (A.D. 898), reigned only twenty days, and during that short time, he had the remains of Formosus taken from the Tiber and entombed with honour. He further declared the ordinations of Formosus valid. He is praised by Flodoard for his prudence, virtues, and love of the poor, and as "the beloved of the clergy, and the promoter of peace." Some modern writers surmise that these two Pontiffs were murdered, but ancient records afford no data for that supposition.

John IX., a native of Tivoli (A.D. 898–900). This Pontiff was a Benedictine monk. In his election, he had to contend against the claims of Sergius (afterwards Sergius III.) He worthily governed the Church; and, in two councils in Rome and one in Ravenna, he strenuously laboured in the establishment of discipline and the allaying of faction. In his Roman council of 898, he cancelled the decrees of Stephen VII. against Formosus; and in the same council, as we have seen, he passed a wise and salutary enactment to insure that all future Papal elections should be peaceably and canonically conducted. John is spoken of by Flodoard as having suffered persecution and banishment; as

[1] Panvinius, annotat. in vitam Formosi PP. apud Platinam, page 145.

having taught the saving faith handed down by the Fathers; and as having been a shining light in his exalted sphere. He died in June 900, having reigned two years and fifteen days.

Benedict IV., a Roman (A.D. 900–903), reigned three years and two months. According to Flodoard, he was "a great pontiff, who well deserved the title of great, illustrating by his piety all his works, meditating the precepts of God, and paternally cherishing the friendless poor."

Leo V., a native of Ardea (A.D. 903). After a reign of one month and twenty-six days, he was cast into prison, where he died—some say, by violence or starvation. Auxilius styles him "a man of God, of praiseworthy life and sanctity." His deposition is generally attributed to his successor, Christopher, a Roman (A.D. 903, 904).

On Leo's death, Christopher was acknowledged by the Church, as Pontiff; but he was himself deposed, after a reign of six months, when he retired into a monastery to do penance, according to some writers. According to others, he was murdered. On a minute examination of the evidence on both sides, Christopher's guilt does not appear to be indisputably established. Flodoard does not accuse him; but seems to regard him as having legitimately succeeded Leo V.; and Auxilius says nothing of a violent death inflicted on him or on his predecessor. However, the majority of writers speak of him as "Christophorus *invasor*," and condemn his usurpation of the Apostolic See. The latest investigator, Professor Jungmann, is doubtful, and sums up in these words: *rem igitur in ancipiti relinquamus.*

About this time, A.D. 904, the influence of the Counts of Tusculum and of the Marquises of Tuscany was all-powerful in Rome, and continued to prevail for many years, with results most detrimental to religion. Certain Roman ladies, too, connected with those noble families,

women of the highest rank, but of notoriously wicked lives, then began to exercise control over the Papal elections—a control alike disgraceful and disastrous. Of these, the first claiming notice is Theodora, the elder, a princess remarkable for her beauty, talents, and crimes. She was the daughter of Adelbert I., Marquis of Tuscany, and sister of Adelbert II. Her husband was Theophylactus, a judge, and afterwards Consul, Roman Senator, and head of the nobility of Rome. By him she had two daughters, Marozia, and Theodora the younger, both fully equal to their mother in personal gifts, mental powers, and ambition, and of no less disreputable lives. Marozia was married to Alberic I., Count of Tusculum, Duke of Camerino, and Prince of Spoleto. After his death, she espoused Guy, Marquis of Tuscany, and, on the demise of the latter, she was united to his brother-in-law, Hugo, King of Italy. By her first husband, Alberic, she had issue four sons, viz., Alberic II., Constantine, Pope John XI., and Sergius, Bishop of Nepi. Her sister, Theodora the younger, became the wife of Theophylactus Vestiarius, and had by him three daughters, Marozia the younger, Stephania, and Theodora the third. This last was married to John, Senator and Duke, by whom she had two sons, Landolphus and Crescentius.[1]

Theodora the elder, and, after her, her daughter Marozia, with the co-operation of the Roman nobles, obtained possession of the Castle of Saint Angelo, the great fortress of Rome; and thus each of those princesses, in her turn, enjoyed supreme power over the city. Unfortunately, they availed themselves of this position to secure the elevation of their relations to the Papal Chair; and thence arose a state of affairs, in which, as observed by Doctor Döllinger, "the Holy

[1] This clear genealogical statement, drawn up by de Rossi, apud Jungmann, "Dissertationes," iv. 62, will aid the reader in his consideration of the argument regarding the slanderous statements retailed by Luitprand.

See might be compared to a captive in chains, to whom, being deprived of freedom, we are not to impute the disgrace which he endures."

The next Pope on the list is one upon whose memory the severest aspersions have been cast, for centuries, not alone by the enemies, but by some of the most devoted champions, of the Papacy. Let us now examine how far those aspersions were merited.

Sergius III. (A.D. 904–911), a Roman, and a member of the noble family of the Marquises of Tuscany, was placed in Saint Peter's chair in the year 904, and reigned seven years and three months. Luitprand describes him as an immoral, wicked man, and as an usurper of the Pontifical See; and Baronius, following Luitprand, speaks of him in the strongest terms of reprobation.[1] On the other hand, such cotemporary writers as Flodoard and John the Deacon by no means speak of him as an usurper, and a bad man: on the contrary, they praise him; and Muratori[2] and other modern authors of weight, having closely sifted the evidence, much of which was not available to Baronius, pronounce many of the charges made against him to be fictions.

[1] "Annales," A.D. 908. It may be observed here that Baronius erroneously sets down the reign of Sergius III. as of four years, beginning A.D. 908, whereas, in reality, it was over seven years, commencing in 904.

[2] Luigi Antonio Muratori, born at Vignola, in the Duchy of Modena, October 21, 1672, was devoted to literature from a very early age down to his death, which took place January 23, 1750, in his seventy-eighth year. When only twenty-two years old, he was invited to Milan by Count Charles Borromeo, who intrusted to his care the Ambrosian library. In 1700, the Prince of Modena claimed him as his subject, and appointed him his librarian and keeper of the Ducal archives. Muratori was consulted by all the learned men of the age, including the Benedictines Mabillon and Montfaucon, the Jesuit father Papebroke, Magliabecchi, Ciampini, Maffei, and others. Few authors have written so much. His works, sixty-four in number, fill forty-six volumes folio, thirty-four 4to, thirteen 8vo, and several 12mo. That which I quote in the text is "Annali d'Italia dal principio della era volgare fino all' anno 1500," twelve volumes 4to, Venice, 1744–1749. He was a man of wondrous memory and vast erudition, but he is considered to have been sometimes deficient in judgment.

It is stated by Luitprand that the election of Formosus, A.D. 891, was contested by Sergius, but that the more powerful party of the former prevailed, and Sergius was expelled from Rome, having been elected but not consecrated. This statement, like many more of Luitprand's, is discredited by modern critics, including Jungmann; as all others, who wrote in the time of Formosus, record that the election of that Pontiff was unanimous.[1] There appears to be little room to doubt, however, that, at a later period, namely in the year 898, when John IX. was elected, Sergius was expelled from Rome, under circumstances such as above detailed, and that, after a sojourn in Tuscany of seven years, he returned to Rome, A.D. 904, on the solicitation of the people, and was elected Pope. Luitprand's statement that Sergius had compassed the deposition of Christopher, his immediate predecessor, is disproved by his cotemporaries, Auxilius, Flodoard, and John the Deacon.[2]

We now come to a very serious charge against this Pontiff—a charge of gross immorality, resting on the sole and unsupported cotemporary evidence of Luitprand—namely, that he had illicit intercourse with Marozia, Countess of Tusculum, resulting in the birth of a son, afterwards Pope John XI. This alleged crime is not alluded to by any other cotemporary writer; but, as the allegation has been incautiously adopted from Luitprand by Baronius and other authors, a heavy slur has long unjustly rested on the memory of Sergius;

[1] Pagi, "Pontif. Rom. Gesta," ii. 135, 147. Jungmann, "Dissertationes," iv. 19.

[2] John the Deacon says "revocatus est Dominus Sergius;" and Flodoard writes:—

> "Sergius inde redit, dudum qui lectus ad arcem
> Culminis, exilio tulerat rapiente repulsam:
> Quo profugus latuit, septem volventibus annis.
> Hinc populi remeans precibus, sacratur honore
> Pridem adsignato."

Auxilius states distinctly, that Christopher had been deposed before Sergius's return to Rome.

but it has been removed, in the light of their careful examination of all extant evidence, by modern investigators—notably, Muratori, Rohrbacher, and Jungmann who affirm that John XI. was the legitimate third son of Marozia by her first husband, Alberic I., Count of Tusculum. Professor Jungmann justly observes that in the disposition of Sergius there was nothing that would lead us to suppose that he was inclined to such vice. On the contrary, he was pre-occupied by far different thoughts, being a rigid enforcer of ecclesiastical discipline; and those writers, his cotemporaries, who vindicated, against his condemnation, the memory and ordinations of Formosus, would readily have laid hold of such a degrading charge, and urged it against the Pontiff, had they any grounds for such a line of action. Not one word is to be found in their writings, regarding the alleged intrigue of Sergius and Marozia. That more than doubtful, and indelicate, tale is confined to Luitprand alone. On the contrary, Sergius is praised for his piety by Flodoard and John the Deacon, his cotemporaries, both of them reliable writers and exemplary men; and their testimony would but ill accord with his merits, and their own candour, were he guilty of the crime imputed to him by one solitary writer of no weight. Indeed, unless by Luitprand, and authors of subsequent ages, misled by him, Sergius III. is not censured save for his condemnation of his predecessor Formosus, regarding whom controversy ran so high in those days.

To Sergius succeeded Anastasius III., a Roman (A.D. 911–913). He reigned two years and two months. He was a mild and pious Pontiff, zealous in the promotion and preservation of peace and concord among the clergy and nobles in those troubled times.

Next succeeded Lando, a Sabine, who reigned six months and ten days (A.D. 913, 914). He is falsely accused, by Luitprand, of having, at the urgent request of Marozia, irregularly consecrated, as Archbishop of

Ravenna, John, who succeeded him as John X. As regards the statement that the election of Lando was promoted by Marozia, there is no cotemporary evidence to corroborate Luitprand.

John X., a native of the diocese of Imola (A.D. 914–928), was named Bishop of Bologna by Sergius III.; but before he was consecrated he was translated to the Archiepiscopal see of Ravenna, to which he had been elected by the clergy, in the year 905. On the death of Lando, he was elected Pope, by the unanimous voice of the clergy, A.D. 914; as at the time it was deemed desirable that a prudent and energetic Pontiff should be chosen, to hold in check the Saracens, who were seriously threatening Rome. John governed the Church and State with great zeal and wisdom. In 915, he crowned, as Emperor, Berengarius, King of Italy. He defeated the Saracens, and freed from their presence the Papal States and other Italian provinces; and, moreover, he strongly repressed the excesses of the Roman nobles. He also strenuously promoted the welfare of the Church in foreign countries. In the Roman States, towards the close of his reign, great political dissensions and troubles arose. John asserted his independence too determinedly for the pleasure of the powerful Marozia. By her contrivance and that of her husband Guy, Marquis of Tuscany, the Pontiff's brother Peter, "too influential in Rome," was murdered in his presence, and he himself was cast into prison, and there strangled, A.D. 928, having reigned thirteen years and two months.

Another of Luitprand's scandals is, that, previously to his elevation, John X. had illicit intercourse with Marozia's sister, Theodora the younger, the issue thereof being Crescentius. This scandal rests, as do other similar fictions, on the narrative of Luitprand alone; and it is not even alluded to by any other cotemporary writer. There appears to have been some bungling in concocting this slanderous story; for, as we have seen,

Theodora II. had only three daughters, but no son; and her third daughter, Theodora III., was the wife of John, Duke and Consul, by whom she had two sons, Landolphus and Crescentius, to the latter of whom Luitprand alludes.[1] John's character alone is a sufficient refutation of so base a calumny; for, after sifting all extant records of his life, the learned Muratori speaks of him as "a Roman Pontiff, received and venerated as such by the whole Church of God, one who laudably fulfilled the duties of his pontificate, and encountered the hatred and violence of the wicked, solely because he asserted the temporal rights of the Holy See."[2]

Leo VI., a Roman (A.D. 928, 929), reigned eight months and five days. John Stella speaks of him, as "a good man, in whose life was no tyranny," and as a promoter of concord and peace.[3]

Stephen VIII. (by some called VII.), a Roman (A.D. 929–931), reigned two years, one month, and twelve days. Of him Platina says: "His life was full of clemency and religion."[4]

John XI., a Roman (A.D. 931–936), reigned four years and ten months. He was the third son of Marozia, by her first husband, Alberic I., Count of Tusculum. There is no doubt that his mother's influence greatly promoted his election. Born in 906, he was twenty-

[1] Vide supra, p. 554.

[2] Muratori "Annales," anno 928.

[3] John Stella is known by his "Lives of the Sovereign Pontiffs," a much esteemed work, published at Basle by Michael Furter, in 1507. It begins with Saint Peter and ends with the commencement of the reign of Julius II.

[4] Bartoloméo de Sacchi, called Platina from his native place, Piadena (in Latin *Platina*), near Cremona, was born in 1421. He was an author of great learning and industry. He wrote the "Lives of the Roman Pontiffs," from Saint Peter to Paul II., inclusive. His continuators were Panvinius, down to Pius IV., and Cicarella, to Clement VIII. The first edition was that of Venice in 1479, Latin, in folio, which was followed by several other editions. The annotations of Panvinius greatly enhance the value of the book. Platina wrote several other works. He died in Rome in 1481.

five years of age when raised to the supreme pontificate. Cotemporary writers give but little information about John's reign. Ratherius the monk, afterwards Bishop of Verona, who was in Rome in 931, alludes to him as a Pontiff of a glorious disposition—*gloriosæ indolis.*[1] However, it is certain that he was deprived of all power in his own states by Marozia and his elder brother Alberic II., and was restricted to the discharge of his spiritual functions. Luitprand's slander about the paternity of John XI. has been already disposed of.

On the death of her second husband Guido, Duke of Tuscany, Marozia contracted a third marriage with Hugo, King of Italy, in 932. One day, she urged her eldest son Alberic II. to pour out water for his Royal stepfather, to wash his hands. Alberic rendered this service awkwardly—perhaps reluctantly, whereupon Hugo struck him a blow. The result was, that the young Count, with the aid of his friends, the young Roman nobles, raised an armed force upon the spot, seized on the Castle of Saint Angelo, drove Hugo out of Rome, detained his mother a prisoner, and held also in honourable captivity his brother the Pope, all whose temporal power he usurped, simply permitting him to act only in ecclesiastical matters, in which latter even, it is said, he sometimes unwarrantably interfered.[2]

Alberic, calling himself Prince and Tribune of the Romans, held the government of Rome more than twenty years. Hugo in vain besieged the city. Subsequently, A.D. 936, he gave his daughter Alda in marriage to Alberic, but even then he was not admitted into Rome. John died a prisoner in 936. The wretched Marozia also died in captivity, having endured the mortification and disgrace of being repudiated by Hugo, on the ground that their marriage was irregular, the

[1] The works of Ratherius were published at Verona, in folio, by Ballerini Brothers, in 1765.

[2] Flodoardus, in his Chronicle, anno 933, writes; "Joannem Papam sub custodia detinuit, matrem quoque suam Maroziam clausam servans, et Romam contra Hugonem Regem tenens."

king being immediately afterwards united to Bertha, widow of Rudolph II., King of Burgundy, A.D. 938.

In succession to John XI., Leo VII., a Roman, was chosen Pope (A.D. 936), and reluctantly entered on his responsible office. He is universally regarded as a zealous, wise, and holy man. In obedience to his wishes, Saint Odo, founder and abbot of Cluny, visited Rome, to reconcile Alberic and King Hugo. Leo governed the Church three years, six months, and ten days (A.D. 936–939).

He was succeeded by Stephen IX. (by some called Stephen VIII.), a Roman, who reigned three years, four months, and five days (A.D. 939–942). Next came Marinus II., a Roman, who reigned three years, six months, and thirteen days (A.D. 943–946); and, after him, Agapetus II., a Roman, who governed ten years and three months (A.D. 946–956). These three Pontiffs were worthy successors of Leo VII. They zealously laboured for the welfare of the Church in Italy and in foreign countries, enforced ecclesiastical discipline, and endeavoured to promote peace and concord among princes. All the temporal power of the Popes in the City, was still wielded by Alberic, who, apart from this usurpation, treated the Pontiffs with all honour and deference, and aided them in the promotion of ecclesiastical discipline. The money which he coined bore the Pope's effigy along with his own; and in public documents the year of the Pontificate was recited.

Alberic died in 954, and was succeeded, in his temporal dominion of Rome, by his son Octavian, a cleric, who, two years later, on the death of Agapetus II., was elected Pope, as pre-arranged by Alberic and his powerful friends and party. Octavian was then only eighteen years of age, according to some; twenty-two, according to others.[1] He was the first Pope who changed his name, on being chosen. Of the clergy who

[1] Jungmann, "Dissertationes," iv. 72, 73.

concurred in his election, it is stated that several were influenced by the hope that it would be advantageous to the Church, that the spiritual power should be conferred on him who already firmly held the temporal dominion; and consequently they overlooked his extreme youth—a sad mistake, as proved by the sequel! Octavian assumed the name of John XII., and reigned seven years and nine months. (A.D. 956–964). Having been canonically elected, he was universally accepted as Pope, notwithstanding the disedification he gave throughout his whole reign. We have already seen how he invited Otho I. to Rome, and crowned him Emperor, and how, shortly afterwards, he leagued against that monarch with Berengarius, King of Italy, thereby entailing defeat and exile on himself.[1] That John XII. was vicious, and in every respect unworthy, cannot be denied, even though his faults appear to have been exaggerated by Luitprand and some other writers of the German party, whose hostility his inconsistent treatment of Otho had provoked. His wicked life however could not affect the Church. He died of apoplexy on the 14th of May 964.

Benedict V., a Roman (A.D. 964, 965), nominally reigned one year, one month, and twelve days. Driven out of Rome by the faction of the antipope, "Leo VIII.," and imprisoned by the Emperor in Hamburg until his death, he gave general edification by his piety and patience.

John XIII., a Roman (A.D. 965–972), suffered imprisonment and exile at the hands of a Roman faction, and was reinstated by the Emperor, on whose son, Otho II., then aged fourteen, he conferred the Imperial crown. He reigned six years, eleven months, and five days, and is described as "a good pope, solicitous for the welfare of the Church."

Benedict VI., a Roman (A.D. 972, 973), reigned one year and three months. He was another victim of

[1] Vide supra, page 223.

the violence of faction, having been imprisoned by Crescentius or Cenci, and by his orders murdered in prison.

Donus II., a Roman (A.D. 973), reigned only three months, and was entombed at Saint Peter's. He is described by John Stella as "a man of great modesty and integrity."

Benedict VII., a Roman (A.D. 975–984), reigned nine years and five months. He was of the family of the Counts of Tusculum. He suffered from the opposition of the antipope "Boniface VII." He is described as "a most worthy pope and a zealous promoter of ecclesiastical discipline."

John XIV., of Pavia (A.D. 984, 985), reigned eight months and ten days. He also suffered much from the opposition of the antipope "Boniface VII.," by whom he was imprisoned in the Castle of Saint Angelo, where he died of hunger.

Boniface VII., a Roman, named Franco (A.D. 985), heretofore antipope, but now acknowledged Pope, reigned only seven months and fifteen days. Some writers question his being a legitimate Pontiff. His name however appears in the calendar of the Popes. He is charged, moreover, with complicity in the murders of Benedict VI. and John XIV., of which charge some modern critics would acquit him.[1] At best, his case is but doubtful.

John XV., a Roman (A.D. 985–996), reigned ten years, four months, and twelve days. In his reign, Crescentius, Patrician and Consul of the Romans, usurped the civil government of Rome; and refused to admit foreign envoys to approach the Pope, unless they paid him, as Patrician, sums of money for his admitting them to an audience. To this circumstance, perhaps, may be attributed Fleury's statement that John XV. was fond of gain. As Jungmann observes, "his actions prove that he was a worthy pope, a learned man, and

[1] Jungmann, "Dissertationes," iv. 89-94.

solicitous for the rights of the Apostolic See and the good of the Church."[1]

Gregory V. (A.D. 996–999) reigned two years and eight months. He was the first German Pope, being Bruno, nephew of the Emperor Otho III., who caused him to be elected at twenty-four years of age. He governed with vigour and upheld the authority of the Roman See. For his history further, the reader is referred to an earlier chapter.[2]

Sylvester II. (A.D. 999–1003) governed the Church four years, one month, and nine days. He was Gerbert, a native of Aquitaine, and was the first French Pope. He is described as "a man of learning, magnanimous, and worthy," and as "shedding lustre on the Church during his brief pontificate, so that, as the tenth century commenced happily with Benedict IV., it no less gloriously closed with the reign of Sylvester II."[3]

Of this series of thirty-one Popes, extending over one hundred and thirteen years, A.D. 891–1003, the darkest period of the history of the Church, there appear to have been only three indisputably liable to grave censure; viz. Stephen VII., John XII., and Boniface VII. Some writers would include Christopher, which would make the number four. To these may be added two of later dates; namely, Benedict IX., a scion of the noble house of Tusculum, who was elected through the influence of his powerful family, when a mere youth,[4] and reigned eleven years, A.D. 1033–1044; and Alexander VI., who reigned eleven years, eleven months, and eight days, A.D. 1492–1503. Benedict IX. appears to have been fully as unworthy as his predecessor and relative, John XII.; and, on the other hand, the alleged misdeeds of Alexander VI., whose name has

[1] Jungmann, "Dissertationes," iv. 101.

[2] Vide supra, page 224.

[3] Jungmann, "Dissertationes," iv. 107. Vide supra, page 225.

[4] At eighteen. Some state, at an earlier age. Pagi, "Pontif. Rom. Gesta," ii. 246. He was Theophylactus, son of the Count of Tusculum, and a lineal descendant of Alberic I. and Marozia.

long been held up as a scandal and a reproach, are now proved, in the progress of modern criticism, to have been in some cases fictions, and in others greatly exaggerated.[1]

On a careful and dispassionate examination of all extant records of this important chapter in the history of the Papacy, it must strike us, as being but natural, that, in the heat of the struggle of parties for the possession of the Papal throne, and in the midst of wars, anarchy, and the factious violence of the Roman nobles, much should have been said and written, in a strain of exaggeration or falsehood, which has been disproved by patient and impartial investigators of modern days.

Again, we can understand how, by continuous repetition, several of these statements have, in the course of time, been established as matters of fact, and accepted

[1] The memory of Alexander VI. has, to a considerable extent, been vindicated by Roscoe in "The Life and Pontificate of Leo X.," by Rohrbacher in his "Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique," and by Capefigue in "L'Eglise pendant les quatre derniers siècles;" and, quite recently, Monseigneur Justin Fevre, well known in the literary world of France, has written a "Biography of Pope Alexander VI. (Roderigo Borgia), who reigned A.D. 1492–1503," a work appearing in *Les Nouvelles Annales de Philosophie Catholique*, a monthly publication, conducted by several literary men in France, under the direction of M. Louis de Savigny, according to whom, this life of Alexander, in which a careful scrutiny is made of all the extant cotemporary records of his reign, is a full and complete vindication of one who has hitherto been held up to public opprobrium in terms of unmeasured abuse. The subject is further treated in the learned and laborious work of A. Leonetti, D.S.P., "Papa Alessandro VI., secondo documenti e carteggi del tempo;" 3 vols. 8vo, Bologna, 1880. M. Leonetti fully states the case, as preferred against that Pontiff, and then proceeds with his vindication—the result, or verdict, being, that he pronounces Alexander VI. to have been "the most wronged of all the successors of Saint Peter." In the commencement of the first volume he gives a detailed list of all the authorities he has consulted, comprising no less than forty-one manuscripts from the collections of the Vatican and of eight other great libraries, and ninety-three published works, several of these being cotemporaneous with the reign of Alexander. Thus, each successive year, it becomes more and more apparent, that, in dealing with such subjects, a careful and laborious scrutiny of this kind is indispensable to investigators really desirous of establishing the truth.

as such even by a great number of fair and impartial people. No inapt illustration thereof is afforded in the credence once given by some educated Protestants to the oft recited, but now almost forgotten, story of Pope Joan.

It is scarcely necessary, in the present day, to dwell upon this long exploded "*fable* of a female Pope," to use the words of Gibbon, "which, as it is *false*, deserves that name."[1] The story was, that a disguised female, Joanna or Joan, was elected Pope, and reigned two years, five months, and four days, as John VIII., in immediate succession to Leo IV. Now, Leo IV. died in 855, and, according to Anastasius the Librarian, who lived at the time, he was immediately succeeded by Benedict III., who governed the Church, A.D. 855–858. Neither Anastasius, in his Lives of the Popes, nor any other writer for two centuries later, makes mention of Joan.[2] "On the writers of the ninth and tenth centuries, the recent event would have flashed with a double force," says Gibbon. "Would Photius have spared such a reproach? could Liutprand have missed such a scandal?"[3] The fiction first appeared in the chronicle of Marianus Scotus, A.D. 1086, and was repeated by Martinus Polonus, A.D. 1278. It is attributed by F. Pagi to the Waldensian heretics. Not to speak of Catholic authors, the fable of Pope Joan is conclusively refuted by a number of learned Protestant writers.[4]

[1] Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," chapter xlix.

[2] "A most palpable forgery is the passage of Pope Joan, which has been foisted into some MSS. and editions of the Roman Anastasius," says Gibbon. Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Among these may be mentioned Aventinus, "Annales Boiorum," lib. iv.; Bayle, "Dictionnaire Historique;" Basnage, "Histoire des Événements de l'Eglise;" Blondel, "Eclaircissement de la Question si une Femme," etc.; Bochart, "Ouvres," Leyden, 1712; Boxhorn, "Historia Universalis," Leipsic, 1675; Courcelles, in his Latin version of Blondel, Amsterdam, 1657; Gesselius Timann, "Historia Sacra et Ecclesiastica," Utrecht, 1661; Leibnitz, "Flores sparsi in tumulum Papissæ," in Bibliothec. Histor., Gottingen, 1758; and Schook, "Fabula Hamelensis," Groningen, 1662.

It is to be noted, however, that, once canonically elected, each of the few unworthy Popes, above referred to, was recognized in his official capacity, as visible head of the Church, and communion with him was preserved unbroken, by all nations. For the voice of truth itself has said: "The Scribes and the Pharisees have sitten on the chair of Moses. All things therefore whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do: but according to their works do ye not. For they say, and do not."[1]

Here we are reminded that the chiefs of religion are not essentially impeccable, any more than their humblest followers; and that the faults they commit prove nothing against the worship of which they are the ministers, or against the doctrine of which they are the depositaries. Yet there are some persons who would condemn the Papacy, because there have been a few Pontiffs whose morals and conduct were not in accordance with their sacred office. But, even though the number of such Pontiffs were much greater, that circumstance could not affect the Church, any more than the presence of Judas Iscariot could have detracted from the holiness and authority of the College of the Apostles.

Some few Popes are blamed for worldliness and ambition; some few for excessive severity, amounting to cruelty; and some for nepotism; nearly all of these being, in other respects, irreprehensible. But, for grave crimes—a stumbling-block and a scandal to Christendom—out of two hundred and sixty-three Pontiffs, from Saint Peter to Leo XIII.,[2] as we have seen, only four, or perhaps five, or possibly six (for two at least are doubtful), can, in common justice, be condemned. But that any such men, no matter how few, should have been intruded into the Apostolic Chair, and that it was possible, at any period, for the factions of the Roman nobles to exercise such control over the election of Pontiffs, is deeply to be deplored.

[1] Matthew xxiii. 2, 3.

[2] I take this total number of Popes from "La Gerarchia Cattolica."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CARDINALS.

"CARDINAL" is derived from the Latin *cardo*, a hinge, implying one on whom an establishment or system depends and turns. The word, in general acceptation, when used as an adjective, means chief, principal, pre-eminent, fundamental. Thus, the ancients spoke of the cardinal virtues—justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude,—these being deemed by them the base or foundation of all the others: and, in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, the chief officers of the Empire were called *cardinal* (that is, *principal*) governors, etc.

About the year of our Lord 100, Pope Evaristus[1] divided the city of Rome into parishes, appointing one priest to each, to minister to the faithful in the small church of the parish.[2] Forty years later, Pope Hyginus[3] considerably increased the number of priests; and hence it gradually came to pass that the chief priest of each church was called the cardinal priest, *presbyter cardinalis*.[4] At the accession of Pope Sylvester, A.D. 314, this designation had, for some time, become general. On any of the cardinal priests being made bishops, in

[1] Saint Evaristus, a Syrian, governed the Church, A.D. 100–109.

[2] Parish, parish church, Latin *Parœcia, parochia*, is by some derived from the Greek, Παρὰ, close by, and *οἶκος*, a house, that is, a number of houses contiguous. Others derive it from Παροχὴ, a salary, or allowance for maintenance.

[3] Saint Hyginus, a Greek, governed the Church, A.D. 139–142.

[4] Even outside Rome this was the case. Thus in ancient records, we read of *prêtres cardinaux* and *curés cardinaux*, in France, in the same sense.

the early ages, they dropped their title of cardinal, as the episcopate was then considered a superior dignity.[1]

In the course of time, the parishes in the city were varied and multiplied by successive Pontiffs, according as the numbers of Christians increased. The church of each parish, presided over by its cardinal priest, was called a title, *titulus*. The titles, or parish churches, were, not unfrequently, erected close by the cemeteries. During the first three centuries, they were necessarily small and unpretending buildings; but, after the accession of Constantine the Great, they were replaced by structures, in style and dimensions, more worthy of the objects for which they were destined.[2]

Besides the parish churches, or titles, there were deaconries, *Diaconiæ*, first established by Saint Fabian, Pope, about the year 240. Before this, the deacons had no fixed place for their ministrations in the city. The deaconries were public hospitals, where the poor, and widows and orphans were relieved and ministered to. Chapels or oratories were attached to them. The deaconries were distributed over the districts or regions of Rome—one to each. Hence the deacons severally serving them were called *regionarii*. As the number

[1] For this reason, in some of the early councils, the cardinal priests subscribed the decrees *after* the bishops.

[2] The first attribution of the term *titulus* to parish churches is ascribed to Pope Evaristus, A.D. 100. There are three explanations given of the term. First, because, in the place or plot on which the church was to be erected, the standard of the Cross, *Vexillum Crucis*, was set up as a sign or title of the object of the intended building. The usage is still observed in the laying the foundation stone of a church, as, the day before the ceremony, a wooden cross is erected on the spot where the altar is to stand. Secondly, the term is said to refer to the name of the saint in whose honour the church is to be built. Thus the Church of Saint Peter is called the Title, or *Titulus* of Saint Peter. Thirdly, it is stated to have reference to the name of the individual, who gave the site and bore the expenses of the building and support of the church. Thus we find the church erected in the house of Pudens sometimes designated the Titulus of Pudens. In this way, an edifice may be described under a twofold Titulus, as in the case of Vestina, who built a church in honour of Saints Gervase and Protase, Martyrs. Bouvry, "Expositio Rubricarum," vol. i. Appendix, ad Tit.

of deacons increased, the chief of each deaconry was called *Diaconus Cardinalis*—the Cardinal, or principal, deacon. Long after the hospitals had ceased to exist, the chapels, in many an instance, survived, and gave titles to members of the Sacred College; such as the Cardinal Deacon of Saints Cosmas and Damian, Saint Adrian, and others.

The dignity and importance of the office of cardinal gradually increased with the growth of the Church. For instance, in a council held in Rome, and presided over by Pope Stephen IV.,[1] A.D. 769, it was decreed, that no person, whether layman or of any other order, should be promoted to the dignity of the sacred Pontificate, unless, ascending by distinct grades, he had been made a cardinal priest or deacon.[2]

This had actually been the usage, without a single exception, from the elevation of Saint Gregory II. to the Papal throne, A.D. 715, to that of Stephen IV. himself, A.D. 768; and it continued down to the election of Marinus I., A.D. 882, inclusive—both periods comprising the reigns of twenty-one Pontiffs. Then, the rule fell into disuse, owing to the anarchy that universally prevailed; and Adrian III. was elected from outside the Sacred College, in the year 884: and from Adrian to Alexander II., A.D. 1061, both inclusive, there reigned forty-eight Pontiffs, of whom only six were cardinals before election. In 1073, Saint Gregory VII. was chosen; and from his reign to that of Urban VI., A.D. 1378, both inclusive, there were forty-six Popes, of whom, on their election, all, save eight, were members of the Sacred College. However, even at this time, the decree of Stephen IV. does not appear to have been considered one of absolute necessity. For, as we shall see further on in this chapter, Pope Gregory X., in his Constitution

[1] Stephen IV., a Sicilian, governed the Church, A.D. 768–772.

[2] See Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 299, 300, A.D. 769; and Anastasius, "De Vitis Pontificum Romanorum," pp. 136, 137, Moguntiæ, 1602.

Ubi periculum, A.D. 1274, enacted, that "not only absent cardinals, but also all men of any order or condition can be created Roman Pontiff."[1]

It is in this same year 769, that we find the first mention of cardinal bishops, when the same Pope Stephen IV. created seven cardinal bishops, and decreed, that they should, each in his weekly turn, celebrate Mass, every Sunday, in the Church of the Saviour (the Lateran), on Saint Peter's altar, and recite the "Gloria in excelsis Deo."[2]

These were the bishops holding the seven suburbicarian sees of Rome, and assisting the Sovereign Pontiff; and they were called *Hebdomadarii*,[3] or weekly bishops, and *Collaterales*, or assistants of the Pope. Those prelates were, the Bishop of Ostia, who was the first, and whose duty it was to consecrate the Apostolic Father, above all others; the Bishop of Saint Rufina, the second; the Bishop of Porto, the third; the Bishop of Albano, the fourth; the Bishop of Tusculum, the

[1] Gregory X. himself was one of those elected from outside the Sacred College.

[2] Anastasius, "De Vitis Pontificum Romanorum," p. 139. "Ut omni Dominico die a septem Episcopis Cardinalibus hebdomadariis, qui in Ecclesia Salvatoris observant, Missarum solemnia super altare beati Petri celebrarentur, et Gloria in excelsis Deo diceretur." Saint Peter's altar in the Lateran Church was exclusively reserved for the Pope and these seven cardinal bishops. "No one," says John the Deacon, "presumes to offer the Holy Sacrifice on this sacred altar, besides the Apostolic Lord and the seven cardinal bishops of the same church, who celebrate Mass in this holy basilica, each in his own week" ("Liber de Ecclesia Lateranensi," cap. 8). Originally the "Gloria in Excelsis Deo" was recited in the Mass by bishops on all Sundays and festivals; but by priests on Easter Sunday only. This rule was confirmed by Saint Gregory the Great, about A.D. 595. The distinction is said to have ceased about the middle of the eleventh century, when priests, as well as bishops, were allowed to recite it, on all days to which it is proper. The opening words, "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace to men of good will," are those recorded by the Evangelist, as uttered by the heavenly host on the morning of the Nativity. The date of the authorship of the remainder is uncertain, but is of a very remote period. This hymn is called the greater, and the "Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost," etc., the lesser, doxology. (From the Greek δόξα, glory or praise, and λέγω, to speak.)

[3] Hebdomadarii—from the Greek, ἑβδομάς, a week.

fifth; the Bishop of Sabina, the sixth; and the Bishop of Prænestе, the seventh.[1]

The residence of cardinals in their bishoprics or parishes was obligatory, by the canon law, from a very early date. In a synod, composed of sixty-seven bishops, convened in the church of Saint Peter, Rome, by Pope Leo IV., A.D. 853, Anastasius, Cardinal Priest of the title of Saint Marcellus, was deposed from all his dignities, and deprived of the priestly honour, on account of five years' non-residence in his parish, and dwelling in a foreign country, in contravention of the canons. Two councils had been assembled, to consider his cause, and, cited to these by the Apostolic letters, borne by three bishops deputed for the purpose, he had failed to attend.[2] Here we may infer, how great was the dignity of cardinals in those days, when three bishops were sent, to serve a citation on Anastasius; and further we see, that the law of residence was then stringently enforced on the members of the Sacred College.[3] Cardinals having dioceses to govern generally reside in their dioceses, of course frequently going to Rome, to pay their homage to the Holy Father, and to take part in the business of the sacred congregations of which they may be members. Should it be necessary, however, or desirable, that they should reside in Rome, they are authorized to do so by decrees of councils, for valid reasons, dispensing with the residence of cardinals in their bishoprics. Thus they are enabled to fill certain important offices in the Roman Court. In such cases, their dioceses are administered by coadjutor bishops, auxiliary bishops, or vicars general. Cardinals who have not bishoprics are bound to reside at the Papal court, unless in very rare cases, when a special dispensation is granted.

[1] At present there are only six cardinal bishops, instead of seven, as formerly—the See of Santa Rufina having been united to that of Porto.

[2] Anastasius, "De Vitis Pontificum Romanorum," p. 286.

[3] Pagi, "Pontificum Romanorum Gesta," ii. 54.

In the year 882, Pope John VIII.[1] drew up a Constitution, respecting the law, or regulation, of cardinals, in which he commands them to meet, twice a month or more frequently, at any title (parish church), or deaconry, or any church whatever, to consider the lives, manners, qualities, and style of dress, of their own order, and of the inferior clergy, and likewise the bearing of superiors towards their subjects, and the obedience of subjects to their superiors; to cut off all things unlawful and to remedy all matters complained of by the clergy and laity, as far as appertains to the Papal jurisdiction. In this document the Holy Father likens the cardinals to the seventy ancients in Holy Writ, and himself to Moses.[2] He recommends to their care the monasteries deprived of abbots, and the filling up of vacancies, and the making changes, therein; with the proviso, that he shall be first consulted. Further, in order that they may take care of the churches, and the discipline of the clergy thereof, and see to the remedying the grievances of the laity, he commands them to attend, twice a week, at the sacred palace (the Lateran), conformably with the decrees of his predecessor Leo IV. Finally, he sanctions their enjoying perpetual benefices in his parishes, as far as is convenient to the Pontiff, and their officiating daily, in turn, in the principal churches, near the primatial church of their consecration, and their participating equally in the offerings of those churches, both for their own use, and for the lighting of their respective churches, saving always the ancient custom of the cardinal deacons.[3]

[1] Pope John VIII., a Roman, governed the Church, A.D. 872–882.

[2] "Quippe cum sicut nostram mansuetudinem Moysi, ita et vestram fraternitatem septuaginta seniorum, qui sub eodem causarum negotia dijudicabant, vicissitudinem gerere, certum habeamus." See Exodus xviii. 13–23, and Numbers xi. 16, 17.

[3] "Liber canonum inscriptus Constitutio Joannis Papæ VIII., de Cardinalibus, in Bibliotheca Vaticana." Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," x. 565. Pagi, "Pontificum Romanorum Gesta," ii. 124.

The following interesting account of the Sacred College under Pope Stephen X., in the year 1057, when Saint Peter Damian had been recently appointed Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, is taken from an ancient manuscript, "On the Sacred Rites," in the Vatican Library:[1]—

There are in the Roman Church (at Rome) five Patriarchal churches.[2] The first is the Lateran, also called the Church of Constantine, and the Basilica of the Saviour. It has seven cardinal bishops, who are called *Collaterales*, and also *Hebdomadarii*; because, each week, in turn they officiate in the place of the Pope. These cardinal bishops are the bishops of Ostia, Porto, Saint Rufina or Silva Candida, Albano, Sabina, Tusculum, and Prænestе.

Another Patriarchal church is that of Saint Mary Major, to which are attached seven cardinal priests—those of Saints Philip and James the Apostles, Saint Cyriacus in Thermis, Saint Eusebius, Saint Pudentiana, Saint Vitalis, Saints Peter and Marcellinus, and Saint Clement.

Another Patriarchal church is that of Saint Peter, in which are seven cardinal priests—those of Saint Mary beyond the Tiber, Saint Chrysogonus, Saint Cecilia, Saint Anastasia, Saint Laurence in Damaso, Saint Mark, and Saints Martin and Sylvester.

Another Patriarchal church is the basilica of Saint Paul, in which are the Cardinals of Saint Sabina, Saint Prisca, Saint Balbina, Saints Nereus and Achilleus, Saint Sixtus, Saint Marcellus, and Saint Susanna.

The fifth Patriarchal church is Saint Laurence outside the walls, in which are the Cardinals of Saint Praxedes, Saint Peter ad Vincula, Saint Laurence in Lucina, Saints John and Paul, Saints the Four Martyrs (Quatuor coronatorum), Saint Stephen in Monte Cœlio, and Saint Quiritius.

The prefects of these Patriarchal churches are: of the Lateran, the first collateral bishop; of Saint Mary Major's, the cardinal archpriest; of Saint Peter's, the cardinal archpriest; of the church of Saint Paul, the cardinal abbot; and of the Church of Saint Laurence, the cardinal abbot.

Besides the Titles (parish churches) there are the Deaconries, presided over by the cardinal deacons, of whom there are twelve

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[1] Apud Baronium, "Annales Ecclesiastici," xi. 238.

[2] These five churches are called Patriarchal, in honour of the five great Patriarchal sees—Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

called *Regionarii*[1] and six *Palatini*.[2] These Deaconries are, Saint Mary in Dominica, over which presides the archdeacon, Saint Lucia ad Septem Solia, Saint Mary Nova, Saints Cosmas and Damian, Saint Adrian, Saints Sergius and Bacchus, Saint Theodore, Saint George, Saint Mary in Schola Græca, Saint Mary in Porticu, Saint Nicholas in Carcere, Saint Angelus in Foro Piscario, Saint Eustachius, Saint Mary in Aquiro, Saint Mary in Via Lata, Saint Agatha in Equo Marmoreo, Saint Lucy in capite Suburræ, and Saint Vitus in Macello. It is the duty of the Regionarii to sing the Gospel at the stations;[3] and of the Palatini to sing it in the Lateran Church.

Here we see that at this period, A.D. 1058, the Sacred College comprised fifty-three members, viz. seven cardinal bishops, twenty-eight cardinal priests, and eighteen cardinal deacons.

There is a list of the cardinals and their titles, in the reign of John XXII., A.D. 1316–1324, in which are enumerated seven bishops, thirty-one priests, and nineteen deacons, making the total number fifty-seven.[4]

The numbers of each order have, from time to time,

[1] *Regionarii*—so called, as above stated, from the several districts or regions, into which Rome was divided for Ecclesiastical purposes. From the fifth century, we find mention, in Ecclesiastical history, of regionary deacons, each of whom had charge of the poor, widows, and orphans, and of the distribution of alms, in his own district.

[2] *Palatini*—so called from the Latin, *palatium*, a palace, as these cardinal deacons were attached to the Lateran, which was the palatial church, or principal basilica of the Pope.

[3] Stations. From the early ages, the Pope, at the head of his clergy, in procession, used to go round to the several basilicas, in turn, and there recite the office, celebrate Mass, and preach; and the days for this particular celebration, in the several churches, were marked "Stations," in the Roman Missal. These stations, that is, solemn processions and devotions, in the several churches, so called, are mentioned by the author of the Acts of Pope Saint Damasus, A.D. 366–384, and by Anastasius, in his Life of Saint Hilary, Pope, A.D. 461–468. At the close of the celebration, the archdeacon used to announce where the station would be held on the following day. The stations in Rome are said to have been fixed in the several districts by Saint Gregory the Great. At the Mass, celebrated by the Pope at the Stations, the Gospel was recited or sung by the regionary deacons. Vide Panvinium, Interpretatio, etc., p. 73, apud Platinam "De Vitis Pontificum Romanorum."

[4] Pagi, "Pontificum Romanorum Gesta," iv. 290.

been varied by the decrees of Popes and councils. They were made, six bishops, fifty priests, and fourteen deacons, or a total of seventy, by Sixtus V., A.D. 1586; the same as they stand at the present day.

We have seen, that, in the year 1059, Pope Nicholas II. placed the election of Pope mainly in the hands of the cardinals, decreeing, that, on the death of a Pontiff, the cardinal bishops should, first, most diligently together consider the election of a successor; that afterwards they should call into their councils the cardinal priests and deacons; that in this way the election should obtain the assent of the rest of the clergy and the people; and that the consecration should take place in the presence of the Imperial envoys.[1]

This law or constitution of Nicholas II. was carried out, in its integrity, in the elections of eleven out of fifteen Pontiffs, in succession, from his reign down to that of Alexander III., inclusive, covering a space of one hundred and twenty years. In the four exceptional instances, the Cardinals elected the Pope, as in the others; but it does not appear that the popular assent was obtained. In each instance, the omission was the result of the troubles of the times. The immediate successor of Nicholas, Pope Alexander II. was, in consequence of popular tumults, elected hurriedly by the cardinals, on the suggestion of the Archdeacon Hildebrand, who succeeded him as Gregory VII. But even here the Roman nobility were consulted.[2] Hildebrand himself, as set forth in the decree of his election, was chosen by the Sacred College, "with the assent and acclamation of immense crowds of both sexes and of every rank."[3] Next, came Victor III., "elected by

[1] Vide supra, p. 542.

[2] A.D. 1061. "Hildebrandus Archidiaconus, habito consilio cum Cardinalibus nobilibusque Romanis, ne dissensio increscerat," etc. (Leo Ostiensis, "Historia," lib. iii. cap. 20).

[3] A.D. 1073. "Consentientibus plurimis turbis utriusque sexus diversique ordinis acclamantibus" ("Electionis S. Gregorii Papæ VII. decretum").

the cardinals, clergy, and people."[1] Urban II. was chosen at Terracina, "in accordance with the wishes of the clergy and people of Rome."[2] Paschal II. was elected by "the Fathers (*i.e.* the cardinals), the clergy, and the people of the city."[3] So also was Gelasius II.[4] Callixtus II., in his letter to Adalbert, Archbishop of Mentz, speaks of the general body of the clergy, and the laity of the Romans, as having taken part in his election.[5] Honorius II. was chosen by the cardinals, "with the consent of all the Roman clergy."[6] Innocent II., owing to the schism caused by the antipope Peter Leonis, or Anacletus, was elected by the cardinals alone.[7] In the choice of Celestine II., the acclamations of the Roman clergy and people were united with the unanimous vote of the cardinals;[8] whilst in the elevation of Lucius II.,[9] Eugenius III.,[10] and Anastasius IV.,[11] the wishes of the Roman people appear not to have been consulted, in the pressing necessity of a speedy election. In the election of Adrian IV.,[12] and

[1] A.D. 1086. "Episcopi Cardinales una cum clero et populo" (Baronius, "Annales Ecclesiastici," ix. 579).

[2] A.D. 1088. Baronius, "Annales," ix. 590.

[3] A.D. 1099. "Ecce te in Pastorem sibi elegit dari populus Urbis, te elegit Clerus, te collaudant Patres denique" (Pandulphus Pisanus, "Vita Paschalis PP. II.").

[4] A.D. 1118. "Omnium Cardinalium consensu, Cleri et populi voce ac votis expetitus" (Pandulphus Pisanus, in Vita).

[5] A.D. 1119. "Episcopi, Cardinales, et Clerici et laici Romanorum invitum me penitusque renitentem in Romanæ Ecclesiæ Pontificem Callistum unanimiter assumpserunt" ("Epistola Callisti Papæ II. ad Adalbertum Archiepiscopum Moguntinum").

[6] A.D. 1124. "Consensu omnium clericorum Romanorum." Ceccanus in Chronico.

[7] A.D. 1130. Pagi, "Pontificum Romanorum Gesta," ii. 493; and Baronius, in loco.

[8] A.D. 1143. "Clero et populo Romano acclamante partim et expetente." "Cælestini Papæ II. Epistola ad Cluniascenses." "Omnium consensu creatur," Platina, 199.

[9] A.D. 1144. Pagi, iii. 3; and Baronius, in loco.

[10] A.D. 1145. Ibid., iii. 7; Ibid.

[11] A.D. 1153. Ibid., iii. 28; "Convenientibus Patribus, summa concordia elegerunt," etc. Otto Frisingensis.

[12] Adrian IV., an Englishman, was elected, A.D. 1154, by the cardinals

that of Alexander III.,[1] the assent and acclamations of the Roman clergy and people were joined to the suffrages of the Sacred College. But the events which signalized the accession of the latter of these two Pontiffs rendered absolutely necessary a complete change in the manner of Papal elections. Alexander III. was chosen Pope by twenty-three cardinals, on the 5th of September, 1159. On the same day, five dissentient cardinals[2] elected Octavian of Monticello, Cardinal Priest of the title of Saint Cecilia, who, as antipope, took the name of "Victor IV." On Octavian's death, in 1164, the schism was continued by Guido, Cardinal Priest of the title of Saint Eustachius, who called himself "Pascal III."; by John, Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum, A.D. 1169, as "Callixtus III."; and by Lando, A.D. 1177, as "Innocent III." After a few months, Lando was compelled to retire; and thus the schism ceased, after an existence of nineteen years.

Painfully impressed by the grave scandals and detriment to the Church arising from such a state of affairs, Alexander III. wisely decided to alter the rule requiring an *unanimous* vote of the cardinals, in electing the Supreme Pontiff. Accordingly, in the year 1179, in the Eleventh General Council, the third Lateran, he decreed, that, in case the cardinals were not unanimous, the person obtaining the votes of at least *two-thirds* of the members of the Sacred College present, should be considered the Roman Pontiff. This Constitution of

—"the clergy and laity alike hailing him by acclamation" (Ancient MS. in Vatican Library). For his biography, vide supra, p. 255, note.

[1] The biography of Alexander III., elected in 1159, will be found in another chapter. Vide supra, p. 256, note. According to Baronius, "Annales," xii. 421, his election was made with the popular assent—"assentiente clero et populo Romano." In the course of his long pontificate, he created thirty-four cardinals; viz. nine cardinal bishops, sixteen priests, and nine deacons.

[2] Onuphrius Panvinius says that the dissentients, electing Octavian, the antipope, were five in number. Their names are given by Baronius, "Annales," xii. 425. On the other hand, Pagi (iii. 41), asserts, that they were only two, namely, John, Cardinal Priest of Saint Martin, and Guido, Cardinal Priest of Saint Callixtus.

Alexander III., *Licet de evitanda*, has ever since been adopted, as embodying one of the leading principles of Papal elections.

A necessary consequence of this law was, that all cardinals should have an equal right of voting, thus setting aside the priority given to cardinal bishops over cardinal priests and deacons, by the decree of Nicholas II.[1]

It was further enacted, on the occasion, that elections to the Pontificate should thenceforward be made by the cardinals alone; the assent of the body of the clergy and people of Rome being altogether dispensed with.[2] This rule, as we have seen, was carried out in the election of Alexander's successor, Lucius III.

The first Conclave, or strict enclosure of cardinals, for the election of a Pope, is said by some writers to have been on the occasion of the election of Honorius III., A.D. 1216;[3] but this is positively contradicted by the learned and accurate critic, Panvinius,[4] in his annotations on Platina's Life of Gregory X.; and his account of the first institution of the Conclave, as follows, is that which is generally accepted:[5]—

[1] The distinction was observed, up to this time, as may be seen in the accounts of several Papal elections, in which the cardinal bishops are spoken of, separately and first; e.g. *Episcopi et Cardinales*, i.e. "the cardinal bishops, and the cardinal priests and deacons." Sometimes the cardinal bishops alone are spoken of, as in the election of Victor III., above alluded to; *Episcopi Cardinales una cum clero et populo*. This we may well understand, as, under the Constitution of Pope Nicholas II., the election was invariably initiated by the cardinal bishops alone, and, doubtless, in most instances, their choice was concurred in by the cardinal priests and deacons, whom they called into their councils.

[2] Panvinius, "Annotat. in Vit. Alexandri PP. III.," apud Platinam, p. 206.

[3] Ciaconius, in Honorio III.

[4] Onufrio Panvini, a learned historian, antiquary, and critic, was born at Verona, in 1529. He became an Augustinian hermit, it is said, in order to have abundant leisure for his studies. In 1555, Pope Marcellus II. gave him an appointment in the Vatican Library. His works are numerous, and display much learning and research. He died in 1568, at the early age of thirty-nine.

[5] Panvinius, apud Platinam, "De Vitis Pontificum Romanorum," p. 233.

Pope Clement IV. having died at Viterbo, on the 20th of November, 1268, the Holy See remained vacant for nearly three years, owing to the dissensions of the cardinals, about electing his successor.[1] After the obsequies of the deceased Pontiff, they assembled at Viterbo, seventeen in number, and, although they held frequent meetings, they were unable to arrive at any definite result. At that time the cardinals were not, as was soon afterwards the custom, shut up in conclave, but, early in the morning of each day, they met to treat of the election of a Pope, if at Rome, in the Lateran or the basilica of Saint Peter, or elsewhere, as occasion offered; or, if not at Rome, in the cathedral church of that city, in which they then sojourned; as in the present instance at Viterbo.[2]

Meanwhile Philip, King of France, and Charles, King of Sicily, visited the Roman court at Viterbo, and urged the Sacred College, in the interests of Christendom, to make "a speedy and mature election of a Pontiff." However, those monarchs effected nothing by their intervention, and had to return to their respective homes, leaving matters in the same unfinished state. At length, on the suggestion of Saint Bonaventure,[3] the cardinals agreed to leave the election, by way of compromise, to six of their own number;

[1] The vacancy lasted from the 29th of November, 1268, to the 1st of September, 1271.

[2] Panvinius, apud Platinam, p. 233. This statement of Panvinius, made about the year 1560, is questioned by Pagi and other writers, on the authority of Augustinus Oldoinus, who, in a supplement to Ciaconius, says, that, on the death of Clement IV., A.D. 1268, the cardinals were shut up in conclave by Raynerius Gatto, acting for the Prefect of Viterbo, and Albertus de Montebono, magistrate of that city; and that the cardinals issued a "diploma" from the conclave, calling on those two persons to allow Henry, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, who was very ill, to leave the conclave, which request was complied with. The date of the diploma is given as "the 13th June, 1270, the Apostolic See being vacant."

[3] Saint Bonaventure was then General of the Franciscan order. Shortly afterwards, he was nominated Cardinal Bishop of Albano, by Gregory X.

and these fixed their choice on Theobald, Archdeacon of Liege, of the family of the Visconti of Piacenza, a holy religious man, outside the Sacred College. This election took place on the 1st of September, 1271. At the time, Theobald was at Ptolemais in Syria, on his way to Jerusalem, with the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward I., then engaged in the Crusade. Immediately on receiving the decree of his election, from the legates of the Sacred College, the new Pope returned to Italy, travelling by Brindisi to Viterbo, and thence to Rome, where he was consecrated on the 27th of March, 1272, and entered on his pontificate, assuming the name of Gregory X.[1]

All these proceedings impressed Gregory with the necessity of preventing the recurrence of such delays and discord in Papal elections; and, accordingly, at the Fourteenth General Council, the second of Lyons, which assembled, on his summons, in May, 1274, he enacted his celebrated code of laws, contained in his constitution *Ubi periculum*, to be observed thenceforward, in all meetings for the election of a Supreme Pontiff. As given by Panvinius, they contain the few additions or variations, not very material, made by Boniface VIII. and Clement V. They run as follows:[2]—

I. That the meetings for the election of a new Pontiff be held in a fit place, in which the preceding Pontiff, residing with his court, and holding audience of causes and of Apostolic letters,[3]

[1] Gregory X. governed the Church, A.D. 1272–1276. He presided, in person, at the Fourteenth General Council.

[2] I have seen these laws of Gregory X. given in a varied form, but practically to the same effect, by a modern writer. But I adopt, in preference to any other, the version of Panvinius, which, he tells us, he has taken from the Decretals, *Sextus* of Boniface VIII., and *Clementinæ* of Clement V., with the confirmation of, and some additions by, those Pontiffs. Vide Panvinium, apud Platinam, "De Vitis Pontificum Romanorum," p. 233–235.

[3] We have seen what large jurisdiction, in civil as well as Ecclesiastical causes, was granted to Bishops, by Constantine the Great, supra, p. 162. This was the origin of the Bishop's court, *audientia episcopalis*. The Papal court above referred to, *causarum et literarum Apostolicarum*

died. But if he should have died in a country house, village, or town, and consequently the meetings cannot be conveniently held there, then that they be held in the city, within the diocese of which the said country house, or village, or town, is situated, unless the said city be interdicted. In which case, the election ought to be made in the nearest city, not interdicted. But if the audience was in another place, then let the election of the future Pontiff be held, not where the Pope died, but where the audience was.

II. That, on the death of the Pontiff, the meetings be not held, unless after an interval of at least ten days, during which time the absent cardinals should be waited for, and the nine-days' obsequies of the deceased Pontiff performed by the cardinals present.

III. That all cardinals, for any reason whatever, absent from the conclave, can have no right of voting.

IV. That not only absent cardinals, but also all men of any order and condition, can be created Roman Pontiff.[1]

V. That, the nine days' obsequies being finished, and the Mass of the Holy Ghost on the tenth day being celebrated, all the cardinals who are present (whether those absent arrive, or not) be shut up, in the palace in which dwelt the deceased Pontiff, in a safe place, enclosed on every side, and guarded in the best manner, which is called the Conclave, with only two, or, as is the custom now, three or four servants, who will minister to them in all things necessary, in the place where the meetings are held. Nor may it be lawful for any one to enter or go out of the place, unless on account of infirmity, save these and certain other men whose aid is very necessary to those who are in conclave. And the place of conclave may have no dividing wall, but all the cardinals shall inhabit it in common, in their cells, divided by woollen cloths.

VI. That the place and gates of the conclave be most diligently guarded; if the election be held at Rome, first, by the prætorians, then by the Roman nobles and the ambassadors of princes, previously bound by oath, and finally in the nearer doorway of the conclave by the bishops and the conservators of the city; but if these meetings be held outside the city, then by the temporal lords of the place, bound by the same oath of fidelity. The duty

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audientia, was of the same nature, but of a far more important and wider scope, as it embraced all Christendom. The business thereof, in Ecclesiastical affairs, is transacted by certain congregations of cardinals, at the present day, as we shall see further on, in this chapter.

[1] The election of Urban VI., A.D. 1378, is the last instance of a person from outside the Sacred College being chosen Pope. Since then, no one but a Cardinal has been elected to the Papal throne.

of these is, to guard the conclave, and diligently to take care, that nothing be taken into, or sent out from, the conclave, which might interfere with legitimate voting; and to examine each article brought in to them, either for food, or for any other purpose; and to provide that no detriment be suffered by the cardinals; and to attend to all their wishes, and to urge them to an early choice, should they delay the election of a Pontiff. And it is the duty of the prætorian soldiers and the Roman nobles to preserve the conclave safe from all intrusion.

VII. That the cardinals cannot come out of the conclave for any reason, without having created a Roman Pontiff. But should they come out, the affair being incomplete, they ought to be compelled to enter again, by those who preside over the custody of the conclave.

VIII. That to cardinals coming, after the entry of the conclave and before the election of Pope, there be power to enter the conclave and vote with the others; and no cardinal, on any occasion or pretext, even though he should be bound by the chain of excommunication, can be prevented from taking part in the election.

IX. That after three days' entrance into the conclave, unless the Pontiff is declared, the Roman nobles and those who preside over the custody of the conclave, shall have strict care of the meals and food brought in to the cardinals, and will allow only one dish to be taken in.[1]

X. That, in holding the meetings, it shall, under pain of anathema, be unlawful for any one, either to bribe, or to promise anything, or to solicit, or to secure to himself, by canvassing, the favour of the cardinals in the new election. And, during the time, the cardinals shall have no right nor power of attending to any other business—to the end that the election be expedited.

XI. That no one can be declared Roman Pontiff, unless he receive the entire votes of two-thirds of the cardinals present in the conclave.

XII. That on the death of the Roman Pontiff, all the Ecclesiastical magistrates cease to hold their offices, and to receive their remuneration, excepting the greater Penitentiary, and the minors, and the Camerlengo (*Camerarius*) of the Holy Roman Church, whose functions continue, even though the Pope be dead.

These laws for the election of a Supreme Pontiff, published by Gregory X., in the Fourteenth General Council, A.D. 1274, were suspended by Adrian V.,

[1] Such stringent rules as this were mitigated by Clement VI., who reigned A.D. 1342–1352, Pius IV., 1559–1565, and Gregory XV., 1621–1623.

immediately on his election, in 1276. This, he is said to have done with a view to their modification;[1] but, as he died in one month and nine days after he had been chosen, and was never consecrated, the act was considered invalid. However, it was duly ratified by his successor, John XXI., who appears to have concurred in his views. This suspension of the law of conclave, seemingly suggested by attempts on the part of the people of Viterbo to coerce the cardinals, now greatly reduced in number, continued for the space of sixteen years, A.D. 1276–1292; during which time six Pontiffs were elected by the cardinals, without enclosure of conclave. These were, John XXI., who reigned A.D. 1276, 1277; Nicholas III., 1277–1280; Martin IV., 1281–1285; Honorius IV., 1285–1287; Nicholas IV., 1288–1292; and Saint Celestine V., 1292, 1293. On his accession, in 1292, Saint Celestine V. restored the law of conclave, which has continued in force ever since. He also increased the number of cardinals by twelve, promoting seven French, and five Italian, ecclesiastics to the purple. The Constitution of Gregory X. was further confirmed by Boniface VIII., in his book of Decretals, entitled "Sextus,"[2] A.D. 1298, and by Clement V., in the Fifteenth General Council, held at Vienne, in 1311, as set forth in the Constitutions of that Pope, entitled "Clementinæ."[3]

All previous enactments, however, including the fundamental Constitutions of Alexander III., and Gregory X., are comprised in the Bull, *Æterni patris*, of Pope Gregory XV., dated November 15, 1621. This important Bull was the result of the labours of a

[1] Jordanus, a cotemporary writer, in MS. in the Vatican Library, apud Raynaldum, num. 26. "Hic statim post suam creationem Constitutionem Gregorii de restrictione Cardinalium in electione Papæ suspendit, intendens eam aliter ordinare, sed morte præventus non potuit, nec Sacerdos ordinatus est."

[2] "Liber Sextus Decretalium Bonifacii Papæ VIII.," lib. i. cap. 6, tit. 3. For "Decretals," see Index.

[3] "Clementinæ," lib. i. tit. 3.

commission of cardinals and canonists, appointed by His Holiness, to consider the entire subject.[1] The following year, he published his Ceremonial, *Decet Romanum Pontificem*, arranging all the details of the conclave.[2] These were confirmed, and, in some few particulars, slightly modified or supplemented, by the Bull of Urban VIII., *Ad Romani Pontificis*, dated 28th of January, 1626,[3] and by the Constitution of Clement XII., *Apostolatus officium*, dated 5th of October, 1732;[4] and they constitute the law of Papal Elections, as it now stands. It is unnecessary here to recite their provisions, as the greater part of these have already been given in extracts from the Constitutions of preceding Pontiffs; and as, moreover, their substance will be found, and several of their clauses will be referred to, in the next chapter, giving an account of a conclave, and of the election of a Pope, in modern times.

We have next to consider, in detail, the creation, office, duties, privileges, and dignity of Cardinals, at the present day.

The College of Cardinals comprises seventy members; viz. six of the order of bishops, fifty of the order of priests, and fourteen of the order of deacons.[5] The first order, necessarily, is always kept filled up. It is composed of the bishops of the six suburbicarian sees

[1] Cocquelines, "Bullarum Privilegiorum ac Diplomatum Romanorum Pontificum amplissima Collectio," tom. v. p. 316, et seq. Roma, 1739, et seq.

[2] Cocquelines, "Cæremoniale in Electione Summi Romani Pontificis observandum."

[3] Ibid., tom. v. p. 397. Urbani PP. VIII. Confirmatio et approbatio Constitutionis Gregorii XV. de electione Romani Pontificis et Cæremonialis continentis illius ritus.

[4] Ibid., tom. xiii. p. 302. Clement XII. here names his predecessors who published Constitutions on the subject; especially Symmachus, A.D. 500, "Contra ambientes Pontificatum," Nicholas II., Alexander III., Gregory X., Clement V., Clement VI., Julius II., Paul IV., Pius IV., Gregory XV., and Urban VIII.

[5] Although the number of cardinals is restricted to seventy, the actual number of the hierarchical titles of the Sacred College is seventy-four; viz. bishops six, priests fifty-two, and deacons sixteen.

of Rome. They are the vicars of the Pope. Other bishops or archbishops, promoted to the purple, are cardinal priests; and in this order there are also several who have not attained episcopal rank. The third order —that of deacons—is altogether composed of ecclesiastics below the rank of bishops.[1] In these two orders, there are always a few hats left vacant, for occasions of promotion that may arise.

Of the cardinal bishops, the first is the Bishop of Ostia and Velletri.[2] He is the Dean of the Sacred College. From the early ages, the Pope has always been consecrated by the Bishop of Ostia, assisted by the Bishops of Porto and Albano; and, should the Bishop of Ostia himself be the person chosen Pope, or should he, through illness or any other unavoidable cause, be absent, or should the See of Ostia be vacant, then the Archpriest of Ostia assists the other bishops in the consecration.[3]

The next of the cardinal bishops is the Bishop of Porto and Santa Rufina,[4] who is Sub-Dean of the Sacred College and Vice Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church. The third is the Bishop of Albano; the fourth, the Bishop of Palestrina (anciently Prænestе); the fifth, the Bishop of Frascati (anciently Tusculum); and the sixth, the Bishop of Sabina.

The cardinal priests take their titles from the titular churches of Rome. Each is superior of his own titular church, with jurisdiction and the right of a throne therein. Similar privileges are enjoyed by cardinal deacons, who take their titles from churches which were formerly deaconries.

[1] The late Cardinal Antonelli, so long Secretary of State to Pius IX., was not even a priest, having received only deacon's orders.

[2] The See of Velletri was united to that of Ostia, by Pope Eugenius III., in 1150.

[3] A case in point is that of Ubaldo, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia and Velletri, consecrated Pope, as Lucius III., A.D. 1181, by the Cardinal Bishop of Porto, the Archpriest of Ostia, among others, assisting.

[4] Formerly two separate sees.

The cardinals are the council and senate of the Pope; as they have been for many centuries. Just one thousand years ago, Pope John VIII.[1] published a Constitution, in which he laid down a course of duties for his cardinals, authorizing them to represent him, and, in certain matters which he sets forth, to act in his behalf —all subject to his confirmation, "inasmuch as," he says, "that we may be assured that as our clemency bears the part of Moses, so may your fraternity bear that of the seventy elders who adjudicated on causes under him."[2]

As it was in the reign of this Pontiff of ten centuries ago, so is it in our day. What an august council assembles around the Holy Father—learned, pious, venerable men, far advanced in the vale of years, without family ties or worldly aspirations,—as it were, standing apart from all others, raised above their fellow-men,—educated by a severe discipline, from their earliest youth, in the traditions of the Apostles, the doctrines and maxims of the Gospel of Christ,—and chosen by the Supreme Pontiff for their transcendent talents, virtues, and holiness! What earthly monarch is surrounded by such a court? To form a just estimate of the composition of the Sacred College, we have only to regard the lives, gifts, and characters, of two of those princes of the Church now residing amongst us—men of whom British subjects of every creed may well be proud. And it is indeed a striking advantage possessed by the Catholic Church and her Chief Pastor, that when, within her pale, in any part of the world, a Manning or a Newman should be raised up by God, to shed the light of learning and holiness around him, far and near, he may be summoned by the Holy Father to his side, to become his trusty councillor and assistant, with a seat in the most majestic and most venerable senate the world has ever known.

[1] John VIII. governed the Church, A.D. 872–882.
[2] Vide supra, p. 573.

Pope Sixtus V.,[1] in his Constitution *Postquam varias* declares, that "the cardinals of the most holy Roman Church, representing the persons of the holy Apostles, while they ministered to Christ our Saviour, when He preached the Kingdom of God, and wrought the mystery of human salvation, stand forth, the councillors and coadjutors of the Roman Pontiff, in the fulfilment of the Sacerdotal Office, and the government of the Catholic Church over which he presides;" and Saint Bernard, in his celebrated address to Eugenius III., says, "Let us come now to thy collaterals and coadjutors (the cardinals). These are to thee assiduously devoted—thy intimates. It is thine, after the example of Moses, to call and summon to thyself, from every side, elders, not youths; but elders not so much in age as in moral qualities, whom thou hast known, because they are the elders of the people. Are not those who are to judge the world to be chosen from the whole world?"[2]

It is indeed a mistake, to suppose that the life of a cardinal is a life of dignified leisure—that, once he is promoted to the purple, he has little else to do than to enjoy his *otium cum dignitate*. To know that the contrary is the case, one has only to bear in mind that the Holy See is charged with "the solicitude of all the Churches"—the supreme spiritual direction of Catholic Christians in all parts of the globe. Superficial observers, before the late revolution, were but too apt to regard the Papal court, as chiefly occupied with administering the temporal affairs of a third or fourth-rate power; the maintaining the state and ceremonial that surround the Sovereign Pontiff; the giving audiences to bishops, and other distinguished persons coming from foreign countries; the appointing bishops to vacant sees; and the carrying out the grand religious functions, on certain great festivals. Now that the

[1] Sixtus V. governed the Church, A.D. 1585–1590.
[2] "De Consideratione," lib. iv. cap. 4. Written A.D. 1145.

Holy Father has been despoiled of the last shred of his temporal dominions, they conceive, that the ceremonial, audiences, and appointment of bishops, alone remain. Perhaps the best mode of dissipating such erroneous ideas may be, to enumerate the several Sacred Congregations of the Roman Curia, which are composed of cardinals, and of which the labours, in most instances, are not confined to Rome, but embrace the whole Catholic world.

These are:—

THE ROMAN AND UNIVERSAL INQUISITION, or HOLY OFFICE: for the examination and repression of heretical doctrines, for matrimonial causes, and for other important matters—*Prefect*, His Holiness the Pope. This congregation comprises twelve cardinals, including the *Secretary;* and it has a number of archbishops, bishops, monsignori, and members of religious orders, as Consultors; and several officials.[1]

[1] The Inquisition. In the year 1204, Pope Innocent III. established the tribunal of the Inquisition, to seek out and examine heretics, and, if they continued obstinate in their errors, to hand them over for punishment to the civil power. This measure was mainly intended to meet and repress the excesses of the Albigenses, so called from the town of Albi in Languedoc, in which town and province they existed in great numbers, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Their doctrines were levelled against religion and social order. They taught, that marriage was a crime, that all external Catholic worship was an abuse which should be destroyed, and that the pastors of the Church were ravening wolves which should be exterminated. Their acts, the result of these principles, as described by Peter the Venerable, in his letter to the Bishops of Embrun, Die, and Gap, in 1147, comprised the profanation of churches, the overturning of altars, the scourging of priests, and other similar outrages. These were evils which required to be dealt with by strong measures. The Albigenses were condemned by the Council of Albi in 1176, and by other provincial councils; and they were excommunicated by Pope Alexander III., in the Eleventh General Council, the third Lateran, in 1179. The Inquisition was confided to the Dominican Order by Pope Gregory IX., in 1233: and, about twelve years later, Innocent IV. extended it to all Italy, except the Kingdom of Naples. In 1255, it was established in France, with the consent of Saint Louis, by Alexander IV. Spain was altogether subjected to it, in 1484, under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella; and Portugal adopted it, under King John III., in 1537, according to the form received from Spain. When the Spaniards made a settle-

CONSISTORIAL AFFAIRS: for the preparation of matter for the Papal consistories[1]—*Prefect*, His Holiness the Pope. This congregation numbers six cardinals, with a monsignore as *Secretary*.

APOSTOLIC VISITATION: for the visitation of the churches in Rome—*Prefect*, His Holiness the Pope. This congregation numbers four cardinals, including the *President*, and has an archbishop as *Secretary*, and several Consultors, and officials. It represents the Pope, in discharging his duty, as a bishop visiting his diocese.

BISHOPS AND REGULARS:[2] for the judging of appeals from the decisions of bishops; for the hearing of causes between bishops and regulars; and for the revision and

ment in America, they carried the Inquisition there with them; and the Portuguese introduced it into the East Indies. By these details, observes the Abbé Bergier, as well as by other historical facts, it is clear that the Tribunal was established in no kingdom of Christendom but with the consent, and often at the request, of the sovereign. In 1545, Pope Paul III. formed the Congregation of the Inquisition under the name of the Holy Office; and Sixtus V. confirmed it in 1588. The cruelties perpetrated under the Inquisition in the Middle Ages, in Spain, are deeply to be lamented. Here, under Ferdinand and Isabella, and in accordance with their policy, it became mainly a political institution; and several Pontiffs, from time to time, interposed to mitigate its severities—notably Sixtus IV., Leo X., and Innocent X. In any case, its objects and its faults, its use and its abuse, must be viewed in the light of former times. Happily, in modern days, the action of the Inquisition or Holy Office is very different indeed from what it was in those troubled times, when heretical sects, emboldened by their numbers, gave vent to their feelings, in acts of violence against person and property, not alone injurious to religion, but subversive of the peace and order of civil society. It is right to observe that Llorente, the historian of the Spanish Inquisition, is by no means regarded as a reliable authority. Born in Old Castile in 1756, he was appointed secretary general of the tribunal in 1789, which post he held three years. He became a devoted adherent of Joseph Napoleon, King of Spain, who, on suppressing the "Holy Office" in 1809, placed all its papers at his disposal, and commanded him to write its history, which was published in Paris in 1817, in 4 vols. 8vo. Llorente died in Madrid, in 1825.

[1] Consistories. See Index.

[2] Regulars. The members of religious orders, "living by rule," are so called, from the Latin, *regula*, a rule. The ordinary parochial clergy are called secular.

approval of the rules of religious orders and congregations. This congregation comprises thirty-two cardinals, including the *Prefect*. It has a bishop as *Secretary*, and a number of bishops, monsignori, and members of religious orders, as Consultors, and several officials.

THE COUNCIL: for the interpretation and carrying out of the decrees of councils; and for receiving and considering the reports which bishops are required to render of their dioceses. The *Prefect* is a cardinal, besides whom there are twenty-eight other cardinals in the congregation. Attached to it, is a committee of prelates, for consultation, and for receiving and examining the reports of bishops on the state of their dioceses.[1]

There is also a Special Congregation, for the REVISION OF PROVINCIAL COUNCILS. It numbers six cardinals, including the *Prefect*—all members of the sacred congregation of the Council. Attached to it, are several Consultors, chiefly members of religious orders. Its *Secretary* is an archbishop.

RESIDENCE OF BISHOPS: for enforcing the canons, obliging bishops to reside in their dioceses—*Prefect*, a cardinal, with an archbishop as *Secretary*.

ON THE STATE OF THE REGULARS: for insuring the observance of their rules and constitutions by religious orders and congregations. This congregation comprises two cardinals, with a bishop as *Secretary*.

[1] By a very ancient law of the Church, all bishops are bound to present themselves, from time to time, before the Sovereign Pontiff; 1st, to venerate the Tomb of the Apostles; 2ndly, to render homage to the Successor of Saint Peter; 3rdly, to lay before him, in writing, a full and minute account of their dioceses. The Constitutions of Benedict XIV. enact, that this visit should be made by the Italian bishops once in three years, by those of Spain, Germany, Great Britain, and the North of Europe, once every four years, of Ireland, and more distant parts of Europe, once every five years, and of more remote countries once every ten years. As regards Ireland, "on account of her poverty," the period was extended to ten years, in the indult of 1631, by Urban VIII.; but, the cause no longer existing, it was reduced to five years by Pius IX. in his decree of 1st September, 1876. We have seen how firmly Gregory VII. insisted on the fulfilment of this duty by British bishops eight centuries ago.

ECCLESIASTICAL IMMUNITY: for the regulation and maintenance of Ecclesiastical privileges, immunities, and exemptions, as regards persons and places. This congregation numbers eight cardinals, including its *Prefect*, with an archbishop as *Secretary*. It also has four prelates, Consultors. It is provisionally united to the congregation of the COUNCIL, by command of His Holiness.

DE PROPAGANDA FIDE: for the propagation of the faith, and the government of the Church, in missionary countries. This congregation comprises thirty-one cardinals, including its *Prefect*, with an archbishop as *Secretary*. It has a number of archbishops, bishops, monsignori, and members of religious orders, as Consultors, and several officials.

There is also a congregation DE PROPAGANDA FIDE, FOR THE AFFAIRS OF THE ORIENTAL RITE. It consists of its *Prefect*, and seventeen other cardinals, all members of the preceding congregation. It has a monsignore as *Secretary*, and several archbishops and bishops, chiefly Orientals, and members of religious orders, as Consultors, and several officials.[1]

Attached to the latter congregation, is a Commission, consisting of three cardinals (taken from the eighteen above named) for the revision and correction of books of the Oriental church.

THE INDEX: for the condemnation of books contrary to faith and morals. It comprises twenty-five cardinals, including its *Prefect*; and it has a member of the Order of Preachers as *Perpetual Assistant*, and another as *Secretary*. This congregation has a large number of archbishops, bishops, monsignori, and members of religious orders, as Consultors.

SACRED RITES: for the regulation of all matters, and the decision of all questions, concerning the Liturgy, rites, and ceremonies; and for the conduct of the pro-

[1] For an account of the College of Propaganda, see Index, "Propaganda."

cesses of the beatification and canonization of Saints. This congregation is composed of thirty-two cardinals, including the *Prefect;* and it has several official prelates, including the Bishop of Porfirio, Sacristan to His Holiness, a Protonotary Apostolic,[1] the Dean and two Auditors of the Rota,[2] and the Master of the Apostolic Palace. The Monsignori Masters of the Pontifical Ceremonies have place in this congregation. It also comprises several Prelates, and members of religious orders, as Consultors.

CEREMONIAL: for all matters of ceremonial, and questions of precedence—*Prefect*, the Cardinal Dean of the Sacred College, besides whom there are seventeen other cardinals, and two monsignori as *Secretaries*. The Monsignori Masters of the Pontifical Ceremonies are Consultors of this congregation.

DISCIPLINE OF REGULARS: for maintaining the observance of their rules and constitutions by religious orders and congregations in Italy. It comprises nine cardinals, including its *Prefect;* and it has a bishop as *Secretary*, and two Consultors, who are members of religious orders.

INDULGENCES AND SACRED RELICS: for all matters appertaining thereto. This congregation comprises

[1] Protonotary: from the Greek πρῶτος, first, and the Latin, *notarius*, a notary. The College of Protonotaries Apostolic consists of its *Dean* and six other domestic prelates of His Holiness. It also has a large number of Supernumerary Protonotaries, all monsignori. Its duties are to keep official records of Pontifical Acts, of the beatification and canonization of Saints, and of other solemn affairs.

[2] Auditors of the Rota. The Rota is the highest tribunal of the Papal Government. It exercises an appellate jurisdiction. Latterly, its business is much diminished, first, in consequence of the revolution of 1870, and next, because spiritual causes of foreign countries, are now usually heard and settled on the spot by Apostolic Delegates. The Rota is composed of twelve auditors or judges, including its Dean—all domestic prelates of His Holiness. Of these, eight are Italians, two are Spaniards, one is an Austrian, and one a Frenchman. The tribunal was originally so called from the Latin, *rota*, a wheel, probably because the members sat in a circle. The Segnatura Papale di Giustizia, which has a cardinal as *Prefect*, nine Voting Prelates, and a large number of Referendary Prelates, deals with suits of nullity of marriage, and other causes, which may or may not come before the Rota.

twenty-eight cardinals, including its *Prefect;* and has several officials, with a number of Prelates, and members of religious orders, as Consultors.

EXAMINATION OF BISHOPS: for the examination of priests named for the Episcopate. This congregation consists of two divisions. The first, for the examination in Sacred Theology, numbers three cardinals, an archbishop, and a Dominican, Master of the Apostolic Palace; and the second, for examination in the Sacred Canons, is composed of two cardinals, and Monsignore the Auditor of His Holiness.

THE VENERABLE FABRIC OF SAINT PETER'S: for the administration, repairs, and preservation, of this unrivalled structure. The *Prefect* is the Cardinal Archpriest of the Basilica, who is assisted by eight other cardinals, a monsignore, as *Secretary*, and several officials. To this congregation are also entrusted the care of pious bequests, and other similar objects.

LAURETANA: for the care of the holy sanctuary of Loreto—with a cardinal as *Prefect*, and six other cardinals, and officials.

EXTRAORDINARY ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS: for the protection and advocacy of Catholic rights in diplomatic and international questions. This congregation comprises twenty-one cardinals, including its *Prefect*. It has a monsignore as *Secretary*, several archbishops, bishops, and members of religious orders, as Consultors, and several officials.

STUDIES: for Education in Rome and the Papal States. This congregation numbers nineteen cardinals, including its *Prefect*, with a monsignore as *Secretary*, Consultors, and officials. In connection with this congregation is a Commission of Cardinals, five in number, with several Consultors, for Historical Studies.

Each cardinal is a member of several of these congregations—some more, some less. For instance, Cardinal Sacconi, Bishop of Ostia and Velletri, and Dean of the Sacred College, is Prefect of the congregation of

Ceremonial, and a member of eight other congregations: beside which, he is Protector of several colleges, seminaries, religious communities, and other institutions, of any of which he may at any time be called on to advocate the interests with the Holy See. The more recently appointed cardinals, especially those who cannot permanently reside in Rome, have not so many weighty cares at the Roman Court as this venerable cardinal bishop. Nevertheless each of them, on his elevation, has been named by His Holiness a member of several of the sacred congregations. Thus, Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, created and published by Pius IX., on the 15th of March, 1875, Cardinal Priest of the Title of Saints Andrew and Gregory on the Cœlian Hill, is a member of the four following congregations—Bishops and Regulars, Propaganda, Sacred Rites, and Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs: Cardinal Howard, created and published also by Pius IX., on the 12th of March, 1877, Cardinal Priest of the Title of Saints John and Paul, now Cardinal Bishop of Frascati, is a member of the congregations of Ecclesiastical Immunity, Propaganda, Propaganda for the Affairs of the Oriental Rite, the Index, Sacred Rites, Ceremonial, and Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs; and he is Prefect of the congregation of the Vatican Basilica, of which he is Archpriest; and he is moreover Protector of several religious orders, congregations, and institutions:[1] Cardinal McCloskey, Archbishop of New York, created and published by Pius IX., on the 15th of March 1875, Cardinal Priest of the Title of Santa Maria on the Minerva, is a member of the congregations of Bishops and Regulars, the Council, the Index, and Sacred Rites: and Cardinal Newman, created and published by His present Holiness, on the 12th of May, 1879, Cardinal Deacon of Saint George in Velabro,

[1] The Protectorship of religious orders, etc., is generally confined to the six Cardinal Bishops, and the other members of the Sacred College who permanently reside in Rome.

is a member of the congregations of Propaganda, Sacred Rites, Indulgences and Sacred Relics, and Studies.

Besides the Sacred Congregations, there are several important offices, each of which is generally presided over by a cardinal. These are:—

THE APOSTOLIC CHANCERY:[1] This court carefully examines, minutes, seals, and registers Bulls,[2] provisions of great benefices, and other similar documents of importance. It is presided over by a cardinal, who is *Vice-Chancellor and Compiler* (*Sommista*). Under him are several officials, such as a *Regent*, who is a prelate, a *Sub-Compiler*, a *Depositary General of the leaden seal*, a *Sealer* (*Piombatore*), a *Notary-Secretary*, and others. There is also attached a College of Prelates,

[1] The Chancery is so called from the Latin, *cancelli*, lattices or rails, behind which the judge sat, and which divided him from suitors, in ancient times.

[2] A Papal Bull is so called from the Latin, *bulla*, the boss or seal attached to it. It is written on parchment and sealed with lead, and issued, by orders of the Pope, from the Apostolic Chancery. One side of the leaden seal is impressed with the heads of the Apostles, Saints Peter and Paul; and the other with the name of the Pope and the year of his pontificate. Bulls are issued for the celebration of jubilees, and concerning doctrine, and, in such cases, are addressed to the Universal Church. Bulls are also issued for the consecration of Bishops, and such other solemn objects. They are generally designated from the first word or few words—for example, the famous Bull *Unigenitus*, issued by Pope Clement XI., in September 1713, commencing with the words, "*Unigenitus Dei Filius.*" This Bull condemns one hundred and one propositions extracted from the book of Père Quesnel, entitled "Le Nouveau Testament avec des réflexions morales," etc. Doctrinal decisions, such as those contained in this Bull, are binding on all Catholics, being pronounced by the Pope, *ex Cathedrâ*, as Head and Teacher of the Universal Church, and they have the same weight as if they emanated from a General Council. This subject has been fully treated, in the chapter on Papal Infallibility. Bulls concerning doctrine are sometimes called Constitutions.

A Brief, from the Latin *brevis*, is, as the word indicates, a more concise document than a Bull, and is a letter addressed by His Holiness, to princes, bishops, magistrates, communities, or even a private individual, about any important affair. It is written on paper, sealed with red wax, with the impress of the Fisherman, or Saint Peter in a boat. It is signed by the Secretary of Briefs, or the Cardinal Penitentiary. Briefs terminate thus—"Given at Rome, under the Fisherman's ring," etc.

called Abbreviators of the Parco Maggiore, three in number, including their dean, with several supernumerary prelates, and their substitutes. The duty of the Abbreviatori is to minute the Bulls, and to decide questions or controversies that may arise about them.[1]

THE APOSTOLIC PENITENTIARY: presided over by a cardinal, who is called the *Major Penitentiary*. Under him are several officials, chiefly prelates. These are a *Regent*, who is an Auditor of the Rota, a *Theologian*, a *Datary*, a *Corrector*, a *Sealer*, a *Canonist*, secretaries, writers, and others. The Major Penitentiary gives dispensations, and absolutions in reserved cases, where the dispositions or repentance are such as deserve them; and, in various other ways, he exercises the power of binding and loosing. For this purpose, he sits in the basilicas of Saint John Lateran, Saint Peter, and Saint Mary Major, on certain days. All the officials of this court are sworn to secrecy; and no money can be received in it, even for stationery, under the pain of simony.

THE APOSTOLIC DATARIA: presided over by a cardinal, who is *Pro-Datary*. Under him, are the *Sub-Datary*, who is a Prelate, and a large number of officials. This court is charged with the expediting of Bulls and Briefs, the registration of the collation of benefices, and other important matters. The Dataria is so called from the Latin word, *datum*, "given," used in dating Bulls and Briefs: viz. *Datum apud S. Petrum;* "Given at Saint Peter's."[2]

THE VENERABLE APOSTOLIC CHAMBER (*Reverenda Camera Apostolica*): presided over by a cardinal, who is the *Camerlengo*, or *Chamberlain*, of the Holy Roman

[1] They are called Abbreviatori, because they take short minutes of Bulls and other Papal documents, which afterwards they draw up in a more extended form. They are further styled of the Parco Maggiore, from the place, Parco, in which they meet. Subordinate to them are the prelates of the lesser Parco, who transmit and deliver Bulls to them.

[2] Hence the word *date* in English, and similar terms, in the same sense, in several other European languages.

Church. Under His Eminence are a Vice-Camerlengo, an Auditor-General, and a Treasurer-General. There are several Prelates Clerics of the Chamber, and officials. This department administers the Papal Finance.

When the Holy See becomes vacant, the Cardinal Camerlengo occupies the Papal palace, and assumes supreme authority in the government, until the Conclave is assembled. Formerly, during the interregnum, he had the power of coining money, with his own armorial bearings, and a symbol of the Holy See being vacant.

Besides these, there are the Secretariates of the Palace (*Segreterie Palatine*). The *Secretary of State* is Cardinal Ludovico Jacobini, with a prelate as *Substitute* and *Secretary of the Cipher*, and several officials. The *Secretary of Briefs* is also a cardinal, as is the *Secretary of Memorials;* each being assisted by several officials. The *Secretariates* of *Briefs to princes*, of *Latin Letters*, of *the Almonry*, and of the *Auditor's office* of His Holiness, are filled by prelates.

The Grand Consistory is an assembly of all the cardinals, convoked by the Holy Father, who presides on his throne, arrayed in Pontifical robes, and attended by prelates, the Protonotaries Apostolic, the Auditors of the Rota, and other high officials. The members of the diplomatic body accredited to the Holy See are also present. In this assembly, princes and ambassadors are received, and other important affairs of public ceremonial are transacted.

There is also the Secret Consistory, which meets frequently, and is composed exclusively of the cardinals presided over by the Pope. Here, the work prepared in the Consistorial and other congregations, is ratified—the cardinals giving their votes or opinions, *sententiæ*, on the several matters submitted to them.

It is in Consistory that the Holy Father names new cardinals, closes and opens the mouths of cardinals recently created, and appoints bishops and abbots to vacant sees and abbacies, throughout the world.

The Conclave, or enclosed and guarded meeting of the cardinals, to elect a Pope, has already been spoken of, and will be further described in the next chapter.

The Pope alone creates cardinals. In doing so, he first announces to the assembled members of the Sacred College, in secret consistory, the names of those whom he purposes to elevate to that high dignity; so that, in a certain sense, they are created with the approval of their future colleagues.

A cardinal may be created by the Pope, six months, or even a much longer time, before being published or proclaimed. He is, in this case, said to be "reserved *in petto;*" that is, *in the breast* of the Holy Father. When proclaimed, he takes precedence according to the date of his creation.

The Catholic powers, conformably with ancient usage, are allowed to recommend to the Pope, a few prelates for the cardinalate.

When a cardinal is named, if he should be in Rome, he receives the Berretta (a red silken cap) from the hands of the Pope, at the Vatican; and in the next consistory, the Holy Father places the cardinal's hat on his head. Should he be in a foreign country, the Pope sends him the berretta, by a monsignore and a chamberlain of honour. The berretta was first given to cardinals by Pope Paul II., in 1460. The red hat, however, must be received from the hands of the Holy Father himself; so that the newly created cardinal, if in a foreign country, loses no time in repairing to the Vatican, for this purpose, as well as to render thanks and homage to His Holiness.

The red hat was first conferred on cardinals by Innocent IV., at the Thirteenth General Council, the first of Lyons, A.D. 1245, as a mark of their obligation to shed their blood, if necessary, in the cause of God and His Church. The colour of their robes, which is either red, or dried rose, or purple, according to the season or occasion, is ascribed to the same origin. Car-

dinals of the religious orders wear their robes of the colour of their orders respectively, with a red lining; but the berretta and red hat are common to all. Ciaconius states, that purple garments were first assigned to cardinals by Boniface VIII., A.D. 1294-1303. This must apply to cardinals generally; for, unquestionably, Cardinal Legates *a latere*, or ambassadors of the Pope, wore purple, long before that period. Thus, in the year 1213, when Pelagius, Cardinal Bishop of Albano, was sent as legate to the Emperor at Constantinople by Innocent III., according to a cotemporary historian,[1] even his shoes were red, and his bridle and saddle-cloth were of the same colour. Again in 1227, on the accession of Gregory IX., the author of that Pontiff's Life, describing his coronation, mentions "the purpled train of venerable cardinals, clergy, and prelates."[2] Then, according to Matthew of Westminster, in the year 1265, when Clement IV. sent Cardinal Ottoboni, of the title of Saint Adrian, as his legate, to Henry III. of England, the cardinal, "robed in red," presided at the council which he convoked in Westminster Abbey, and there caused the Apostolic mandate to be published, and pronounced sentence against the King's enemies.[3]

When a cardinal is created, his mouth is closed, in secret consistory, by the Pope, and, in a subsequent consistory, it is opened by His Holiness. The meaning of this ceremony is, that, in the interval, the new cardinal has no power of voting in consistory or in conclave—this power being conferred only by the opening of his mouth by the Pope. The Pope also places the cardinal's ring on his finger, and assigns him his title from one of the titular churches of the city.

All this, it will be seen, is conformable with the legislation of four hundred and fifty years ago. On the

[1] Georgius Logotheta.

[2] Apud Pagi, iii. 215. "Purpuratam venerabilium Cardinalium, etc., comitivam."

[3] Ibid. iii. 319. "Qui cum rubeis in Angliam veniens indumentis," etc.

25th of October, 1432, Pope Eugenius IV. published a decree, "that cardinals named in a secret consistory ought not to be considered such, until they shall have received the *insignia* (marks and tokens) thereof; that is to say, the red hat, the assignation of a title, and the ring put on the finger; nor, even having received these, and having been named cardinals in a public consistory, can they have an active voice in the election of a Roman Pontiff or in any other act whatever, until, having been thoroughly instructed in those things which it is usual to treat of and observe in consistory, they receive leave from, and their mouths are opened by, the Roman Pontiff, with the consent and advice of the older cardinals."

Therefore, should there be a newly created cardinal whose mouth had not been opened, before the death of the Pope, that cardinal would have only a passive voice in the conclave. He might be elected; but could not elect.

Formerly cardinals were always addressed by Catholic sovereigns as "Cousin;" and in France they took precedence of the princes of the blood royal. But this was changed by the edict of 1566, which gave the first place to the latter.

In courts holding diplomatic relations with the Holy See, the Papal nuncio has always taken precedence of all other ambassadors, not as a cardinal, however, but as representative of the Pope.[1]

The members of the Sacred College rank above patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, by their sole dignity of cardinal. On the 10th of January, 1630, Urban VIII. gave them the title of "Eminence." Before that, they were styled "Most Illustrious," *illustrissimi*.

[1] In modern times, the Apostolic nuncios to foreign courts are titular archbishops—not cardinals—and are called *Legati missi*. When, however, the Pope sends special nuncios, on rare important occasions, they are cardinals and are called Legates *a latere*, that is, "from the Pope's side,"—the members of the Sacred College, as we have seen, having been, for many centuries, regarded as the *Collaterales et coadjutores* of His Holiness.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

A MODERN PAPAL ELECTION.

IMMEDIATELY on the death of a Pope, the Cardinal Camerlengo or Chamberlain, assumes, in virtue of his high office, the sovereign authority.[1] He enters the chamber of death, accompanied by the *clerici* of the *Reverenda Camera Apostolica*, and with a small gold or silver hammer, two or three times, lightly strikes the forehead of the deceased Pontiff, calling him by his family name.[2] Then, having knelt by the bedside and prayed, he declares, in a loud voice, that the Holy Father has ceased to live. Before the late revolution, the Pope's death, thus authenticated, was announced to the outside public by the bell of the Capitol, tolling twenty-three times. Then the Fisherman's ring, *Anello Pescatorio*, is drawn off the deceased Pontiff's finger by the Maestro di Camera, and handed to the Cardinal Camerlengo. This ring, and the mould for the leaden seals to be attached to Pontifical Bulls, are broken, according to usage; and the fragments are afterwards presented to the assembled cardinals by the Camerlengo.

[1] The important office of Camerlengo of the Holy Roman Church was filled, and its duties were performed, by His present Holiness, on the death of Pius IX.

[2] This ceremony resembles, if it did not originate in, the custom of calling the dead, which prevailed among the Romans, before the Christian era. The friends of the deceased used to call him aloud by his name, for eight successive days; and, on the ninth day, the interment or cremation of the body took place. Thus, we read in Lucan, *Corpora nondum conclamata jacent.* Hence, by a figure of speech, *conclamatum est* became a phrase, used to denote, that an affair was all over—beyond all hope. See Terence, "Eunuchus," ii. 3, 56.

Next it is the duty of the Cardinal Camerlengo, assisted by the three heads of orders of cardinals, to notify the Pope's death to all the foreign courts, through the Apostolic nuncios, and to summon the absent cardinals to the conclave. Meanwhile the Dean of the Sacred College convenes all the cardinals in Rome, for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements for the work before them.

As we have seen, in the Constitution of Gregory X., the conclave is not necessarily held in any particular place in Rome, nor indeed in Rome itself, should the death of the Supreme Pontiff occur elsewhere, or should war or disturbances, in any way, interfere with the freedom of election in Rome. Thus, for the latter reason, in the year 1800, Cardinal Chiaramonti was elected Pope, under the name of Pius VII., in a conclave assembled at Venice. In Rome, nearly all the conclaves were held at the Vatican up to 1823, since which time they have been held at the Quirinal, save the last, at which His present Holiness was elected, and which was held at the Vatican, the only palace left to the Pope by the Italian Revolution.

On the day fixed for opening the conclave, which is generally about ten days after the decease of the late Pontiff, including the *Novendiali*, or nine days' solemn obsequies, the cardinals, assuming the *cappa magna*, or cardinalitial violet cloak, assemble at Saint Peter's, where they assist at the Mass of the Holy Ghost, celebrated by the Dean of the Sacred College, or other senior cardinal, to implore the Divine light and guidance in their deliberations. On this occasion, is preached a sermon *De eligendo Summo Pontifice*, in which their Eminences are reminded that their sole thought should be the glory of God, and the providing a suitable pastor for His Church.[1] They then proceed in state to the church attached to the palace in which the con-

[1] All this is as prescribed in the Bull and the Ceremonial of Gregory XV., dated respectively 1621 and 1622.

clave is to be held.[1] The order of procession is as follows. First come the attendants of the cardinals; then, the Papal choir, chanting the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus;* then a master of ceremonies bearing a Papal cross; then the cardinals, walking in rotation of rank and seniority, bishops, priests, and deacons; and finally the prelates and officials of the conclave. This ceremony is called the opening of the conclave. Formerly, the Governor of Rome always took part in this procession, walking by the side of, but a little behind, the Cardinal Dean: but, since the occupation of Rome by the Italian Government, the ceremonial, in this as in several other respects, is necessarily varied and curtailed.

Arrived in the chapel, the Cardinal Dean recites the prayer *Deus qui corda fidelium;* and their Eminences kneel, for some time, in adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, exposed on the altar. After this, the Cardinal Sub-Dean reads, in a loud voice, the Pontifical Constitutions regarding conclaves, and the cardinals take the usual oath to observe the same. Subsequently, the Governor of the Conclave, the Prince Marshal, and all the other officials likewise take the oath of secrecy and faithful observance of the rules, before the Sub-Dean.[2]

The remainder of this first day is devoted by their Eminences to receiving their friends, the Roman nobility, foreigners of distinction, and the Diplomatic body. At the close of the day, a bell sounds through the corridors, and the Master of Ceremonies calls out *Exeant omnes*, on which all strangers withdraw, leaving the cardinals and their conclavists alone. Then the Camerlengo and

[1] Formerly, the cardinals drove, in their carriages, from Saint Peter's to the Quirinal; but now, as the Quirinal palace is occupied by the King of Italy, the conclaves can no longer be held there; and, therefore, on the last occasion, when His Holiness Leo XIII. was elected, the procession moved from the Pauline chapel, in which the Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated, through the Sala Regia, to the Sistine, where the conclave was held.

[2] All these proceedings are as prescribed in the Ceremonial of Gregory XV.

Cardinals heads of orders, along with the Prince Marshal and the Masters of Ceremonies, and their attendants, proceed to search every cell and apartment; and, having satisfied themselves that there is no intruder in the building, they draw up an official minute to that effect. Immediately thereupon, the conclave is closed, not to be opened again until a Pope is elected. Should a cardinal, however, arrive any time after the closing, he is admitted, through a wicket reserved for the purpose.

On the last occasion, the proceedings of closing the conclave were as follows: Prince Chigi, the Hereditary Marshal of the Holy Roman Church and Guardian of the Conclave, proceeded from the chamber of the Maestro di Camera, attended by his four Captains, and a number of Noble guards, and Swiss guards, and several servants in state liveries bearing torches, to the great door of the conclave. Here, he was met by the Cardinal Camerlengo and the three heads of orders of cardinals. While they locked the door on the inside, he locked it on the outside, placing the keys in a crimson velvet bag, which he kept in his custody. Then Monsignor Ricci-Parracciani, the Governor of the Conclave, walked round the building, in order to assure himself that there could be no communication from outside. These precautions are prescribed in the Ceremonial of Gregory XV., to insure the conclave's being really closed, as otherwise the election would be null and void, even though all the other requirements of the Pontifical Constitutions were fully complied with.

Formerly, there were wickets, at which all articles of food for the meals of the cardinals and their conclavists were received; and over these strict watch was kept by prelates and other officials—every dish being examined, the poultry being carved, and the bread broken: in order to prevent any surreptitious correspondence. In the last conclave, this precaution was unnecessary; as there was a kitchen prepared within the building, and

a number of cooks and attendants were provided, for the preparation of food.

Early on the morning of the second day, the cardinals are summoned to the chapel, to enter on the important business for which they have assembled—the Master of Ceremonies passing along the corridor of the cells, and calling out, "In capellam, domini."[1]

The preparations in the chapel are as follows:—

On both sides are lofty screens extending the whole length. In front of these, are thrones or seats for the cardinals. Before each seat, is a small square table, with writing materials; and over it is a canopy. Screens, seats, tables, and canopies, are all draped or covered with violet cloth, except in the case of cardinals who have before taken part in a conclave; and for these the draperies are all green. The robes of their Eminences are marked by the same colours; but all retain the red hat. The same rule applies to the draping of the cells.

In the last conclave, four cardinals took part, who had been created by Gregory XVI., and had been in the previous conclave. The remaining fifty-seven had received the hat from Pius IX. Besides these, there was Cardinal Brossais Saint Marc, who was absent through illness, and who died shortly afterwards, and Cardinals Cullen and McCloskey, who arrived late. Thus, the numbers of the Sacred College, on the death of Pius IX., were sixty-four, of whom all save three took part in the election of his successor. The venerable Cardinal Amat, Dean of the Sacred College, was, on this occasion, carried into the conclave; and immediately went to bed, where he remained the whole time. Another in very feeble health was Cardinal Morichini, who ascended the steps, supported on either side by his conclavists.

When their Eminences are assembled in the chapel, the Dean or another senior cardinal celebrates Mass;

[1] "To the chapel, My Lords."

after which they take their seats, and proceed to the election.

In modern times, there are three recognized modes of electing a Pope, as set forth, together with the rules for conducting them, in the Bull and Ceremonial of Gregory XV.

The first of these is what is called *quasi per Inspirationem*—"as it were by Inspiration," when, for instance, all the cardinals, unanimously and aloud, proclaim one of their number Supreme Pontiff. This must be done, first, in the conclave, and that closed; secondly, by all the cardinals present in the conclave; thirdly, in common or conjointly (*communiter*), no one dissenting, no treating concerning the person having preceded, and by the word *eligo*, "I elect," uttered in an intelligible voice, or expressed in writing if it cannot be so uttered. Thus, one of the cardinals may say, "Most Reverend Lords, I elect (*ego eligo*) the Most Eminent Lord, Cardinal N——, as Supreme Pontiff." All present assent, *vivâ voce*, each one using the word *eligo;* and the person so chosen is Pope. This mode of election, practically unknown in our day, is also called Acclamation or Adoration,[1] according as it is slightly varied. In the one case the cardinals all simultaneously exclaim that they elect N—— N—— Pope; and in the other they all approach the person they wish to elect, kneel down, and reverentially salute him as Supreme Pontiff.

The second mode of election is by Compromise, and has been resorted to only in those very rare cases in which the cardinals are unable so far to agree, as to unite at least fully two-thirds of their votes in favour of one person. Then all the cardinals, present in the conclave, unanimously leave the election to certain of their number. These *Compromissarii* retire to a separate apartment; and, having agreed among themselves that no verbal consent, but a *written* consent only, shall

[1] Adoration. See Index.

be valid, they elect a Pontiff; and their election is "canonical and true."[1]

The third mode of electing a Pope is by Scrutiny, or Scrutiny and Accessus. In latter times, this is the only mode followed. The proceedings are these: On the first morning of the conclave, after Mass has been celebrated, the cardinals take their seats in the chapel, as already described, and proceed to ballot. There are sheets of paper, called *Schedulæ*, prepared for this purpose. Each cardinal takes one of these, and writes in the centre of it the name of the person he would elect Pope. The form is this: *Ego N. Cardinalis N. eligo in Summum Pontificem Reverendissimum Dominum meum Cardinalem N.*: i.e. "I (Christian name) cardinal (surname), elect for Supreme Pontiff, my most Reverend Lord, Cardinal (name)." Besides his own name written at the top, he adds a short text of scripture at foot; and folds the billet, sealing it at both ends. It is so folded, as that only the name of the person for whom he votes can be seen. He next advances, and kneels at the foot of the high altar, where he repeats aloud the following oath: *Testor Christum Dominum, qui me judicaturus est, me eligere quem secundum Deum judico eligi debere et quod in accessu præstabo:* i.e. "I call to witness Christ the Lord, who will judge me, that I elect him, whom before God I judge ought to be elected; and which I shall make good in the accessus." He then goes up to the altar, lays the folded *schedula*, or billet, on the paten, and drops it thence into the large chalice, placed there for the purpose.

The voting is presided over by the three Scrutineers, who are chosen by lot, every morning, from all the cardinals present, to examine the tickets and announce the result. Should there be sick or infirm cardinals confined to their cells, the scrutineers take with them a locked empty ballot-box, the key being left behind;

[1] We have seen how Gregory X. was elected by way of Compromise, A.D. 1271. Vide supra, p. 580.

and they proceed to the cells, where they witness the oaths, and receive in the box the votes, of the sick cardinals; and these votes so received are brought back by them to the chapel, and deposited, with the others, in the chalice. Should a sick cardinal be too ill to vote, another cardinal, at his request, fills the *schedula* for him, being first bound by oath never to divulge the name of the person voted for therein. All the members of the Sacred College are bound to vote; and any one refusing or refraining from doing so incurs the penalty of excommunication.

When all have voted, one of the Cardinal Scrutineers takes up the chalice, covers it with the paten, and shakes the billets well up together. Another then takes them out, and counts them into another chalice. Should their number not agree with the number of cardinals voting, the billets are burned, and the voting recommences *de novo*. But if the number corresponds, as is almost invariably the case, the scrutiny is entered on as follows.

The Scrutineers take their seats at a large square table, draped in violet, and so placed in the chapel as that they are face to face with all the cardinals. The senior Scrutineer then draws a billet from the chalice, seeing and reading only the name of the person voted for; he hands it to the second Scrutineer, who also reads it, and notes the name down. The latter then hands it to the third, who also sets down the name, and announces it to the assembly. Each of the other billets is treated in the same manner. The cardinals are furnished each with a large sheet of paper, on which are printed the names of all the members of the Sacred College; and on this sheet, as each vote is read out, a mark is made by each, opposite the name of the person for whom the suffrage is given. As we have seen, to constitute an election by Scrutiny or by Scrutiny and Accessus, at least the entire two-thirds of the votes of those present must be given to one person—the vote

of the Elect not being computed; for no one can vote for himself, as expressly declared in the Bull and Ceremonial of Gregory XV., A.D. 1621, 1622.

Should there be no election, on the first scrutiny, the billets are all burned; and the cardinals are summoned again in the afternoon, when, after the recital of the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, the same process of voting is repeated; and it is continued twice a day, until a Pontiff is elected. There naturally is felt profound interest in Rome, as throughout all Catholic Christendom, about the result; and, consequently, every morning and evening, a large crowd assembles near the hall of conclave, watching for the smoke of the burned billets, on seeing which ascend from the small flue or pipe of the stove, used for the purpose, the people disperse, thus knowing that the election has not yet taken place.

Should there be no election by simple scrutiny, the Accessus then comes into operation. This is the giving of votes (previously given in the scrutiny to another) to a cardinal who has already received, in the scrutiny, such a number of votes, as would be likely with this accession, to make him Pope. In the *schedula* used for this, the word *accedo*, "I accede to," is substituted for *eligo*, "I elect." Care is taken by the Scrutineers that no one who has voted, in the scrutiny, for the person in question, now votes again. This can be seen, by examining the Scripture motto on each billet. Should a cardinal, voting in the Accessus, not wish to give his suffrage to this particular person, he writes in the *schedula*, after *accedo*, the word *nemini*, "to no one;" i.e. "I accede to no one."

Should the Accessus not raise the number of votes in favour of one person to the regulated two-thirds, the proceedings above described are repeated at the next meeting, and so continue until an election is made. On this last occurring, the Masters of Ceremonies are called in, and the schedules are opened in their presence,

in order to ascertain that no Cardinal has voted for himself, as in that case the election would be null and void. Then the Cardinal Dean, two Cardinal Deacons, and the Masters of Ceremonies approach the Elect; and the Dean says to him: *Acceptasne electionem de te canonice factam in Summum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Pontificem?* "Do you accept the election canonically made of you, as Supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church?" On his accepting the dignity, using the word *Accepto*, the Cardinal Dean genuflects, the First Master of Ceremonies claps his hands, all the cardinals rise and remain standing, and all the canopies are instantly lowered, save one, that of the newly elect, now the lord and master of all. The Cardinal Dean then inquires what name His Holiness will be pleased to assume—*Quo nomine vis vocari?*[1] This is immediately signified by the new Pope; and an official minute of the election, its acceptance, and the choice of name by the Pontiff is drawn up by the Protonotary Apostolic, and signed by him, the Marshal of the Conclave, the Masters of Ceremonies and the secretaries. The enclosures are then immediately thrown down, the great doors are opened, and the conclave is at an end.

The two senior Cardinal Deacons then conduct the

[1] The change of name by the Pope, on his election, originated in the year 965, with John XII., whose baptismal name was Octavian. Some writers say that it was in imitation of the change of name of Saint Peter, originally called Simon; but William the Librarian states that it was simply because Octavian considered the name John more appropriate to the Pontifical dignity than his own name; and that, for the same reason, his example was followed by the German Popes, whose names, Bruno, Gerbert, Suidiger, Gerhard, etc., were not so well suited to that exalted office. The change has been erroneously attributed to Sergius II., who reigned A.D. 844–847, and of whom it has been said, that, his name being Peter, he changed it through humility, as he would not reign under the same name as the Prince of the Apostles. His name, however, was not Peter, but Sergius, before his election. In this matter, he appears to have been confounded with Pope Sergius IV., who was elected A.D. 1009, and whose original name was Peter or Pietro. See Pagi, "Pontif. Rom. Gesta," ii. 43, 177; and Panvinius, apud Platinam, annotat. p. 156.

new Pope behind the Altar, where he takes off his cardinalitial ring, and is divested by them of his robes as cardinal, and clothed in the Pontifical white cassock, with the cord and gold tassels round the waist, and the rochet, hood, white skull-cap, and stole; and his valet puts on him white silk stockings and scarlet shoes, ornamented with a golden cross. Thus arrayed, he is conducted to the front of the Altar, where, seated on a throne—the *sedia gestatoria*,[1] he receives the homage or "obedience" of all the cardinals, who, kneeling before him, kiss his foot, and then his hand; and he, in his turn, gives each the Kiss of Peace on both cheeks.[2] When the Cardinal Camerlengo makes his obedience he puts the Fisherman's ring, *Anello Pescatorio*, on the finger of His Holiness, who hands it back to his Eminence, in order to have his name engraved on it. Meanwhile, the First Cardinal Deacon asks the new Pope's permission to proclaim the election; having obtained

[1] The seat or throne in which the Pope is borne, in solemn processions.

[2] This ceremony is called the "Adoration" of the Pope, which expression has been objected to: but to any one familiar with the Latin language the word *adorare* will not appear inapplicable here; as it means not only "to worship the Supreme Being," but, moreover, "to honour, to pay homage to, to salute." Dr. Webster's second definition of Adoration is, "Homage paid to one in high esteem; profound reverence." In the "Revised Version of the New Testament, 1881," will be found, at the end of the volume, the following passage, in the "List of readings and renderings preferred by the American Committee, recorded at their desire:" "At the word 'worship' in Matt. ii. 2, etc., add the marginal note, 'The Greek word denotes an act of reverence, whether paid to man (see chap. xviii. 26) or to God (see chap. iv. 10).'" The Greek word in the three verses here referred to is the verb προσκυνεῖν, of which the literal translation is, "to adore," Latin, *adorare*. Kissing the Pope's foot was "an ancient custom" as far back as the middle of the ninth century. Anastasius the Librarian, a cotemporary, tells us, in his life of Saint Leo IV., that, in the year 847, on the occasion of the election of that Pontiff, "all the people kissed his feet, preserving the ancient custom;" *qui morem conservantes antiquam omnes osculati sunt pedes*. "Historia de Vitis Romanorum Pontificum," p. 257. It was intended then, as it is now, as a mark of veneration for the Successor of Saint Peter, as Vicar of Jesus Christ.

which he proceeds, attended by the Masters of Ceremonies, Cross bearer, mace bearers, and acolytes, to the external *loggia*, or grand gallery of the basilica, and, thence addressing the anxious crowd assembled below, says: *Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum. Papam habemus Eminentissimum et Reverendissimum Dominum, Joachim, tituli Sancti Chrysogoni, Presbyterum Cardinalem Pecci, Episcopum Perusinum, qui sibi nomen imposuit Leonis XIII.* "I announce to you a great joy. We have as Pope the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lord, Joachim of the Title of Saint Chrysogonus Priest Cardinal Pecci, Bishop of Perugia, who has given himself the name of Leo XIII."[1] Shortly afterwards, His Holiness proceeds in state to the *loggia*, and gives his first Apostolical Benediction *Urbi et Orbi*, to the city and the world.

This most interesting and solemn ceremony used formerly to be performed from the grand external gallery over the entrance gates of Saint Peter's; but, owing to the usurpation of the Papal dominions by the Italian Government, it was performed on the late occasion from the interior gallery looking down into the vast nave of the basilica. Formerly, moreover, it was not, as it is now, confined to the day of the election of a Supreme Pontiff; but it took place also, after the Pope's High Mass on Christmas Day, Easter Sunday, Whit Sunday, Corpus Christi, and the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul. On those occasions, having concluded his prayers after Mass, at the foot of the grand altar in Saint Peter's, the Holy Father, in full pontificals, was borne down the nave, in the *sedia gestatoria*, accompanied by the College of Cardinals, their chaplains, and the domestic prelates and officials, and escorted by the noble guard and numerous attendants. Ascending the Scala Regia, the procession entered the grand gallery

[1] I fill in the spaces for name and title with those of His present Holiness, as announced by Cardinal Caterini, the First Cardinal Deacon, in proclaiming his election, February 20, 1878.

looking down on the Piazza, lined with troops and filled with thousands of spectators. The chanting of the Papal choir was heard in the distance; every eye was fixed on the central arch of the gallery; and, when the venerable Pontiff appeared there, elevated on his throne, all the spectators immediately knelt down; the cannons of Saint Angelo fired a grand salute; and then, amidst silence the most profound, the Holy Father stood up, and with his eyes raised to heaven, and, in a sonorous voice reaching far on every side, thrice blessed the prostrate multitude, the city, and the whole world. Non-Catholic spectators of this scene have oftentimes acknowleged, that they were deeply impressed by its sublime accessories and solemn import. It was indeed a ceremony quite consonant with the sacred office of Chief Pastor and Teacher of God's Church, in all parts of the globe. Omitted since the Revolution of 1870, let us hope that ere long political circumstances will be so far changed in the Italian Peninsula as to admit of its resumption, along with other grand functions which, for the same cause, have fallen into abeyance.[1]

On returning to the Sistine chapel, the newly elected Pope receives the homage of the Prince Marshal, the Governor of the Conclave, and other officials; and then the cardinals make their second adoration or obedience.

The third adoration of the members of the Sacred College used formerly to be made with great state and ceremony at Saint Peter's; but, in the case of His present Holiness, it was performed in the Sistine.

Meanwhile the Holy Father will have received the Roman nobility and other distinguished personages, as well as the foreign ambassadors, who come to pay him their respects, and to tender him the congratulations and friendly assurances of the courts which they severally represent. A few days later, follow the coronation

[1] The Pope used also to give the grand benediction *Urbi et Orbi* from the portico of Saint John Lateran's on the Ascension, and of Saint Mary Major's, on the Assumption.

and enthronization, conducted with due ceremony and splendour, according to the ancient ritual.[1]

The conclave in which His Holiness Leo XIII. was elected was one of unprecedently short duration. At the first ballot Cardinal Pecci had nineteen votes, while the remainder of the suffrages were divided over a number of other cardinals; at the second, he had thirty-four; and at the third, that is, on the morning of the second day of voting, he had forty-four, being more than the requisite two-thirds of the sixty-one who voted.

[1] The first instance of the coronation of a Pope is that of Nicholas I., which took place in the year 858. According to Anastasius, a contemporary writer, Nicholas was enthroned in the Lateran, after which, being escorted by the nobles and people to Saint Peter's, he was there in the Emperor's presence, consecrated Supreme Pontiff. He then celebrated Mass above the tomb of the Apostle; and was conducted back, with hymns and spiritual songs, to the Lateran, where he was crowned, amidst the rejoicings of the city, clergy, senate, and people. Pagi is rather doubtful about his coronation having taken place at the Lateran basilica, as his successors were crowned at Saint Peter's, after which they proceeded, in state, to take possession of their cathedral, the Lateran. Consequently, he surmises that a slight variation has crept into Anastasius's text, and he would read *Lateranum perductus coronatus* for *Lateranum perductus coronatur*. The Papal Tiara, or triple crown, is a high cap, circled by three golden crowns, and surmounted by a ball and cross. It is worn at the coronation, and when the Pope gives his benediction *Urbi et Orbi*. It is quite distinct from a mitre. Innocent III., in his sermon on Saint Sylvester, says, "The Roman Pontiff uses a crown as a sign of Empire, and a mitre as a sign of the Pontificate." Both, however, may be said to be conjoined in the tiara. Jacobus Sancti Georgii states that Constantine, on being baptized by Saint Sylvester, placed his own crown on the Pope's head. But this idea appears to have originated in the fabled donation of Constantine to Sylvester. Papebroke however observes, that, apart from all fables, it may be said, that, ecclesiastical peace having been established by the Emperor, Sylvester, either by his own free choice or at Constantine's desire, assumed a cap in the Roman fashion, as the symbol of liberty, ornamented, where it touched the head, with a golden crown or diadem, to signify the royal priesthood conferred by Christ on the prince of all priests. This was about the year 325. Boniface VIII., about A.D. 1296, added a second crown, in order that the prerogatives of the double kingdom, temporal and spiritual, might be symbolised. Some writers attribute this addition to an earlier date. Finally, in 1362, Urban V. assumed the tiara of three crowns, "possibly," says Pagi, "on account of the mystic number"—*numeri mystici forsan causâ*; or, as others observe, to indicate the paternal power which should be conjoined with the other two.

Here the conclave lasted only thirty-six hours. The conclave which elected his predecessor, Pius IX., lasted forty-eight hours, the election having been made in the fourth scrutiny. Gregory XVI. was elected by a conclave which sat fifty days; and Pius VIII. in one of thirty-six days.

Three Catholic powers, France, Austria, and Spain, have a right of *Veto* in the conclave, in recognition of ancient services to the Holy See.[1] This right can be exercised only once by each power, in a conclave. In other words, the State exercising its right can exclude only one cardinal from being elected. This is done in the following manner. Should there be a particular member of the Sacred College in whose favour the voting is likely to go, and who may happen to be obnoxious to one of the above-named three States, a cardinal of that nation, or its ambassador to the Holy See, intimates to the Dean of the Sacred College that the State which he represents objects to the cardinal in question. This renders the election of that cardinal impossible; and the votes are therefore given for another.[2]

For example, in the conclave of 1830–31, which elected Gregory XVI., Spain exercised her *veto* against the election of Cardinal Giustiniani, who seemed certain of receiving the requisite majority of votes at the time; and consequently Cardinal Capellari was chosen in his stead. Giustiniani had been nuncio at Madrid, and had rendered invaluable services to Ferdinand VII.; but, in doing so, he appears to have contravened the plans of the Spanish prime minister in certain ecclesiastical arrangements; and to this circumstance, as the

[1] Portugal is also stated to have a veto; but this is not clear; and that State has never attempted to exercise the right.

[2] It is necessary, however, that the *veto*, when resorted to, should be exercised in due time, so as to anticipate an actual election. For, once that two-thirds of the cardinals in conclave have voted for one person, no *veto* or protest can abrogate the election, thus canonically made.

minister was now restored to power, the cardinal's exclusion from the pontificate was generally attributed.

On the 6th of January, 1831, the twenty-second day of the conclave, Cardinal Marco-y-Catalan, a Spaniard, received the following formal note from Labrador, the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, bearing date the 24th of December previous:—

"The undersigned, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of His Catholic Majesty to the Holy See, presents his distinguished reverence to His Eminence, and prays him to make known to the Sacred College united in conclave, that he, in the name of his august sovereign, and by the express orders of His Catholic Majesty, gives the exclusion to the Most Eminent Cardinal Giustiniani.

"PEDRO GOMEZ LABRADOR."

In the scrutiny of the following morning, Cardinal Marco, seeing that there were twenty-one votes recorded for Cardinal Giustiniani, sixteen of scrutiny and five of accessus, and that four more of accessus would suffice for his election, hastened to communicate the exclusion to Giustiniani's nephew, Cardinal Odeschalchi, and to Cardinal Pacca, Dean of the Sacred College. Then the Cardinal Dean, having first informed Cardinal Giustiniani thereof, before the midday scrutiny, read out the note of exclusion to the assembled conclave: after which Cardinal Giustiniani proceeded to the middle of the chapel, and spoke as follows:—

Were I not acquainted with courts by experience, I certainly should have reason to be surprised at "the exclusion," published by the Most Eminent Dean; since, far from being able to reproach myself with having given his Catholic Majesty any cause of complaint during my nunciature, I dare congratulate myself on having rendered His Majesty signal services in the most difficult circumstances in which he was placed. His Majesty has given proof of his being sensible thereof, by having honoured me (immediately on his restoration to the complete exercise of his sovereignty) with the grand cross of the Conception, and by having actively interested himself with the Holy Father, a short time before my departure, in order to have conferred on me a dignity in the Cathedral church of Valencia. I will always

cherish the memory of the favours which His Catholic Majesty has bestowed upon me, and I will entertain the most profound respect for him, and the most lively interest in all that can concern his welfare and that of his august family. I have further to observe, that, of all the benefits conferred on me by His Majesty, I consider the greatest and the most acceptable to me (at least in its effects) that of his having this day closed to me the high dignity of the Pontificate. Well aware of my own weakness, I could never have anticipated that I should be loaded with so heavy a burden. Yet, during the past few days, seeing, to my surprise, that I was thought of in this matter, my soul has been penetrated with bitter grief. To-day, I find myself freed from so great a trouble, my tranquillity is restored, and there remains to me the gratification that some of my most worthy colleagues have been able to cast their regards on me, and have honoured me with their votes; and to them I will ever profess my sincere gratitude.[1]

It was well known that Cardinal Giustiniani had the strongest objection to be elevated to the exalted post to which he had been destined by his colleagues, by whom, doubtless, this circumstance was deemed an additional recommendation in his favour. It may be interesting to the English reader to be reminded that His Eminence was connected by family ties with these countries—being uncle to Sigismund, Prince Giustiniani-Bandini, Earl of Newburgh in Scotland.

While France has not exercised her veto in modern times, Austria has done so frequently, and Spain once only—on the occasion just referred to.

[1] Moroni, "Dizionario," xxxi. 221–224. Venice, 1845.

CHAPTER XL

BENEFITS CONFERRED BY THE PAPACY ON MANKIND.

To any careful and dispassionate reader of history, no matter what his religious tenets may be—nay, even though he should altogether reject the Christian dispensation—it must be obvious, that the Papacy, quite apart from its highest, its most sacred, functions, has, during its existence of close on nineteen hundred years, conferred signal and enduring benefits on the human race.

Not one modern Catholic writer need be quoted in support of this proposition; as, happily, it is upheld by a host of non-Catholic witnesses.

Before we come to these, let us take up those co-temporary historians, whose authority is so widely accepted; and what do we find? In the midst of the anarchy induced by the decline and disruption of the Roman Empire, all through the horrors of the Barbarian incursions in the North, and the dangers of the Mahometan invasions in the South, and further on in that gloomy period commonly denominated the Dark Ages, when peace had seemingly fled for ever before the lurid aspect of war and its grim attendants, famine and pestilence, when the arm of industry was paralyzed by insecurity, and all the institutions of civil society were being loosed from their foundations, we constantly meet with one venerable figure standing prominently forth in the desolate scene—reducing anarchy to order, staying the red hand of massacre and rapine, fearlessly confronting the royal or imperial oppressor in the

stronghold of his power; assembling around him, protecting, relieving, and consoling, the oppressed, the helpless, and the sorrow-stricken; and, as it were, supernaturally upheld, succeeding, beyond all human hope, in his heroic efforts to save society.

In perusing the records of this sad epoch, we cannot but conclude, that those who rendered such services to mankind were, each in his turn, raised up by God, to counteract the evils which He, in His inscrutable designs, permitted to exist; and that their wondrous success was mainly due to the fact, that, in their exalted position of Vicars of Christ, before the eyes of the whole world, they were recognized and revered as the impersonation of a principle ever abiding in His Church, and enunciated, on His advent, by the angelic choirs in these words: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth Peace to men of good will." Thus, the action of the Popes was regarded by themselves, and accepted by all Christendom, as a dictate—nay more, as a solemn obligation, of their sacred office.

It is unnecessary here to dwell on those passages in early Church History, which illustrate the heroism and charity of the First Leo, and the First Gregory, and of several of their successors on the Papal throne, elsewhere alluded to in these pages. Referring to a later period, a learned Protestant writer observes:—

> During the Middle Ages, when there was no social order, the Papacy alone perhaps saved Europe from total barbarism. It created bonds of connection between the most distant nations; it was a common centre, a rallying point for isolated States. . . . It was a supreme tribunal, established in the midst of universal anarchy, and its decrees were sometimes as respectable as they were respected. It prevented and arrested the despotism of the Emperors, compensated for the want of equilibrium, and diminished the inconveniences of the feudal system.[1]

[1] Ancillon, "Tableau des Révolutions du Système Politique de l'Europe," vol. i. pp. 79, 106. Berlin, 1803. Johann Peter Friedrich Ancillon was born in Berlin in 1766, and died in that city in 1837. He became a Protestant minister, and was appointed Professor of

By all sorts of methods (says M. Guizot) the Church likewise strove to repress the tendency of society to violence and continual wars. Every one is aware that it was by "the truce of God," and numerous measures of the same nature, that the Church struggled against the employment of force, and devoted itself to introduce into society a greater degree of order and mildness. These facts are so well known that I am spared the trouble of entering into any detail.[1]

It must be confessed (says Leibnitz) that the solicitude of the Popes, concerning the canons and Ecclesiastical discipline, was from time to time most beneficial; and that, by influencing kings, in season and out of season, either by the authority of their office, or by the threat of Ecclesiastical censures, the Pontiffs hindered many evils. And nothing was more common than that kings should subject themselves, in their treaties, to the censure and correction of the Pope, as in the treaty of Bretigny, in 1360, and in the treaty of Etaples, in 1492.[2]

With reference to the facts, that "many princes were feudatories or vassals either of the Roman Empire or certainly of the Roman Church, and that they were named Kings or Dukes by the Emperor or the Pope, and that others were not inaugurated in their kingdoms without at the same time doing homage to Christ, to whose Church they promised fealty, when they were anointed by the Bishop," Leibnitz further observes:—

Thus Christ reigns, conquers, commands: since history shows that most of the Western nations have with earnest piety submitted themselves to the Church. Nor do I dispute, whether these things are of Divine right. It is clear, they were done with unanimous consent, they could most properly be done, and they are not opposed to the common weal of Christendom; for not unfrequently the care of the salvation of souls and the public good are identical.[3]

History in the Royal Military Academy at Berlin. He was moreover one of the leading members of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Prussia. In 1803, he published the able work above quoted. He was also the author of several essays, literary and philosophical, and of several sermons.

[1] Guizot, "Lectures on Civilization in Europe," lecture vi.

[2] Leibnitz, Dissert. i., "De Actorum publicorum usu." Opera Omnia, tom. iv. p. 299. Geneva, 1768.

[3] Leibnitz, "Tractatus de Jure Suprematus," par. iii., Opera, tom. iv. p. 330.

He further says:—

I have seen something of the project of M. de St. Pierre to maintain perpetual peace in Europe. . . . My idea would be, to establish, ay even in Rome, a tribunal (to decide controversies between sovereigns), and to make the Pope its president; as he really, in former ages, figured as judge between Christian princes.[1] But ecclesiastics should, at the same time, resume their ancient authority, and an interdict or an excommunication should make kings and kingdoms tremble, as in the days of Nicholas I. or Gregory VII.[2]

As already observed, this extraordinary power, formerly wielded by the Pope with such salutary results, when all Christian nations were united in the profession of one common faith, would be an anachronism in the present day. However, the extracts above given, from the writings of one of the most eminent philosophers of any period,[3] must have considerable weight

[1] A case in point is the arbitration of Alexander VI. between the Kings of Spain and Portugal, as to the boundaries of their respective territories in the New World. The question was settled by Alexander's Bull, *Inter cætera*, May 4th, 1493; and thus not only was war between the two sovereigns averted, but the Pope availed himself of the occasion to exhort them to extend the blessings of religion and civilization to their new subjects.

[2] Leibnitz, "Deuxième Lettre à M. Grimarêt." Opera, tom. v. p. 65. Further quotations from Protestant writers, to the same effect, will be found in the chapter, "Saint Gregory VII." See also Gosselin, "The Power of the Pope in the Middle Ages," to which learned work I am indebted for reference to some of these authorities.

[3] Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibnitz was born at Leipsic, July 3, 1646. From the earliest age he evinced an ardent love of study. At twelve years old, as he himself tells us, he was well acquainted with the Latin classics, and had acquired some knowledge of Greek. In his fifteenth year, he entered the University of Leipsic, to study law; at the same time devoting himself assiduously to mathematics and the writings of Plato and the other Greek philosophers. In 1673, Leibnitz visited England, where he made the acquaintance of Newton, and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He became a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris in 1699. In 1700 he laboured in the formation of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin, of which he was appointed the first president by the Elector of Brandenburg, afterwards Frederick I. of Prussia. He was the author of several learned works of science, philosophy, theology, and history. Among these was his *Systema Theologicum*, an unfinished manuscript, in his own handwriting, published after his death. In his latter years, he main-

in our discussion of the benefits, material and moral, conferred by the Papacy on mankind in the Middle Ages.

But, even down to the nineteenth century, the sanction of the Successor of Saint Peter has been again and again invoked by the holders of supreme power in Western Europe. As it was with Pepin in the eighth century, when his kingdom acquired the halo of legitimacy from the decision of Pope Zachary, so was it with Napoleon in the nineteenth, when he sought to have the fabric of his mighty empire consolidated by the consecrating hand of Pius VII.; and so was it with many another prince, between those two widely divided epochs.

The chief of Austrasia, Pepin, son of Charles Martel, in his turn, had need of the Pope (says M. Guizot). He wished to get himself declared King of the Franks, and, however well his power might be established, he wanted a sanction to it. I have many times remarked, and am not tired of repeating it, that power does not suffice to itself; it wants something more than success; it wants to be converted into right; it demands that characteristic, sometimes of the free assent of men, sometimes of religious consecration. Pepin invoked both.[1]

It is refreshing, in these days of conspiracy and rebellion against all social order and religion, in turning over the pages of history, to dwell upon such indications, that there is ineradicably implanted in the

tained an angry controversy with Newton, as to the discovery of the Differential Calculus, which appears to have been arrived at by both these eminent men at about the same period. The dispute was referred to the Royal Society, of which body Newton was president; and the decision was unfavourable to Leibnitz. The long and able correspondence of Leibnitz and Bossuet on the *Reunion of the Churches*, a correspondence as remarkable for its learning as for its tone of Christian charity and kindliness, was closed without any result, about the year 1700. He died on November 14, 1716, in his seventy-first year. Leibnitz was a man of wide toleration in matters of religion; and some writers impute to him a leaning towards the Catholic Church. His life and works, however, mark him a steadfast Protestant. Vide "G. G. Leibnitii Opera Omnia," 6 vols. 4to. Geneva, 1768.

[1] Guizot, "History of Civilization," lecture xix.

human mind a certain recognition of authority, primarily emanating from Him who, in the family, the tribe, the kingdom, and, above all, in His Church, has appointed that there should be a Head to unite and govern all, and, while promoting the best interests, in detail, to preserve the existence, of society.

Let us next view the Papacy in its relations with Slavery. The amelioration of the condition of slaves, the promotion of their enfranchisement, and the solacing and redemption of Christian captives among the Infidels, from a very early period, engaged the attention of the Church. She found slavery a firmly established institution; and, from her infancy, although unable to attempt the abolition, she endeavoured to mitigate the evils, of the system. She at once declared all Christians, no matter what their condition of life, to be one and the same before God, the common Father of all. "For as many of you as have been baptized in Christ, have put on Christ," says Saint Paul. "There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither bond nor free; there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus."[1] She further inculcated on masters and slaves the fulfilment of their duties to each other and to God. "Let every man," says the same Apostle, "abide in the same calling in which he was called. Wast thou called, being a bondman? Care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather."[2] And again: "Slaves,[3] be obedient to them that are your lords according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in the simplicity of your heart as to Christ. . . . And you, masters, do the same things to them, forbearing threatenings; knowing that the Lord both of them and you is in heaven; and there is no respect of persons with Him."[4]

From the commencement, the enfranchisement of slaves, among Christians, was accompanied by religious

[1] Gal. iii. 27, 28.
[2] 1 Cor. vii. 20.
[3] In the Greek δοῦλοι.
[4] Eph. vi. 5 and 9.

ceremonies. On his conversion to Christianity, in the first quarter of the fourth century, the Emperor Constantine, desirous that the practice should become general, decreed that all enfranchisements should take place in the Church, in the presence of the Bishop, and that in this case the usual legal formalities might be dispensed with.[1] Thenceforward, in the spirit of Christianity, laws were enacted by this enlightened prince, to moderate and regulate the power of the masters; and the churches were thrown open, as sanctuaries, or places of refuge, to slaves unjustly or cruelly treated. On the other hand, the rights of the masters were respected; and the ancient canons forbade that any slave should be admitted amongst the clergy, or received into a monastery, without the consent of his lord.

The liberation of their brethren from slavery by the Christians, was a usage of very ancient date. Among other instances, we read of Saint Gregory the Great applying the revenues of the patrimonies of the Holy See in Gaul for this purpose. With the development of the Church, this charitable work was embodied, systematized, and perpetuated, in those great religious orders, which, under the sanction of the Supreme Pontiff, sprang into existence some seven centuries ago, and achieved such marvellous results—results equalled only by the dangers and difficulties that had to be surmounted. Such was the Order of Trinitarians, founded by Saints John of Matha and Felix of Valois, approved by Pope Innocent III., in 1198, and confirmed by the same Pontiff, in 1209. In the six centuries that elapsed from the date of its foundation to 1787, no less than nine hundred thousand Christian captives were redeemed

[1] Theodosian Code, lib. iv. tit. vii. n. 1. "Qui religiosâ mente, in Ecclesiæ gremio, servulis suis meritam concesserit libertatem, eamdem eodem jure donasse videatur, quo civitas Romana, solemnitatibus decursis dari consuevit; sed hoc duntaxat iis qui sub aspectu antistitum dederint, placuit relaxari." Much of the wise legislation of Constantine is preserved in the Codes of his successors, Theodosius and Justinian, as will presently be seen.

from slavery by this one organization. Such again was the Order of Our Blessed Lady of Mercy for the Redemption of Captives, founded by Saint Peter Nolasco, and approved and confirmed by Pope Gregory IX., in 1235. Not to speak of its labours in other regions, this order, in six centuries, ransomed over three hundred thousand Christian slaves, in Barbary alone. In addition to the ordinary three vows, there was a fourth vow, by which the brothers bound themselves "to take the place of a captive, if there were no other means of effecting his liberation." Here may also be enumerated the Lazarists or Fathers of the Mission, instituted by Saint Vincent de Paul, approved by Pope Urban VIII., in 1632, and confirmed by Alexander VII., in 1655. The devoted labours of these Fathers among the Christian slaves, under Mahometan masters in Northern Africa, for a long period, were attended with the most gratifying results, as were also the missions of the Franciscans, and other religious orders, all under the sanction of the Holy See.

The Church (observes M. Guizot) resolutely struggled against the great vices of the social state, for example, against slavery. It has been often asserted that the abolition of slavery in modern Europe was exclusively owing to Christianity. I think this is saying too much. Slavery long existed in the heart of Christian society, without greatly exciting its astonishment or drawing down its anathema. A multitude of causes, and a great development in other ideas of civilization, were required to eradicate this evil of evils, this iniquity of iniquities. Yet it is indubitable that the Church employed its influence in restraining it. There exists an unquestionable proof of this fact. The greater part of the formulas of enfranchisement, made out at different eras, are founded upon a religious motive; it is upon the invocation of religious ideas, of hopes of eternal bliss, and the equality of men in the eyes of Heaven, that the enfranchisement is almost invariably pronounced.[1]

We have next to regard the services of the Papacy in the field of Jurisprudence. Those who study the

[1] Guizot, "History of Civilization in Europe," lect. vi.

laws of Constantine and his successors, will find therein abundant evidence that the legislation of the first Christian Emperors was largely influenced by the Chief Pastors of the Church. This conclusion will be confirmed by a perusal of the works of Eusebius, Sozomen, Socrates, and the other early Ecclesiastical historians. Therefore, it is not a matter of surprise that the wiser and milder spirit of the Theodosian and Justinian Codes should place them in strong contrast with the system which they superseded.[1]

[1] The Theodosian Code received the sanction of the Emperor Theodosius, on the 15th of February, 438. This was not Theodosius the Great, as some erroneously suppose, but his grandson Theodosius II., son of Arcadius, Emperor of the East—Theodosius the Great having divided the Empire between his sons, allotting the East to Arcadius, and the West to Honorius. This Code contains the enactments of fifteen Emperors, commencing with Constantine, and covering a period of one hundred and twenty-six years, from A.D. 312 to 438. It includes the edicts of Julian the Apostate. The Theodosian Code is divided into sixteen books. These laws of the Eastern, were immediately adopted in the Western Empire. When the Visigoths conquered Spain in the year 473, they permitted their new subjects to retain the Theodosian Code, of which a compendium was drawn up and completed at the Council of Toledo, in 506, with the approval of Alaric, King of the Visigoths, who then was master of nearly the whole of Spain and some provinces of Gaul. It was styled the Code of the Visigoths; and it strikingly illustrates "the immense superiority of the ideas of the Church, on the subject of legislation and the administration of justice." The Justinian Code followed that of Theodosius after a lapse of about a century. It was drawn up by the celebrated Tribonian, and nine other civilians, appointed by the Emperor for the purpose. It is a most comprehensive compilation, containing not only the Theodosian Code, but all the edicts and rescripts of the Emperors from Hadrian to Justinian, both inclusive. Of these, some are condensed, and some are consolidated with others; whilst unimportant matter is excluded. This Code, intended to supersede its predecessors, received the sanction of the Emperor on the 7th of April, 529. Three years later, under the auspices of Justinian, was published the Digest, or Pandects, in fifty books, containing over five hundred decisions in legal causes; and these were soon followed by the Institutes, which comprise all the principles of Roman jurisprudence. In 534, the Emperor revised his Code, and published it anew; and he subsequently added several new statutes called *Novellæ*, or Novels, thus completing what is known as the Civil or Roman Law. Appropriately indeed might Justinian, the greatest of all legislators, have uttered the words attributed to the First Napoleon, "I shall go down to posterity with the Code in my hand."

Let us take a few examples from the legislation of Constantine. We have examined his edicts to ameliorate the condition of slaves, and to facilitate their enfranchisement. He further enacted, that any master deliberately killing his slave should be adjudged guilty of homicide. Next, he abolished the cruel and revolting punishment of the crucifixion, and breaking the legs, of criminals. He caused those who heretofore were condemned to gladiatorial combats, to be sent to labour in the mines; and he forbade their being branded on the face and forehead. He provided that no one accused of a crime should be condemned without sufficient proof. He put an end to the exactions of magistrates and public officers who demanded payment for the discharge of their functions, and inconvenienced suitors by the delay of justice. He empowered all his subjects to prefer complaints, where there was abundant proof, against the governors of provinces and their officers. He passed laws for the protection of orphans and minors, against the cruelty and malversation of their guardians. He ordained that widows, minors, the poor, the sick, and the disabled should not be obliged to plead out of their own province. He forbade any resort to violence in the collection of the State revenue, and prohibited the imprisonment of those who were in arrear for taxes, or the seizure of their slaves or animals employed in agriculture. Finally, he promulgated several other ordinances, equally humane and judicious.

All these enactments, and many others of a similar character—the outcome of the legislation of the first Christian Emperor and his immediate successors—were mainly inspired by the Church. They are all included in the comprehensive Code of Justinian, which, together with its supplements, the Digest or Pandects, the Institutes, and the Novellæ, constitutes what is called the Roman or Civil Law, which is the groundwork of the legislation of all civilized countries.

We have seen, that, as early as the reign of Constantine, Bishops were invested with extensive jurisdiction in civil causes, in which suitors elected to have recourse to their arbitrament. Under Constantine's successors, that jurisdiction was rather increased than diminished.[1] In the midst of an unlettered population, the clergy alone were studious and learned; for, owing to the anarchy resulting from the decline of the Empire, literature, once so flourishing in ancient Greece and Rome, became, generation after generation, more and more circumscribed to the sanctuary and the cloister. Moreover, the force of events, in Rome and Italy, threw the weight of government, and the preservation of the framework of society itself, on the Pope and the clergy. Nor were these circumstances confined to the Italian Peninsula. In nearly every European State, from at least the seventh or eighth, down to the sixteenth, century, the Church took a leading part in the work of legislation. Even our own history tells us, that for a long period, commonly, the office of Lord High Chancellor of England was filled by an ecclesiastic; and that many a bishop, and many a mitred abbot, took his seat in the upper council of the nation, side by side with the descendants of the mail-clad barons of Runnymede, and of the ennobled conquerors of Agincourt, Crecy, and Poitiers. For these reasons especially, among others, the civil law of all Europe is deeply imbued with the principles and precepts of Christianity. Moreover, in the adjudication of causes purely civil, the bishops, in their courts, availed themselves, as far as practicable, of the Ecclesiastical laws already existing on Constantine's accession. Those enactments were the foundation of the Canon Law of the Church.[2]

[1] Charlemagne fully confirmed the jurisdiction of bishops in civil causes, in which suitors had recourse to them; and, further, he gave the bishops a power of supervision over the temporal judges. The bishops, preoccupied by Ecclesiastical affairs, frequently delegated their jurisdiction to Ecclesiastical, and sometimes to lay, deputies, presiding in their place.

[2] Canon Law. From the Greek Κανὼν, a rule, a law.

The Canon Law is composed of the Decrees of general and particular councils, approved by the Holy See, and the Decretals of Popes, concerning questions of morals and Ecclesiastical discipline.[1] In the first three centuries of Christianity, while the Emperors were yet Pagan, there were held more than twenty councils, in the East, in Italy, in Gaul, and in Spain, and, in the greater part of these, laws of discipline were enacted. The laws of these and subsequent councils, till the end of the fifth century, were collected under the title of the Canons of the Apostles. The first fifty were translated from the original Greek, by Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman abbot, about the year 500. They were published again, half a century later (increased in number to eighty-five), by Joannes Scholasticus, who was made Patriarch of Constantinople in 565. But these could not be unreservedly accepted; as, for instance, the forty-sixth pronounced all baptism by heretics invalid. Taken as a whole, however, they formed the first foundation of the Canon Law. They were called Apostolic

[1] Decretals are the letters of Popes, deciding points of morals and discipline, in reply to bishops, or others, consulting them. They are called Decretals, because they are decisions having the force of law in the Church. The earliest extant are the collection of Dionysius Exiguus, alluded to in the text, who wrote about A.D. 500. They range from Pope Saint Siricius, A.D. 385, to Saint Anastasius II., A.D. 498. The first is that addressed by Siricius to Hymerius, Bishop of Tarragona, under date of 11th of February, 385. These were followed by several other collections. One of the principal was that of Gratian, a Benedictine monk, which comes down to A.D. 1150, and has, several times, been republished, with corrections and emendations. Perhaps the most important are the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX., drawn up, in obedience to his orders, by Saint Raymond of Pegnafort, and extending from A.D. 1150 to 1234. This work, styled *Decretalium D. Gregorii IX. Compilatio*, is divided into five books. Next were published, in 1298, the Decretals of Boniface VIII. In this collection, which Boniface entitled *Sextus*, or the Sixth Book, although it is itself divided into five books, we have, not only the Decretals of that Pontiff and of his predecessors back to Gregory IX., but also the decrees of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth General Councils, both held at Lyons, in 1245 and 1274 respectively. Next followed the *Clementinæ*, enacted in the Fifteenth General Council, held at Vienne, A.D. 1311, and presided over by Clement V.,

Canons; according to some, as having been drawn up by the Apostles; but, more probably, according to others, from having been adopted by the earliest councils, as containing Apostolic doctrine. Dionysius himself is doubtful of the first view, as in his preface he speaks of them as *Canones qui dicuntur Apostolorum*. They regarded not only the administration of the Sacraments, the duties of bishops, the morals of the clergy, the observance of Lent, and the celebration of Easter; but they moreover dealt with the administration of Ecclesiastical property, the validity of marriage, and other matters which concern civil order; and, on many points, necessarily, they were applicable to ordinary secular causes. For, in a Christian community, notwithstanding the theories of certain modern doctrinaires to the contrary, it is impossible to keep separate and distinct the principles of civil jurisprudence and the maxims and precepts of the Gospel.

In the lapse of time, the body of the Canon Law, *Corpus Juris Canonici*, was gradually increased by the

in person. They contain also several of that Pontiff's decisions given before and after that council. They were promulgated by his successor, John XXII., A.D. 1317, and were followed by the *Extravagantes* of the latter. John's Decretals were so named, because they "wandered outside," or beyond, the limits of former collections, or, in other words, were *vagantes extra Corpus Juris Canonici*. The same may be said of the *Extravagantes Communes*, which comprise the Constitutions of a series of Popes, from Urban IV. to Sixtus IV., both inclusive, A.D. 1261 to 1484. They both now, however, form a portion of "the Body of the Canon Law," *Corpus Juris Canonici*, which, at the present day, comprises six collections of Decretals; viz. the *Decretum* of Gratian, the *Decretales* of Gregory IX., the *Sextus* of Boniface VIII., the *Clementinæ*, the *Extravagantes* of John XXII., and the *Extravagantes Communes*. The *Clementinæ* here mentioned are not to be confounded with the apocryphal writings so called, falsely attributed to Saint Clement Pope. I have elsewhere alluded to the False Decretals of Isidore Mercator, published in the beginning of the ninth century. The six collections of Decretals, above mentioned, are supplemented by the *Jus novissimum*, or most recent law, which comprises the canons of General Councils, since that of Vienne, the Decretals of Popes, and the decisions of the Roman Congregations confirmed by the Holy See, in modern times.

additional enactments of Popes and councils, as the necessity arose.[1] Conceived in the wise and beneficent spirit of Christianity, and drawn up with that careful deliberation, which is admittedly a characteristic of the proceedings of the Holy See, the Canon Law is more or less interwoven with, and, in many particulars, beneficially influences, the jurisprudence of all Christian nations.

So deep (says Lord Stair) hath this Canon Law been rooted, that even where the Pope's authority is rejected, yet consideration must be had to these laws, not only as those by which Church benefices have been erected and ordered, but as likewise containing many equitable and profitable laws, which, because of their weighty matter and their being once received, may more fitly be retained than rejected.[2]

We now come to the Crusades—a vexed question, but one in which the weight of evidence is all in favour of the general opinion, that, in originating and encouraging those expeditions, in the Middle Ages, the Papacy conferred great benefits on mankind. Naturally, at the time, all Christian hearts were turned towards Palestine, a land sanctified by the life and actions of the world's Redeemer. But the holy places were desecrated, the Christian inhabitants were oppressed and enslaved, and the numerous Christian pilgrims were plundered and otherwise maltreated, by the Infidel masters of the country. Not only this; but, in his design of extirpating the Christian name, and universally substituting the Crescent for the Cross, the Mahometan menaced the great capital of the Eastern Empire, had made good his ground in Spain, and was preparing for the conquest of all Western Europe. "It cannot be denied," says M. Michaud, the most laborious and probably the

[1] This was especially the case after the death of Charlemagne, when the wars and confusion that ensued rendered the meeting of councils difficult—nay, for the time, impossible. Then the Popes were very much consulted, by bishops, abbots, and sovereign princes—sometimes even about temporal affairs.

[2] Stair. "Institutions of the Law of Scotland," I. i. 14.

most learned writer on the subject, "that the Crusades powerfully contributed to save European societies from the invasion of the barbarians, and in this, no doubt, lay the first and the greatest of all the advantages which humanity derived from them."

The most striking feature of the Crusades was their Catholicity, or universality. At the bidding of the Holy Father, all Europe rose *en masse*—youth and age, rich and poor, noble and peasant; and kings were the leaders of the vast armaments. The undertaking was in accord with the spirit of the age—an age of religion and chivalry. Not for the annexation of territory, not for plunder, not for revenge, but from the highest motives of vindicating God's glory, and rescuing their fellow Christians from tyranny and bondage, those countless hosts were set in motion; and, bound by vow not to retrace their steps until their glorious end was accomplished, they endured privation, suffering, the breaking up of their homes, the loss of worldly goods, and the sacrifice of life itself—all on a gigantic scale,—thus presenting a unique spectacle of Christian faith and union, and forming one of the grandest and most sublime passages in human history.

It must be admitted that with all this there was an intermixture of evils unavoidable in such enterprises; but, again, for the time, wars and dissensions ceased at home, commerce was extended, the useful arts were imparted and acquired, and in other respects civilization received a considerable impulse from the movement. Such was then the influence of the Successor of Saint Peter, that the seemingly deserted strongholds of prince and duke, and the slenderly garrisoned capitals of kings, all remained secure and intact, under the safeguard of the Holy See. For the power of the Keys alone—the fear of excommunication—was sufficient to restrain the ambitious designs of those who might otherwise have attempted the usurpation of territories, which their rulers, in assuming the cross, had placed under the

special protection of the Pope. More than one non-Catholic writer, in modern times, has deplored that the spirit of Christian chivalry, which animated men in those days of united Christendom, appears to have departed for ever.

In the care of the poor, widows, orphans, and the destitute sick, the Church, from the earliest ages, has followed the precepts and example of her Divine Founder. The ancient Greeks and Romans, notwithstanding all their refinement and intellectual culture, made no provision for such objects. But under the Christian dispensation, which regarded not only the eternal but the temporal interests of man, the case was different. Hence the Apostles immediately appointed Deacons, to minister to the needy and helpless; and, with the growth of the Church, this good work steadily increased, and, varying in form with time and place, has ever since continued. It was a touching scene, when in the persecution of Valerian, A.D. 258, after the martyrdom of the holy Pope Xystus, the Deacon Laurence was summoned before the Pagan Prefect of Rome, and was ordered to produce the treasures of the Church; and Laurence begged to be allowed till the following day to collect them; and at the appointed hour next morning he appeared again before the tribunal, attended by the poor, the infirm, the aged, the helpless orphans, and the consecrated virgins who ministered to them; and pointing to these he said: "Behold our treasures. In the sight of Heaven, they are of great price."

In the fourth century, when persecution was at an end, and the Church breathed freely, under the Christian Emperors, we find gradually established, *Brephotrophia*,[1] or houses for foundlings or other destitute infants, who but for such aid would have perished; *Orphanotrophia*,[2] or orphanages for children of both

[1] From the Greek Βρέφος, an infant at the breast, and τρέφω or τροφέω, to nourish.

[2] From the Greek Ὀρφανὸς, ὁ, an orphan, and τροφέω, to nourish.

sexes; *Nosocomia*,[1] or hospitals for the sick; *Gerontocomia*,[2] or asylums for the aged; *Ptochotrophia*,[3] or general asylums for the poor, and *Xenodochia*,[4] or houses of hospitality for strangers, in all of which not only the temporal but also the spiritual necessities of the inmates were fully attended to. From the capital of Christendom, the example spread, in time, and in the large cities of the East and West similar institutions were founded. The wars and confusion which followed the breaking up of the Empire of Charlemagne, in the ninth and tenth centuries, destroyed nearly all these houses; but, on the return of peace, they were re-established by the Church. As centuries moved on, the great religious orders, under the special sanction of the Holy Father, first out of their resources, and subsequently by more active co-operation, largely aided the good work: and, in more recent times, the numerous religious congregations, approved by the Pope, each fulfilling its own special function, devoted, as they still devote, themselves, with all the power of their untiring zeal and perfect organization, to the succour of suffering humanity.

But we are told by modern economists that alms beget idleness and improvidence. "Better give no such aid; but let labour and economy supply the workman with means, out of his savings, to meet all emergencies." Then, if a poor man should be stricken down by fever, or disabled by an accident, is there to be no hospital to receive him? Is there to be no Christian society or association, to maintain his wife and six or eight young children, during his illness and convalescence? Will he have been able to save sufficient for all casualties out of his small earnings, even where employment is constant? Again, are the orphans of the poor to be

[1] From the Greek Νόσος, sickness, and κομέω, to take care of.

[2] From the Greek Γέρων, γέροντος, an old man, and κομέω, to take care of.

[3] From the Greek Πτωχὸς, poor, and τροφέω, to nourish.

[4] From the Greek Ξένος, a stranger, and δέχομαι to take or receive.

allowed to perish, by a Christian community? Is no helping hand to be extended to the widow, with young children, starving on the scanty pittance, earned by her unceasing toil? True, there should be no abuse of charity; alms ought not to be given to the improvident or undeserving; but by no means can abuses be better guarded against than by the rules, the experience, and the personal ministrations, of the several religious societies established for charitable purposes, with the sanction of the Holy See.[1] A visit to a hospital or an orphanage, or an asylum, under the care of nuns, such as the *Santo Spirito* in Rome, the *Hotel Dieu* in Paris,[2] the *Mater Misericordiæ* in Dublin, or any of the Irish workhouse hospitals, will speak far more eloquently than any words that could be written on the subject. It is well, however, thus far to allude to an objection to all alms-giving, or relief of the poor, which one hears urged of late, and which is especially in accord with the views of some of the objectors—happily in these countries a small number,—who ignore the Sacred Volume, in which we are told, "The poor you have always with you." Even England, over and above her innumerable charitable institutions, supported with a munificence characteristic of the nation, is obliged annually to expend, under the cumbrous system of her Poor Laws, a sum of about eight million pounds sterling, of which two million two hundred thousand pounds are absorbed in charges, whilst in Ireland

[1] The association, established in London, a few years ago, for the "Organization of charity," in order to prevent and detect imposition, is, no doubt, of great value, especially in large cities; not only directly, in fulfilling its main object, but indirectly also, in educating and beneficially influencing charitable institutions and individuals, particularly the latter, in the exercise of that discriminating care by which all alms-giving should be accompanied and directed.

[2] Since the publication of the first edition of this book, the hatred of all religion has led the French Government to expel the nuns from the *Hotel Dieu*, and to substitute lay nurses for them, to the deep regret, emphatically expressed, of the entire medical staff of the Hospital.

and Scotland the total annual expenditure in legal relief of the poor, is one million and nine hundred thousand pounds, respectively.[1]

Formerly, all those who required it were cordially relieved at the doors of the monasteries in these countries, without any staff expenses whatever. But, in instituting a comparison of the two systems, full allowance must be made for the difference between the present dense population, and the sparse numbers of the inhabitants of these islands before the reign of Elizabeth.

Allusion has already been made to the early labours of the Church, in fulfilment of her mission to teach all nations. In modern times, as detailed in the chapter on the Hierarchy, the same work unceasingly goes on. Here, the benefits are not confined to the mere imparting of the truths and maxims of the Gospel; for, over and above the humanizing effects of Christianity itself, wherever the missionary has appeared, civilization and the arts of peace have followed in his footsteps. This is pleasingly illustrated in the history of the Jesuit missions in Paraguay and Brazil, where were established those happy communities, of simple tastes and blameless lives, such as More loved to picture in imagination, and a celebrated philanthropist in our day sighs for, seemingly in vain. Not to dwell on the great French

[1] Poor Law Relief; 1880:—

England and Wales:	
In-door relief	£1,757,749
Out-door relief	2,710,778
Maintenance of lunatics in asylums	994,204
Workhouse loans and interest repaid	319,426
Salaries and rations of officers and superannuation	1,053,218
Other expenses	1,181,511
Total	8,016,886
Ireland: total expenditure, including that under Medical Charities Acts	1,083,342
Scotland: ditto, ditto	931,144

association of the Propagation of the Faith, and other kindred institutions and religious societies, under the immediate control of the Holy See, let us take a glance at the College "De Propaganda Fide," and we shall see what the efforts of the Papacy are, as they have ever been, in the field of missionary labour.

In order to systematize, and increase the efficiency of, existing material, the great College of the Propaganda was founded in 1622, by Gregory XV., for the educacation of young men "from infidel or heretical countries," who would return, as missionaries, to diffuse the Catholic faith among their fellow-countrymen. The present building, after the designs of Bernini, was erected by Gregory's immediate successor, Urban VIII. It possesses a good theological library; and has a most interesting collection of the letters and memoirs of the foreign missions; and is also rich in Oriental Manuscripts. In the printing-office, there are the characters of over fifty different languages, or, rather, groups of languages, for printing books for the foreign missions. This important institution is presided over by a body of cardinals, called "the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith," and it has a sub-congregation for the affairs of the Oriental rite. The Propaganda has the immediate charge of all the delegations, vicariates, and prefectures, Apostolic—that is, the missionary Churches throughout the world.[1]

Formerly, there used to be an annual academical exhibition held at the Propaganda, within the octave of the feast of the Epiphany, in the presence of the Papal court, the foreign ambassadors, and distinguished strangers. It was discontinued, on the usurpation of the Pope's territories, by the Italian Government in 1870; but it was resumed in 1880, by orders of his present Holiness. It was held in the month of April

[1] The recent spoliation, by the Italian Government, of the revenues of this great Cosmopolitan establishment—funds contributed by all nations—has called forth an indignant protest from Catholic Christendom.

that year, in the Vatican; and the following particulars thereof are abridged from the account given by the Roman correspondent of an Irish Journal.[1]

The Consistorial Hall was arranged with a throne at one side of the splendid chamber, and with seats for the cardinals and ambassadors placed in a circle, with rows of chairs extending at either side for the prelates and the privileged persons permitted to be present. Mustafa and the gentlemen of the Sistine choir occupied part of the upper end of the room, and sang some beautiful pieces of music with exquisite skill.

Leo XIII. entered the hall at a quarter past ten, attended by Monsignor Cataldi, Prefect of Pontifical Ceremonies, his majordomo and master of the camera, his private chamberlains, Boccali and Castrocane, the Marquis Serlupi and Prince Antici Mattei, and several cardinals. The seats for the *corps diplomatique* were occupied by the ambassadors or ministers of France, Spain, Portugal, Monaco, Bolivia, and other States.

The proceedings commenced by the reading in Italian of a prolusion by the Rev. Michele Camillieri, of Smyrna, and then followed the recitation of poetical compositions in forty-nine different languages, including Hebrew, Chaldaic, Coptic, Arabic, Turkish, Curd, Cingalese, Tartar, Armenian, Persian, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Akka. Twenty-one languages of Asia and Africa were spoken in the first part of the Accademia by young men of colour, ranging from the pale yellow of natives of the Lebanon or Mesopotamia to the sooty black of the Nubians and Central Africans. The recitations were interspersed with popular songs in Chaldee, Arabic, Curd, Cingalese, Armenian, and Syriac.

The second part comprised recitations and songs in twenty-eight languages of Europe, including Greek, Giorgian, Celtic, Bulgar, and Rumanian. The Accademia was brought to a termination by the benediction given by the Holy Father, and at half-past twelve p.m. the assemblage broke up. To this Accademia were admitted deputations from the students of the Ecclesiastical colleges in Rome.[2]

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[1] Letter in the *Freeman's Journal*, dated Rome, April 18, 1880.

[2] An interesting feature formerly in the Academical exhibitions of the Propaganda was the examination of the students in their own several languages by Cardinal Mezzofanti—probably the greatest linguist that ever lived. Joseph Caspar Mezzofanti was born of humble parentage in Bologna in 1774. From his early boyhood, he displayed a singular taste for, and power of acquiring, languages. At the age of twenty-three, when he was ordained priest, he was complete master of nine languages, besides his native Italian—namely, Latin, Greek, Hebrew,

The preservation of Literature and Science, through the wars and anarchy of the Middle Ages, is universally admitted to have been altogether the work of the Church. When districts were overrun and plundered by hostile bands, the monasteries were generally respected; and the inmates of those hallowed retreats, regardless of the outer world, devoted themselves to prayer, labour, study, and the transcription of manuscripts. There, too, were elaborated those great works, such as the Summa of Saint Thomas, which are destined to live for ever. We need not go back to that early period, when the crowded monastic seminaries of these islands were hospitably thrown open to all strangers,—

> "When the Church of the Isles saw her glories arise—
> Columba the dove-like, and Carthagh the wise;
> And the school and the temple gave light to each shore,
> From clefted Iona to wooded Lismore:"

but, in recalling the familiar names of the Venerable Bede, Alcuin of York, Lanfranc, Saint Anselm, Saint

Coptic, Arabic, French, Spanish, German, and Swedish. About this time, he was appointed Professor of Arabic in the University of Bologna. He remained in that city several years, devoted to his favourite study, and discharging his sacred functions with exemplary zeal and punctuality. Meanwhile the fame of his acquirements had gone forth; and he received pressing invitations to settle in Rome, Paris, Naples, Vienna, and Florence; but he preferred remaining in his native place. On the accession of Gregory XVI., in 1831, he was one of a deputation from Bologna, to congratulate His Holiness; when the Pope expressed a wish, that he should reside in Rome. According to etiquette, this wish of the Supreme Pontiff was a command, which could not be disobeyed. Two years later, Mezzofanti was appointed Warden of the Vatican Library, in succession to the learned Angelo Mai, promoted to the post of Secretary of the Propaganda; and in 1838 he and Mai received Cardinal's hats. It has been ascertained, beyond all doubt, by careful inquiry of persons of different nations who knew him well, that Cardinal Mezzofanti spoke fluently fifty-eight languages, and that he knew twenty others more or less perfectly. Those with whom he conversed in their own tongues, Europeans and Orientals, bore testimony, not only to his fluency, but to his accuracy in grammar and accent, as well as his acquaintance with the literature of their several countries. Latterly, among his linguistic exercises, he used to preach, in their own language, to the Chinese students of the Propaganda. This singularly gifted man died in Rome on the 15th of March, 1849.

Bernard, Albertus Magnus, Saint Thomas of Aquin, Saint Bonaventure, John Duns Scotus, and Thomas à Kempis, ranging from the eighth to the fifteenth century, and taken from amidst a crowd of fellow-labourers in the same field, we cannot but plainly see how deeply learning and religion were indebted to the monastic institutions of the Middle Ages.

Among the religious orders, which in former times accomplished so much for the preservation and revival of learning, the Benedictines hold a proud pre-eminence; and, in more recent days, their great Congregation of Saint Maur has given to the world the works of Mabillon, Bernard de Montfaucon, Jean Luc D'Achery, François Lami, Denys de Sainte Marthe, Edmond Martène, and Thierry Ruinart—writers justly enjoying the respect and grateful appreciation of students of every Christian communion.[1]

On the present occasion (says Dugald Stewart) I shall content myself with remarking the important effects produced by the numerous monastic establishments all over the Christian world, in preserving, amidst the general wreck, the inestimable remains of Greek and Roman refinement; and in keeping alive, during so many centuries, those scattered sparks of truth and of science, which were afterwards to kindle into so bright a flame. I mention this particularly, because, in our zeal against the vices and corruptions of the Romish Church, we are too apt to forget how deeply we are indebted to its superstitious and apparently useless foundations, for the most precious advantages that we now enjoy.[2]

[1] The Benedictine order was founded by Saint Benedict at Monte Cassino, in the province of Caserta in Italy, in 529. According to Mabillon and other authorities, it was established in England as early as A.D. 596, as, in their opinion, Augustine and his companions, sent over by Saint Gregory the Great, that year, for the completion of the conversion of England, were Benedictine monks. It was by far the most numerous and most influential of the religious orders in England, down to the suppression under Henry VIII. The Congregation of Saint Maur was established in France in 1621, reviving the austerity of the original rule, with the approval of Pope Gregory XV., and was confirmed by his successor, Urban VIII.

[2] Dugald Stewart, Preliminary Dissertation, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "On the Progress of Metaphysical and Ethical Philosphy, since

It was (says Voltaire) for a long period, a consolation for the human race, that there should be asylums open to all who wished to escape the oppressions of the Goth and Vandal rule. Almost all who were not lords of castles were slaves: the peace of the cloister afforded a refuge from tyranny and war. . . . Whatever little knowledge remained among the Barbarians, was perpetuated in the cloisters. The Benedictines transcribed books. By degrees useful inventions issued from the monasteries. Moreover, the religious cultivated the earth, sang the praises of God, lived frugally, exercised hospitality, and their example might serve to mitigate the ferocity of those times of barbarism. . . . It cannot be denied that there were great virtues in the cloister. There is hardly one monastery at present that does not contain some admirable souls, who are the honour of human nature.[1]

Besides the labours of the monks, the bishops too, as a rule, did what lay in their power to keep alive the scattered embers of knowledge. Close by the bishop's house, which generally adjoined the Cathedral, there was a school or seminary, opened for the education of youth; and it frequently happened that, in troubled times, those establishments were respected, as well as the monasteries.

A necessary consequence, and at the same time a conclusive proof, of the Church having been the preserver and promoter of learning, in the Middle Ages, is that all the literature and all the jurisprudence—in a word, the whole moral and intellectual life, of that period—was deeply imbued with the spirit of Christianity.

It is generally admitted that, now for many ages, the Church has spared no pains to make Literature, Science, and the Arts the handmaids of Religion. In

the revival of letters in Europe," p. 14. The above testimony is perhaps the more valuable, as coming from a writer so prejudiced against the Church. Indeed, his prejudice here leads him into a strange inconsistency, or self-contradiction, where he speaks of "how deeply we are indebted to its superstitious and apparently useless foundations, for the most precious advantages that we now enjoy." The word *apparently*, qualifying "useless," is especially deserving of note. Why not similarly qualify "superstitious"? If appearances deceive in the one case, may they not deceive in the other?

[1] Voltaire, "Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations," chap. cxxxix.

the splendid libraries and galleries of art treasures, amassed by the Popes; in their munificent patronage of men of learning and genius; in the universities, colleges, and seminaries, they have, for so many centuries, founded and liberally endowed; we have abundant evidence of their anxiety that the cultivation of letters, science, and the arts, should go hand in hand with the bringing up of youth in the knowledge and practice of the truths and precepts of Christianity. Even in semi-barbarous nations, this training has gained the missionary access, where otherwise he might have met with rigid exclusion, if not death; and so it has come to pass that the Jesuit father has made the observatory at Pekin, or the laboratory at Yedo, a stepping-stone to the erection of Christian schools and temples, in perhaps the most anti-Christian empires in the world.

Here, a most interesting fact may be referred to—the Reformation of the Calendar by Pope Gregory XIII., in the year 1582. The Calendar is so named from the Greek *καλέω*, "I call;" because on the first day, or calends, of each month, the Pagan priests used to call the people together, to announce to them the festivals or sacred days, to be observed during the month. Amongst the ancient Romans, the year commenced with March. Hence, as indicated by their names, September, October, November, and December, were respectively the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth months. The lunar synodical month, or revolution of the moon, occupies twenty-nine and a half days, or, to speak more accurately, twenty-nine days, twelve hours, forty-four minutes, and three seconds. Twelve of these months made the year 354 days, or 11¼ days less than the actual solar year. In consequence of this, the lunar computation was abandoned for the solar; but the twelve months, with a day or two added to some, were retained as a convenient division of the 365 days of the year. This change was accomplished by Julius

Cæsar, who called in the aid of the celebrated astronomer, Sosigenes of Alexandria, for the purpose. It was accordingly decreed, that, whereas the mean length of the year was 365¼ days, the four quarters of a day, added together, should be given to every fourth year, which, consequently, would consist of 366 days, while the other years would consist of 365. The year thus receiving an additional day is called Bissextile, or Leap year.[1]

But the solar year is not quite 365¼ days, being, accurately speaking, 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, and 49.62 seconds: that is, there is short of 365¼ days in each year a space of 11 minutes and 10.38 seconds, which would amount to a day in 129 years, or about three days in four centuries. The Julian period commenced on the 1st of January, 46 Before Christ, or 708 of the Founding of the City. The vernal equinox that year fell on the 25th of March; and at the Council of Nice, held A.D. 325, it had gone back to the 21st, and in A.D. 1582, the year of the reformation of the Calendar, it had receded to the 11th of that month.[2] In other words, the civil year was then ten days wrong, or ten days behind the true solar year.

To remedy this, Pope Gregory XIII.[3] issued a Bull,

[1] This additional day, every fourth year, was given to February, as being the shortest month in the year; and was intercalated, or inserted in the calendar, between the 24th and 25th of that month. The 24th was, in the old Roman Calendar, called the *Sexto Calendas Martii*, or the sixth day before the Calends of March, and the Intercalary, or inserted day, was called *Bis-Sexto*, or double-sixth before the Calends of March. Hence the year itself was called Bissextile. "Leap year" is said to be so styled from the year's leaping over, as it were, one day more than ordinary years. Thus, if the 1st of April this year is Monday, next year it will be Tuesday; but supposing the year after that to be Leap year, it will leap over one day, so that the 1st of April will fall on Thursday.

[2] The Equinox, from the Latin *æquus*, equal, and *nox*, night, is the precise time when the sun enters the equinoctial circle, and there is equal day and night throughout the world. This happens on the 21st of March, and 23rd of September, whence they are called the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, respectively.

[3] Gregory XIII., a Bolognese, governed the Church, A.D. 1572–1585.

in the month of March, 1582, abolishing the Julian, and substituting for it the Gregorian Calendar, or "New Style." As it was found that there was an error of 11 minutes and 10 seconds annually, or of three days in every four centuries, in the Julian calculation, the Pope ordered that there should be no intercalation, or insertion of a day in February, in centenary years, save those which are multiples of four hundred. Thus, in the year 1600, there were twenty-nine days in February; in 1700 and 1800, there were only twenty-eight; in 1900, also, there will be only twenty-eight: but, in A.D. 2000, there will be twenty-nine days in that month. In other words, there are, under the Gregorian system, ninety-seven Leap years in every four centuries, or three less than under the Julian code, which it has superseded. This arrangement, for all practical ends, is sufficiently accurate; as, under it, there would be a difference of one day only in four thousand years. Gregory further ordered, that the 5th of October, 1582, the day after the feast of Saint Francis, should be reckoned the 15th of that month. Thus, the vernal equinox, which fell on the 11th of March, was restored to the twenty-first. The Pope's chief agents in this important work were Cardinal Serleto, Luigi Lilio Ghiraldi, and Father Clavius the Jesuit; especially the last, who made all the calculations, and published a voluminous work on the subject."[1]

The Gregorian Calendar was immediately adopted by

[1] Christopherus Clavius was born in Bamberg, in Bavaria, in 1537. He entered young among the Jesuits; and became remarkable, ere long, for his high scientific attainments. By order of Pope Gregory XIII., he took the leading part in the reformation of the Calendar. His works, which were published in five volumes folio, contain his *Romani Calendarii a Gregorio XIII., P.M. restituti Explicatio, Romæ*, 1603. He died in 1612. Luigi Lilio Ghiraldi, a celebrated astronomer of Naples, is said to have been the actual author of the Gregorian system; but he died before its completion. The idea of reforming the Calendar had been entertained by Pope Sixtus IV., A.D. 1474; but the work was abandoned, owing to the death of the astronomer Regiomontanus, to whom its supervision had been entrusted by His Holiness.

all the Catholic States; but in Denmark, Sweden, and the Protestant States of Germany, it was not admitted until the year 1700. England was still more tardy in acknowledging its merits; and it was only in 1751 that she passed an Act of Parliament for its adoption.[1] This change was carried out by making the day immediately following the 2nd of September, 1752, the 14th of that month, and thenceforward observing the Gregorian computation. At the same time it was ordered that the commencement of the civil year should be altered from the 25th of March to the 1st of January.[2] In Scotland, however, the New Style had been introduced from the 1st of January, 1600. In Russia, the Julian Calendar is still adhered to.

For many centuries, the Papacy has stood alone, in what it may justly lay claim to, as an exclusively special function—the patronage and development of the Fine Arts, in the service of religion. And it is a fact well worthy of the consideration of the unbeliever, that the greatest works of art which have ever been produced, have drawn their inspiration from, and have

[1] "The Protestant countries came much more slowly into the alteration," says Mr. Hallam, "truth being no longer truth when promulgated by the Pope." ("Introduction to the Literature of Europe," vol. ii. chap. 8, n. 15.)

[2] The 24th of George II., entituled "an Act for regulating the commencement of the year, and for correcting the Calendar now in use" (Public General Acts, 1751, p. 571. London, Baskett, 1751). At one period, the 25th of December, the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord, was reckoned the first day of the year by Christian nations; and, at another period, the 25th of March, the Feast of the Annunciation, or, again, Easter Sunday, was so observed. In England, the system of commencing the year with the 25th of December is said to have prevailed as early as the seventh century, and to have continued to the close of the twelfth. Then the 25th of March was substituted, and was observed as the first day of the year, until the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar in 1752. By bearing these facts in mind, we are able to account for, and reconcile, some apparent discrepancies in the dates ascribed by different Mediæval writers to certain important events in history. We have seen, that the year commenced with the 1st of January under the Julian system. Vide Petavium, "Rationarium Temporum," p. 409, et aliis locis; Leyden, 1710.

been dedicated to, the religion of Christ. This is exemplified in the wondrous Cartoons of Raphael, his Transfiguration, his Madonna di San Sisto, and his other immortal works; Domenichino's Communion of Saint Jerome; the Assumption of Corregio; and the grand creations of Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Guido Reni, Carlo Dolci, the Caracci, Murillo, and the other great Masters. Here we find portrayed, in lines of surpassing dignity and grace, the Incarnate God, the Immaculate Virgin Mother, the solemn scenes of the mystery of Man's Redemption—those familiar and ever-abiding truths, which, from our earliest childhood, have been so closely interwoven in our minds, as to form, as it were, part of our existence. All those who have visited the cathedrals of Continental Europe, must have, over and over again, felt, how the storied fresco, the glowing canvas, the breathing marble—combined with "the genius of the place"—tend to raise our hearts above worldly affairs, and to fill them with high and holy aspirations, befitting man's eternal destiny.[1]

Still more conducive to such a salutary train of thought are the venerable piles themselves, so suggestive in their grandeur of design, their perfection of detail, their chastened beauty. Let us visit a Gothic cathedral—the work of those Middle Ages which some persons in our day affect to despise; and yet they were Ages of Faith, when all Christian peoples were united in one flock, under one Chief Pastor—ages which could give embodiment and form to their faith and devotion, in such glorious structures. On entering, we behold, drawn out in long perspective, the graceful columns bearing the lofty clerestory, with its exquisite tracery

[1] "The Church of Rome has ever been the nurse of Arts, but painting has been its favourite child," observes Sir David Wilkie, writing from Italy in 1827. "The art of painting seems made for the service of Christianity. Would that the Catholics were not the only sect that had seen its advantages" (Cunningham's Life of Wilkie, vol i.).

of interlacing arches, which at a dizzy height daringly overspan the nave, reminding us of the primeval forest, in which the first men raised their hearts, in prayer, to the Creator. Alike impressive are the choir and sanctuary, so rich in appropriate detail; the aisles, with their several recessed chapels and votive altars—each in itself an artistic study; "the dim religious light," toned down by its tinted medium; the solemnity, grace, and beauty of the whole, combined with a solidity and strength which seem to bid defiance to the march of time. Both within and without, it will be observed that all the lines tend upwards, as if converging to one supreme apex—pointed arch, and pier, and flying buttress, all harmonizing with and sustaining the aerial spire, which crowns the hallowed work, and soars to heaven.

In Southern Europe, a preference was given to the horizontal lines, circular arch, portico, and colonnade, of ancient Greece and Rome—traditions of the Classic period; probably as being more suitable to the climate, and more in accordance with the genius of the people. Here the expansive dome or cupola is seen in its perfection. Of many familiar specimens of this style, let us take one, which stands alone and unapproachable in its majestic grandeur. To describe Saint Peter's would be a vain attempt. It must be seen to be appreciated. "We stand in the vestibule of the Vatican Basilica," says Mabillon, "nor do we dare to violate with a rude pen the majesty of so Divine a fabric. For there are some things which are praised in no way better than by amazement and silence."[1]

My readers are, no doubt, acquainted with the relative proportions of Saint Peter's and Saint Paul's in London, the latter being considered to come next to the great Roman Basilica, *longo tamen intervallo.* It may be well, however, to repeat here, that the height,

[1] Mabillon, "Iter Italicum."

from the floor to the top of the cross surmounting the dome, is 458 feet in Saint Peter's, and 362 in Saint Paul's; that the area covered by the floor is five English acres in the former, and two in the latter; and that the entire actual bulk of material in each building is estimated in the relative proportions of four and one. The cost of Saint Peter's, with its mosaics, paintings, sculptures, ornaments, and furniture, is set down at over twelve million pounds sterling, whilst Saint Paul's was finished at a cost of three-quarters of a million.

Nowhere perhaps is the difference more striking than in the two domes—Saint Paul's being constructed of wood, brick, and plaster, sheeted with copper, and, doubtless, presenting a noble external appearance, whilst Saint Peter's is a double dome of solid stonework, in size and grandeur incomparably beyond the other.

There is an anecdote in connection with the building of Saint Peter's which brings vividly before us its crowning glory—the matchless cupola; at the same time that it worthily illustrates the genius of Michael Angelo. According to Bramante's plan, the dome was to have been of the dimensions and elevation of the dome of the Pantheon, the summit of which is 143 feet above the pavement. Michael Angelo, who, in his seventy-second year, A.D. 1546, was appointed architect of the building, by Pope Paul III., conceived the sublime idea of elevating the dome, so that the top of the cross, by which it is surmounted, should stand at the stupendous height of 458 feet above the floor of the church. In submitting the alteration for the Pope's approval, he said, "Bramante would have reproduced the dome of the Pantheon on the earth, but I propose to give it to Your Holiness in the clouds." And thus it is, that we now behold, as it were, suspended in mid air, the most marvellous of all the creations of human genius—"the vast and wondrous dome,"—

"Which vies,
In air with earth's chief structures, though their frame
Sits on the firm-set ground, but this the clouds must claim."[1]

There is yet another point of contrast. The interior of Saint Paul's Cathedral is bare, cold, and unfurnished, and wears an air of neglect; whereas Saint Peter's, in every part, displays the perfection of care,[2] and is furnished, as a great church ought to be, with costly artistic altars, fonts, mosaics,—

[1] Of the Basilica of Saint Peter, or the Vatican, well indeed has the same great poet written:—

"But thou, of temples old or altars new,
Standest alone—with nothing like to thee—
Worthiest of God, the holy and the true."

It is said that about A.D. 90, Saint Cletus, third Bishop of Rome, erected an oratory here over the remains of Saint Peter, and, soon afterwards, was himself interred close beside the Apostle. In the early part of the fourth century, Constantine the Great raised a basilica on the same site. The building having become ruinous, the present church was commenced by Pope Nicholas V., A.D. 1450; but the progress of the work was slow, until the accession of Julius II., by whom it was vigorously pushed on. Julius employed Bramante as architect, in 1503, and laid the foundation-stone, three years later. The church was consecrated by Urban VIII., in 1626, or one hundred and seventy-six years after it was commenced by Pope Nicholas. If, however, we take into account the colonnades, sacristy, decorations and other works, the whole time occupied in carrying it out to completion will be found to have exceeded three centuries, and to have extended over the reigns of forty-three Pontiffs. Of the several architects successively employed, the principal were Bramante, Raphael, Antonio di Sangallo, Michael Angelo; Giacomo della Porta, who, under Pope Sixtus V., in 1590, completed the dome; Carlo Maderno, who constructed the façade and portico, A.D. 1614; Bernini, who erected the colonnades, under Alexander VII., A.D. 1657–1667; and Carlo Marchionni, after whose designs the sacristy was finished, under Pius VI., in 1780. The façade of Saint Peter's is greatly found fault with, as being too much broken up by details, and is considered inferior to the more simple façade of Saint Paul's. Here, Carlo Maderno is to be blamed for his departure from the original design.

[2] There is, as we have already seen, a special congregation of cardinals, aided by several officials, charged with the care and repairs of Saint Peter's, the average annual expenditure on the Basilica being 30,000 scudi, or £6300.

"Rich marbles, richer paintings, shrines where flame
The lamps of gold,"[1]

in a word, all that the most lavish expenditure and the highest art can consecrate to God's glory, and man's edification.

How the Catholic heart is touched, in a first visit to this noble temple, on recognizing so many details appropriate to, and suggestive of, tenets taught us from the first use of reason! Of these, not the least is the inscription, in mosaic, round the circumference at the base of the dome: TV ES PETRVS ET SVPER HANC PETRAM AEDIFICABO ECCLESIAM MEAM ET TIBI DABO CLAVES REGNI COELORVM.[2]

And here I may be permitted to observe that a great many persons—even non-Catholics—question the taste that could exclude statues and pictures of Christ and His saints from Saint Paul's, and crowd its walls with sculptured figures of naval and military heroes—all, undoubtedly, deserving of honour in a temple raised by the nation to her great men, but out of place in a church dedicated to the worship of God.

It is mortifying to reflect (remarks a Protestant writer) that the Reformation, favourable as it was to the exercise of the

[1] In an earlier chapter, allusion has been made to the Confession or Tomb of the Apostles, *Limina Apostolorum*, to which the visitor descends by a handsome white marble staircase, immediately beneath the dome of Saint Peter's. Along the balustrade surrounding this sacred shrine, and dividing it from the floor of the basilica, are ninety-three golden lamps, perpetually burning, night and day. Here may be seen a number of devout visitors—bishops, priests, members of religious orders, and the laity of all ranks—engaged in prayer, some of them frequently being pilgrims from remote countries. The expression *Limina Apostolorum* applies to this holy spot, when there is question of the pilgrimage to Rome. But when the visitation of bishops to the *Limina Apostolorum* is spoken of, it means the place in which the Pope is residing at the time. Ferraris, "Limina Apostolorum."

[2] In the tribune, at the extreme end of the basilica, is the Chair used by Saint Peter and his immediate successors. It is made of wood, inlaid with bronze and ivory, and cased in a large, handsome, bronze chair, supported by four Doctors of the Church—Saints Augustine and Ambrose, Latin, and Saints Athanasius and John Chrysostom, Greek.

human intellect and the general cause of liberty, had, in this country at least, a very chilling effect upon the state of the Elegant Arts. In the reign of Edward the Sixth, images and pictures were not only ejected from the churches, but the people were publicly taught to hold in utter abhorrence all graphical representations of sacred objects. Queen Elizabeth went farther, and issued a decree for obliterating all such delineations on the walls of churches, by whitewashing them, and inscribing sentences of Holy Writ in the room of these figures. When, about seventy years afterwards, the spirit of Puritanism gained the ascendency, and broke down all the barriers of the constitution, civil and ecclesiastical, the ornaments in the churches were among the first objects of spoliation and destruction. Hence the churches were converted into barracks for soldiers, and stabling for horses; the costly monuments of the dead were stripped of their most valuable carved work; the highly ornamental fonts were carried away, and profanely applied to the vile use of troughs for swine; in addition to which sacrilegious outrage, men were hired by the governing powers, at a daily stipend, to tear down crosses and images wherever they could be found, and to break in pieces the beautiful paintings in the windows of the churches; while, as the finishing stroke to the climax of iconoclastic fury, all pictures, without any regard to their beauty, having the figure of the Saviour of the World, or His Virgin Mother, were commanded to be destroyed by an express ordinance of Parliament.[1]

The enemies of the Catholic Church have, in all ages, been but too ready wilfully to misrepresent her doctrine and practice. The "iconoclastic fury" of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, above referred to, was but a repetition of the proceedings of Leo the Isaurian and his son Constantine Copronymus, in the eighth century.[2] It is now nearly thirteen hundred years since Saint Gregory the Great wrote as follows: "Pictures are the books of those who cannot read; they are not adored, but people see there that which is to be adored."[3]

[1] Pilkington, "Dictionary of Painters," Preface to Edition of 1829, p. ix.

[2] Vide supra, p. 177.

[3] "S. Gregorii Magni PP. Epistolæ," lib. vii. ep. 109. Here we are reminded of the familiar distich of the Jesuits:—

"Effigiem Christi, dum transis, pronus honora;
At non effigiem, sed quem designat, adora."

In the Most Reverend Doctor James Butler's Catechism, adopted in

an improved form by the four Catholic Archbishops of Ireland, as a general Catechism for the kingdom, and now over a century in use, we find the following :—

Q. Is it proper to show any mark of respect to the crucifix, and to the pictures of Christ and His saints?

A. Yes; because they relate to Christ and His saints—being representations and memorials of them.

Q. Why do Catholics honour the relics of the saints?

A. Catholics honour the relics of the saints, because their bodies had been the temples of the Holy Ghost—and at the last day will be honoured and glorified for ever in heaven.

Q. May we then pray to the crucifix, or to the images and relics of the saints?

A. By no means; for they have neither life, nor sense, nor power to hear or help us.

Q. Why then do we pray before the crucifix, and before the images and relics of the saints?

A. We pray before them—because they enliven our devotion, by exciting pious affections and desires—and by reminding us of Christ and His saints—they also encourage us to imitate their virtues and good works.

The reader is, no doubt, acquainted with the *Biblia Pauperum*, "the Poor Man's Bible," so called because it was intended, by pictorial representations, to impress the truths of religion on the minds of those unable to read. It contained from forty to fifty leaves, with woodcuts, on one side, of scenes in the New Testament, and of the corresponding prophecies and types of the Old Testament bearing thereon. There were also Latin texts and inscriptions referring to the subjects. The original work is ascribed to Ansgarius, Bishop of Hamburg and Bremen, about the middle of the ninth century. Several editions were printed immediately on the invention of printing, and continued for a considerable time after. There were other similar pictorial works of religious instruction at the same period.

CHAPTER XLI.

CONCLUSION.

"A milk-white hind, immortal and unchanged,
Fed on the lawns, and in the forest ranged;
Without unspotted, innocent within,
She feared no danger, for she knew no sin.
Yet had she oft been chased with horns and hounds,
With Scythian shafts, and many winged wounds
Aimed at her heart; was often forced to fly,
And doomed to death, though fated not to die."—DRYDEN.

WE have now seen the trials which, from her infancy down to the present day, have been endured by the Church—three centuries of Pagan persecution; the invasions of the Huns, the Vandals, the Heruli, the Lombards, and other barbarians from the North; the incursions of the Saracens on the South; the Arian, Macedonian, Nestorian, Eutychian, Monothelite, and other heresies; the furious outburst of the Iconoclasts; the Greek schism; the contests of the Popes and the Emperors on Investitures and other burning questions; the forty years' schism of the Antipopes; the great Protestant secession; and, near our own times, the horrors of the French Revolution, when in Catholic France the religion of Christ was proscribed by legislative enactment, when Rome was occupied by the Republican forces, when the Pope was carried off a prisoner, in his eightieth year, and died in exile, and when his successor was, with every circumstance of cruelty and insult, similarly deported, and for nearly five years detained in captivity by the first Napoleon.

We have also witnessed the anti-Christian conspiracies and the machinations of secret societies, aimed at the subversion of authority in every European State. And, at the present moment, we deplore the condition of the Successor of Saint Peter, without one shred of the patrimony of the Church—actually a prisoner in the Vatican, where his existence is merely tolerated; the clergy subjected to conscription for the army in Italy, and ecclesiastical seminarists bound to three years' military service in Italy and France; all Christian education assailed; religious orders extensively abolished; their property confiscated; and several other venerable institutions of Christianity practically doomed to annihilation.

Perhaps the most directly anti-Christian and the most pernicious of the proceedings of the enemies of the Church—and those, alas! in Catholic countries—are the banishing of religion from the school, and the conscription of the clergy and ecclesiastical seminarists for the army.

As regards the first, it is unnecessary, in addressing Christian readers, to dwell, at any length, on this monster evil, this undisguised attempt to un-Christianize the rising generation. How strongly the present rulers of France are actuated by such a lamentable policy, may be seen in the "Manuals of Moral and Civil Instruction," published for the use of schools, and intended to supersede the Catholic catechism. Of these, perhaps, the most noteworthy are the Manuals of M. Paul Bert, Deputy, and M. Edgar Monteil, member of the Municipal Council of Paris. M. Bert, in his *Civil Instruction in Schools*, openly assails Catholic doctrine; and, among other things, teaches the children as follows:—

> When you are twenty-one years of age, you will have attained your majority; you will be free to go to church or to stay away, to change your religion at will, or not to have any religion at all. You may work on Sunday or not, as you choose.

But M. Monteil, in his catechism, *Lay Instruction*, goes still farther, denies point-blank the existence of God, and utters other blasphemies which I shrink from reproducing.[1] We may well imagine the evils to religion, civil government, and social order, that would result from such books circulating among the youth, male and female, in the schools of France, in place of the catechisms of Christian doctrine, heretofore placed in their hands. God alone can avert such a calamity, but man must co-operate. Catholic France ought not to forget the proverb: *Aide toi, et Dieu t'aidera.*

Of the imposition of military service on the clergy and ecclesiastical students, a brief notice will be useful, especially as the details are unlikely to be known to the majority of my readers.

When the new Military Law was being discussed in the Italian Chamber in the year 1875, enacting, among other things, the conscription of the clergy for the army, His Holiness Pius IX. addressed the following eloquent and touching remonstrance to King Victor Emanuel:—

> Sire, I beg of you and conjure you, in the name of your august ancestors, in the name of the Saints of your family, in the name of your Virgin *de la Consolata*, in the name even of God, in the name of your dearest interests, do not give your sanction to a law so fatal to the Church—this military law, which would be the destruction of the clergy, and consequently, if such were possible, of the Catholic Church. Ah! through pity, Sire, for yourself, for your subjects, for society, do not increase the debts, which you have contracted, to God; do not burden your conscience with new outrages against the Church. Stop, and go no further on a road which leads you to the deepest abyss.

Notwithstanding this appeal, Victor Emanuel was unmoved. The law was voted by the Senate, and was signed and promulgated by the King.

And what is the purport of this law? That every ecclesiastic up to the age of forty, whether he be curate, parish priest, canon, or even bishop, no matter

[1] See "Liberty of Conscience and Lay-Instruction in France," by the Reverend Frederick Rouvier, in "The Month" for May, 1884.

what his dignity, may be taken away from his church, his parish, his diocese, clothed in military uniform, and incorporated in a regiment.

Again: At the moment of commencing his Ecclesiastical studies, and his preparation for the sacred ministry, the young aspirant to the priesthood, having attained his eighteenth year, is obliged to quit the seminary, and to go, for three years,[1] to the barrack, or the regiment; and there he leads the life of a soldier, in the common barrack-room; and this continuously; the result being that at least seventy per cent. of the students lose their vocation.[2]

Having served his three years, during which he is fully exercised in drill and manœuvres, he is a soldier up to the age of forty: and, in time of war, whether student or priest, he is liable to be called out, to serve in the ranks.

By the law of 1871, it was provided that ecclesiastics should be employed, by preference, in hospital and ambulance duties; but this provision was rejected by a vote, and so excluded from the law of 1875.[3] However, in practice, priests serving as soldiers, are employed in the hospitals, or in some writing office.

In Italian cities, it is not an uncommon occurrence, that a young soldier in uniform is seen entering the sacristy of a church, and coming out again, in a few minutes, in vestments, to celebrate Mass, and, having

[1] The term varies from three to five years, according to the branch of the service.

[2] If he pleases, and has the means, which few students have, he may abridge the time, by paying 1500 or 2000 francs, and going to live one year in barrack, as a soldier, with soldiers. A friend of the author, a British subject, writes as follows, from a small town in Italy, in July, 1882: "There are thirty lads in the seminary here, taken in at twelve years old, and kept and educated until they are eighteen, when they must become common soldiers. Perhaps, of all these, ten may not persevere for the priesthood." This agrees with the above stated proportion of 70 per cent. losing their vocation through serving in the army.

[3] The Law of July 19, 1871, and that of June 7, 1875.

thus satisfied his devotion, resuming his military garb, and returning to his barrack![1]

The object of the conscription of seminarists and priests is to destroy the Church by depriving it of ministers; and, humanly speaking, it is succeeding; so that, in many dioceses of Italy, so much are the numbers of the clergy reduced, that priests are obliged to duplicate (that is, to say two Masses) on Sunday, in some country places.

The reader will not be surprised to hear, after the foregoing statements, that there is no chaplain in the Italian army, and that the troops are never sent to religious worship. They may go, or remain in barrack, as they please. They all have the ordinary daily parade on Sunday. The law ignores that day, and on it the Government and municipal works are carried on, the same as on week-days.

Jews, Mahometans, Pagans, would not act thus. They respect their priests, as sacred persons reserved for sacred things. Not so the Infidel party in Italy, and those who, more recently, would follow their example in France. They hate the clergy. They believe not in God. They would destroy all religion. They happily are only a minority of the population: but they are a compact phalanx, perfectly organized; and hence they prevail, but, let us hope, only for a time, against the unorganized masses, in Italy and France alike.

For instance, on the 31st of May 1884, when the debate on the "Three Years' Service Bill" was resumed in the French Chamber of Deputies, Monseigneur Freppel, Bishop of Angers, pleaded strongly for the exemption of ecclesiastical seminarists, subject to the condition, that they should be ordained priests before they reached their twenty-sixth year. "Three years of

[1] In such a case as this, the priest must either be known to the Fathers of the church, or must satisfy them by producing the necessary papers from his bishop.

barrack life," he declared, "would be certain death, *la mort sans phase*, for the clergy;" and he affirmed that men who were constantly facing contagion and death could not be suspected of fear or selfishness: but M. Paul Bert opposed the Bishop's amendment, which was rejected by 386 votes to 91.

In presence of this and other similar facts, doubtless familiar to several of my readers, I may be permitted to observe that, although intended as a protest against the revolution, the systematic abstention of the Catholic party in Italy from voting at political elections, for so many years, appears a mistake. Had they exercised the franchise, the majority in the Chambers unquestionably would be Catholic, and the present lamentable state of affairs would not exist. In 1872 and 1875, when the Italian Catholics took part in the municipal elections, they demonstrated their power, carrying the day in Venice, Florence, Palermo, Modena, Genoa, and Verona.

Much later still, in the capital itself, the combined action of the great majority has been attended with signal success. Thus in June 1884, at the Roman Municipal elections, the sixteen vacant seats in the Municipal Council were filled by Catholics, as were the three vacancies in the Provincial Council.

The Catholic victory in Belgium, in June 1884, is no less encouraging. In the partial elections for the Belgian Chamber of Representatives, sixty-seven Catholics, and only two Liberals, were returned; so that the Catholic party, heretofore 59 against 79 Liberals, now numbers 85 to 53. Transitory ebullitions of violence and outrage, on the part of the defeated minority, might well have been expected; but these are as nothing against the great good accomplished. Moreover, the moderation of the Catholic party, now in power, and their generous and conciliatory bearing towards their opponents, have already done much to allay irritation. In the Belgian Senate, the elections of

July 1884 gave the Catholic party a majority of seventeen.[1]

No less significant are the results of the Belgian Communal elections of October 1884: viz.:—

Provinces.	Electoral Victories.		Constitution of New Conseils Communaux.	
	Catholic.	Liberal.	Catholic.	Liberal.
Antwerp . . .	56	6	143	6
Brabant . . .	104	56	221	78
West Flanders .	88	13	210	27
East Flanders . .	59	13	262	27
Hainault . . .	104	56	191	169
Liège	62	72	132	132
Limbourg . . .	41	7	180	13
Luxembourg . .	85	59	117	74
Namur	90	60	202	115
Total . .	689	342	1,658	641[2]

It is to be hoped that Catholic France will follow such examples. The triumphant and impregnable

[1] The Belgian Chamber of Representatives consists of 138 members, being one representative for every 40,000 of the population, enumerated at 5,536,684, by the Census of December 31st, 1879. They are elected for four years, one half going out every two years. The Senate consists of one half the number of the lower house. They are elected every eight years, one half going out every four years. In case of a dissolution, all the members of both houses go out, and there is a general election. The members of the Chamber of Representatives and of the Senate are chosen by the same electors in the several districts, the suffrage being held by all citizens paying direct annual taxes to the amount of 43 francs or £1, 16s.

[2] The Belgian Provincial Councils correspond with our municipalities, and county grand juries, but with a wider scope, as regards local taxation and public works. The king appoints the governor of each council, and the members are elected by the same constituencies as the two Chambers. The Communal Councils, above alluded to, manage all matters strictly communal. They are elected for six years, one half going out every three years. The electors are all Belgian citizens paying taxes, ranging from 15 francs up to 42 francs, 32 cents, according to the population. The provinces are divided into arrondissements, these into cantons, and the cantons into communes.

position gained by the Catholic party in Germany has been noticed in another chapter. In Holland, as we have seen, a similar Parliamentary organization, in defence of Catholic interests, has been formed, this year.

Firmness and united action in the exercise of their constitutional rights, combined with complete toleration of the political opinions of others who think differently from them, would ere long enable the Catholics of Europe to assert themselves, and to practically demonstrate their loyalty to the religion which they profess, as well as to the state of which they are subjects. In the present condition of affairs, especially in France and Italy, not only their rulers, but they themselves, seem to have forgotten that they constitute the great majority.[1]

Well indeed in his powerful letter to the Italian Minister, on the new Law of Military Conscription, does Monseigneur Dupanloup observe:—

> Once again, it is not a question of what you yourself believe, but of what is the creed of the nation for which you make your laws.
>
> Well, in the eyes of the Catholic, be it known to you, the Catholic priest continues here below the mission and the priesthood of Jesus Christ;
>
> Every day he immolates on the altar the Divine and atoning Victim for the salvation of the world;
>
> With it, under the Eucharistic form, he nourishes the Christian people;
>
> He is, moreover, the delegate of Jesus Christ for the reconciliation of man with God;
>
> And at the same time he teaches all, little and great, princes and people, the doctrine and the morality of Jesus Christ.
>
> Religious functions, doubtless, before all, but social functions also, and civilizing in the highest degree.[2]

---

[1] Vide supra; chapter xxvii., The Religious Census of Europe. It may be said that a large number of those returned as Catholics, in the Census of the several countries, are practically unbelievers. In some of the large cities, this unfortunately holds true; but the vast majority in each country, returned as Catholic, although in too many instances lukewarm and careless, profess that creed, and declare themselves accordingly to the Census enumerators.

[2] "Seconde Lettre à M. Minghetti, sur la nouvelle Loi Militaire Italienne et ses conséquences pour le clergé, par Mgr. L'Évêque D'Orléans, Membre du Sénat." Deuxième Edition, Paris, 1876, p. 13.

Further on he utters the following impressive words:—

I say, that to see the same man celebrate at the altar and take part in musketry practice; to see him in the confessional and on guard; to see him in the pulpit and in the barrack-room; to see him with the same hand with which he elevates the sacred host, wielding the sabre and the gun, discharging the howitzer and canister shot; with the same hand with which he absolves and blesses, shedding blood,—all this is repugnant to the Catholic conscience, as it is to the human conscience.[1]

How different was the action, in this regard, of the first Christian Emperor, fifteen centuries ago! He would not—neither indeed would his predecessors, the Pagan Emperors—have ever contemplated, that the ministers of religion should serve in the army: but, more than this, Constantine the Great would exempt the clergy from any civil or political office whatsoever. In a letter to Anulinus, Proconsul of Africa, about A.D. 325, he says:—

Wherefore it is our will, most beloved Anulinus, that these men, within the province intrusted to thee, in the Catholic Church (of Carthage) over which Cæcilianus presides, who give their services to this holy religion, and who are commonly called clergy, shall be held totally free and exempt from all public offices, to the end that they may not, by any error or sacrilegious deviation, be withdrawn from the service due to the Divinity, but rather may devote themselves to the Divine law, their special province,[2] without any molestation. So that, whilst they exhibit the greatest possible reverence to the Deity, it appears the greatest good will accrue to the State.[3]

Not to dwell on the higher motives which dictated the course here pursued by Constantine, his thoughtful regard for the ministers of religion was in accordance

[1] "Seconde Lettre à M. Minghetti, sur la nouvelle Loi Militaire Italienne et ses conséquences pour le clergé, par Mgr. L'Évêque D'Orléans, Membre du Sénat." Deuxième Edition, Paris, 1876, p. 14.

[2] τῷ ἰδίῳ νόμῳ. The above appears to me to be the correct rendering of these words. Νόμος is used by sacred writers to express "the Divine Law."

[3] Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," x. 7.

with sound policy; for thus he permanently assured to himself the devoted loyalty and affection of the largely increasing Christian population of the Empire. On the other hand, a glance at the religious census of Europe[1] will show how impolitic has been the persecution of their Catholic subjects by certain rulers in modern times.

But there is another consideration of human prudence which ought not to be lost sight of; and that is, that the Church, on principle, inculcates on her children the duty of order and loyalty, the precept of rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.

Indeed it has recently come to pass, that a powerful Continental sovereign and his minister, almost as powerful, have discovered and practically acknowledged their mistaken policy in endeavouring to enslave the Catholic Church, and in visiting her with grievous persecution: for thus have they temporarily weakened that power —that great moral organization, which has always denounced and striven against, and which alone can eventually overcome, those occult, but ever active, enemies of religion and social order, those opponents of all government, Ecclesiastical and civil—the secret societies that exist in almost every European State. Those in high place, who have so acted, now fully know, to their cost, that with all their power and with all their resources, they have been but instruments in the hands of those who plot alike against God and King. Nihilists and communists, certain great monarchs and their ministers, liberal senators and deputies, may, on many questions, be as wide apart as the poles; but in one respect they have, too often in our day, appeared to be "of one heart and one soul:" and that is, in their hostility to the Catholic Church.

It is this unnatural combination which has deprived the Vicar of Christ of his temporal power—that power which, in its origin, development, and existence pro-

[1] See chapter xxvii.

longed far beyond that of all other dynasties, was manifestly the work of God, and pre-eminently embodied that divinely established principle of order, "by which kings reign and legislators decree what is just." That the Pope should be totally free from the control, however indirect, of any earthly potentate, has long been the opinion of wise and experienced statesmen of every creed. It is the sentiment also of the Catholic subjects of every State, and of all sovereigns, doubtless, could their innermost thoughts be read. For the Church over which the Holy Father presides is not the Church of a nation, or of a language, or of an epoch, but the Church of all time—the Church of every tongue, and tribe, and people. Within the jealously guarded confines of Japan and China, on the banks of the Amazon, the Nile, and the Indus, by the remote shores of the Northern Pacific, in the crowded semi-barbarous cities of the East, as well as in the centres of Western civilization, in the frozen recesses of the North, amidst the burning sands of the Tropics, in the Red Indian's camp, in the Negro village, under the palm-leaf shed of the South Sea Islander, as well as in the Lateran Basilica, or beneath the glorious dome of Saint Peter's —wherever man exists—she gathers her children, she erects her altar, and daily offers a clean oblation, from the rising to the setting of the sun.[1] And whilst Catholic Christians, in every clime, loyal and true in temporal affairs to their respective sovereigns or other constituted authorities by whom they are governed, rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, turn to her, and acknowledge her authority in matters spiritual, rendering unto God the things that are of God, few non-Catholics will be found, on calm reflection, to deny, that he whom so many millions believe to be divinely commissioned to govern this Church—the Church of all nations—should be free and independent, not the subject or vassal of any monarch.

[1] Malachi i. 11.

However, it may be well to observe, as some of my readers may not be clear on the subject, that the Temporal Power of the Popes is not, in the strict sense of the word, essential to their sacred office. For, whether concealed in the Catacombs or enthroned amidst the princes of the Church in the first Christian temple in the world, whether receiving the envoys of kings at the Vatican, in exile at Gaeta, in captivity at Fontainebleau, or, again, as at present, a prisoner in his own capital, where he dwells but on sufferance, the Successor of Saint Peter alike claims and receives the veneration and spiritual allegiance of the faithful. And every Catholic knows, that, without one rood of territory, without one shilling of fixed revenue, Leo XIII. is as much Christ's Vicar on earth, and visible Head of the Church, as were his predecessors in those days when the proudest monarchs rendered homage to the Pope, and appeared before him as arbiter in the causes of kingdoms and empires. But although not strictly essential, this principality, in the designs of an all-ruling Providence, has been, for eleven centuries, highly expedient, and most useful to religion; furnishing the Church with means and appliances for her mission to teach all nations; and insuring to the Supreme Pontiff that complete personal and political independence which is required for the discharge of his exalted duties. Now, for a brief period, the temporal rule of the Popes has ceased to exist—doubtless to be restored, in God's own time, as in the days of Pius VII. We have seen how that Pontiff, deprived of his dominions, lay for four years and a half, in seemingly hopeless captivity in a foreign land, and how, by a sudden political revolution, he was firmly re-established on his throne, and in full possession of all the States of the Church, guaranteed by the Allied Powers, in 1815. In this, as in other respects, it is not unlikely that history will repeat itself.

At the present moment, it is true, while the Church

is so flourishing in remote regions, the outlook is gloomy at home. Even in the capital of Catholic Christendom, the enemies of Religion appear to be triumphant on every point. So far have they succeeded in their unholy warfare, that they may ere long attempt to carry their daring projects as far as those who, at the close of the last century, decreed the abolition of Christianity, and set up the worship of the Goddess of Reason, in France. But there is a God in Israel now, as there was then. All things are in His hands. Angry storms may rage, and the bark of Peter may be beaten upon, and be all but submerged by the winds and the waves; but in it there reposes One, Who, should we tremble for its safety, may justly reproach us in the hallowed words, "Why are you fearful, O ye of little faith?"[1]

[1] Matt. viii. 23-26.

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